

Mediating Netherlandish Art and Material Culture in Asia

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Mediating Netherlandish Art and Material Culture in Asia

Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann and Michael North (eds.)

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Contents

Preface	7
Introduction	9
Mediating Cultures	
<i>Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann and Michael North</i>	
1 Terms of Reception	25
Europeans and Persians and Each Other's Art	
<i>Gary Schwartz</i>	
2 Reconfiguring the Northern European Print to Depict Sacred History at the Persian Court	65
<i>Amy S. Landau</i>	
3 Dutch Cemeteries in South India	83
<i>Martin Krieger</i>	
4 Coasts and Interiors of India	95
Early Modern Indo-Dutch Cross-Cultural Exchanges	
<i>Ranabir Chakravarti</i>	
5 Art and Material Culture in the Cape Colony and Batavia in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries	111
<i>Michael North</i>	
6 <i>Indische</i> Architecture in Indonesia	129
<i>Peter J. M. Nas</i>	
7 The Cultural Dimension of the Dutch East India Company Settlements in Dutch-Period Ceylon, 1700-1800 – With Special Reference to Galle	141
<i>Lodewijk Wagenaar</i>	
8 European Artists in the Service of the Dutch East India Company	177
<i>Marten Jan Bok</i>	
9 Scratching the Surface	205
The Impact of the Dutch on Artistic and Material Culture in Taiwan and China	
<i>Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann</i>	

10	The Dutch Presence in Japan The VOC on Deshima and Its Impact on Japanese Culture <i>Matthi Forrer and Yoriko Kobayashi-Sato</i>	239
11	From Optical Prints to <i>Ukie</i> to <i>Ukiyoe</i> The Adoption and Adaptation of Western Linear Perspective in Japan <i>Matthi Forrer</i>	245
12	Japan's Encounters with the West through the VOC Western Paintings and Their Appropriation in Japan <i>Yoriko Kobayashi-Sato</i>	267
13	"To Capture Their Favor" On Gift-Giving by the VOC <i>Cynthia Viallé</i>	291
14	Circulating Art and Material Culture A Model of Transcultural Mediation <i>Astrid Erll</i>	321
	Illustration Credits	329
	Index	337

Preface

This book is the result of years of planning, research and writing. It initiated out of discussions held after a session of the Twentieth International Congress of Historical Sciences, Sydney, Australia, whose papers have been published in *Artistic and Cultural Exchanges between Europe and Asia, 1400-1900. Rethinking Markets, Workshops and Collections*, ed. Michael North, Farnham, Surrey, and Burlington, Vermont, Ashgate, 2010. Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann and Michael North ideated a research program that would continue the direction suggested in their introduction to that volume.

The Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies (PIIRS) granted funds that enabled many of the authors of essays in the present volume and other scholars to come to Princeton University in March, 2008 to participate in a planning seminar. This was followed by a similar seminar supported by the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study (NIAS) held in Wassenaar, October, 2008. The support of PIIRS and NIAS is here gratefully acknowledged.

The seminar participants then formed a theme group “The Reception of Netherlandish Art in the Indian Ocean Region and East Asia, and its Impact on Asian Cultures”, organized by Michael North and Marten Jan Bok, for which the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study (NIAS) provided a host in Wassenaar from September, 2009 to January, 2010. Papers by members of the theme group and several other guest scholars were presented at a symposium held at NIAS in January, 2010; in most instances they represented preliminary versions of what appears in the present book. For the invitation to NIAS we would like to offer our warmest thanks to its rector Prof. Wim Blockmans.

Without his inspiration and energy the theme group would never have come into existence. We still remember the intensive research and lively discussions of the group and other NIAS-fellows. Consequently another colleague from NIAS and subsequently scholars elsewhere were asked to contribute to the collection of essays in this volume.

From the beginning this book has been a collective undertaking, which could not have been realized without the active assistance of several people and institutions in addition to those already mentioned or cited in the essays. Gary Schwartz “Englished” the texts of the non-native speakers. Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann would like to acknowledge the assistance of Cynthia Huong, Gary Liu, and Jamie Kwan with texts in Chinese; of the Spears Fund of Princeton University, the Academia Sinica, Taiwan Normal University, the National Taiwan University and colleagues in those institutions who supported his travel and assisted his research on two trips to China and Taiwan; to Chen Liu for her assistance in China; and to Elizabeth Osenbaugh and Jamie Kwan for general research and production aid. Michael North is indebted to Alexander Drost und Jörg Driesner for archival research in the Arsip Nasional (Jakarta) and to Antonia Malan, Laura Mitchell, Susan Newton-King and Nigel Worden for their help and comments in his research on Cape Town, and acknowledges his greatest debts to the members of the Greifswald team consisting of Doreen Wollbrecht, Robert Riemer, Hielke van Nieuwenhuize, Friederike Schmidt, Sven Ristau, Eric Ladenthin, Richard Höter, Maik Fiedler and Jörn Sander, who bore the brunt of work on the final production of the book with great commitment. They not only

edited the manuscript and read the proofs, but also compiled the index.

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Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann and Michael North
Princeton and Greifswald, Winter 2014

Introduction

Mediating Cultures

Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann and Michael North

The Dutch East India Company (VOC) has long attracted the attention of scholarship. Its lengthy history, widespread enterprises, and the survival of massive amounts of documentation – literally 1,200 meters of essays pertaining to the VOC may be found in the National Archives in The Hague, and many more documents are scattered in archives throughout Asia and in South Africa – have stimulated many works on economic and social history.¹ Important publications have also appeared on the trade,² shipping,³ institutional organization,⁴ and administration of the VOC.⁵ Much has also been learned about the VOC and Dutch colonial societies.⁶ Moreover, the TANAP (Towards a New Age of Partnership, 2000-2007) project has created momentum for research on the relationship between the VOC and indigenous societies.⁷

In contrast, the role of the VOC in cultural history and especially in the history of visual and material culture has not yet attracted comparable interest.⁸ To be sure, journals and other travel accounts (some even with illustrations) by soldiers, shippers, and VOC officials among others have been utilized as sources.⁹ But the studies based on them have not been primarily art or cultural historical in character. Books such as those by J. De Loos-Haaxman on art, artists, and collections in the Netherlands East Indies have thus until quite recently been the exception, not the rule.¹⁰

However, since 2000 several major exhibitions have dramatically brought European-Asian cultural encounters into the limelight,

drawing attention to the VOC in this context as well.¹¹ Monographic exhibitions and related publications on several artists who were active in Dutch settlements in Africa and Asia have also appeared.¹² The broader material culture of the world of the VOC, and especially the Cape Colony, has also come into focus.¹³ Some historians of Dutch seventeenth-century art and architecture now situate their subjects in relation to the network of trade that was spun by the VOC.¹⁴ Still, the reciprocal effects of Dutch visual and material culture on Asiatic civilizations remain largely unstudied.¹⁵

This situation provides the backdrop for the present collection of essays, the fruit of much discussion and collaboration. In 2005 a team of scholars was formed to study artistic production and reception in relation to commerce between the Netherlands and the Indian Ocean region.¹⁶ As it developed, the composition of the group changed, and it was recognized that the comparable impact of Asia upon Europe in general and on Dutch art and material culture in particular was much better known than the converse, as several essays within suggest. Hence it was decided to emphasize the question of the possible Dutch (and more broadly Netherlandish) impact on those areas in which the VOC operated from the Cape of Good Hope to the Sea of Japan. The research group coalesced in 2009-2010 at the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Studies (NIAS) in Wassenaar to study the issues involved.

The essays by this group and its external collaborators represent the results of their

investigations. They consider issues of artistic practice, patronage, market relations, gift exchange, iconography, and visual imagination in the Asian lands and South Africa where the VOC was involved. They point to directions, protagonists, objects, and the media of artistic transfer. They also contribute to the interpretation of cultural exchange, extracting from empirical information a theoretical model.

This introduction briefly outlines the history of the VOC in its social and economic dimensions as a background and starting point for the considerations of cultural history contained in this book. It describes some features of the affect of the Dutch presence in Africa and Asia on the cultural developments this collection discusses. It then considers how to treat the more general interpretation of the visual and material culture (including architecture) that resulted from the complex intercultural interactions that may be related to the activities of the VOC.

A Brief Overview of the VOC

During the first half of the seventeenth century the Dutch supplanted the Portuguese in dominating European trade with the Indies. Dutch trade quickly came to be centered on the VOC, which was formed only six years after the first Dutch fleet (under the command of Cornelis de Houtman) had reached Java in June 1596. The Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, to give its proper name, was united (*vereenigd*) out of *Voorcompagnien* (previously formed entrepreneurial companies) from Holland and Zeeland to form a monopoly designed to control the Indies trade.¹⁷

The VOC was chartered as a joint-stock company that was awarded semi-sovereign rights by the States General: it was allowed to build forts, recruit soldiers, and sign contracts with

foreign rulers. The VOC was divided into six chambers (Amsterdam, Zeeland, Rotterdam, Delft, Hoorn, and Enkhuizen), which each built and equipped ships and auctioned or sold off imported goods orchestrated so to speak by the central executive committee, the Heren XVII (Gentlemen Seventeen), representatives from the six local boards of *bewindhebbers*, where these directors for life supervised and coordinated the local chambers under their direction.

In Asia the Governor-General and the Councillors of the VOC were in charge of handling local and regional issues. Their chief job was to ensure Dutch access to the spice markets by the use of either diplomatic or military means. Their seat was located in Batavia (now Jakarta, Indonesia), which became the headquarters of the Dutch Asian trade empire. The choice of this location was determined by its proximity to the chief initial attractions for Dutch commerce. Pepper and rare spices grew in the Indonesian archipelago, notably in the Moluccas, and the VOC needed a center in this spice-growing region to enable it to control the spice trade. This was the task originally assigned to one of the first Governors-General, Jan Pietersz. Coen, who founded the fort of Batavia near the harbor town of Jacatra. This fortification also represents a response to competition from the English, which, however, was not so well funded and did not register such a high volume of trade. Coen's real aim was to break into the lucrative trade within the Asian regions in which the Portuguese, Spanish, and English were already engaged. This goal was to be achieved by establishing exclusive supply contracts that were supposed to ensure a Dutch monopoly in cloves and nutmeg. On several occasions when partners of the Dutch did not observe what the VOC regarded as the terms of their contract, spice producers were killed or enslaved – as happened for instance on Banda in 1621. The VOC also had clove trees on islands

not occupied by the Dutch destroyed in order to extinguish competition and also to keep prices high on the European market.

The VOC soon tried very hard to penetrate the Portuguese system of forts in India, aiming to take over the textile trade on the Coromandel Coast and in Bengal. It also had eyes on the cinnamon market in Ceylon (Sri Lanka); the VOC succeeded in conquering Ceylon between 1640 and 1658. The results are striking: at the beginning of the seventeenth century the VOC exchanged Indian cottons for spices in South-east Asia, and by the end of the century cotton textiles and silk had even replaced pepper as the main products it shipped to Europe.¹⁸

After they failed to penetrate mainland China, the Dutch established a short-lived foothold on the island of Taiwan (Formosa, 1624-1662). The Formosa factory (trading post) at Zeelandia served as an entrepôt for silk, tea, porcelain, and lacquer, along with raw materials and metals. Already during the Taiwan interlude, and more definitely later in the eighteenth century, these items were however also carried by the junk trade directly between the coast of China – ultimately Canton (Guangzhou) – and Batavia.

Trade with Japan proved to be a lucrative business. The Dutch started a small settlement in Hirado. Their factory was soon transferred to the harbor of Nagasaki, where the Portuguese had previously been granted a secure place; in 1639 the Portuguese were expelled from Japan, and the Dutch were forced to move to Deshima. The positive result for the VOC was that the Dutch began to enjoy an exclusive role in the trade between Europe and Japan that lasted until an American fleet under Commodore Perry opened the island nation to foreign trade in 1853.

The VOC imported silk, woolens, and sugar to Japan, while Japan supplied those precious metals (silver, copper, and gold *kobangs* [gold

coins]) the VOC needed for the purchase of goods in India and in the Indonesian archipelago. Every decade 13-15 million guilders worth of silver came from Japan, a figure that may be compared with 3-5 million worth from Persia and 8.4-8.8 million in silver from Spanish America that was imported through the Netherlands.¹⁹ A ban placed on silver exports from Japan in 1668 and the consequent decline in VOC trade with Japan thus drastically reduced the supply of bullion which was needed in order to do business elsewhere in Asia. As a result, the VOC had to increase the amount of silver it imported from other sources through Europe. Since trade between many nations in Europe and Asia expanded continually, and European demand for textiles and for new imports – coffee and tea – could only be met in Asia by exchange for silver, more and more of that precious metal was sent to the East.

Details like these can be determined because more is known about Dutch trade in Asia than about that anywhere else in the world, since the VOC kept meticulous records on its purchases and sales. From the many such surviving sources it may be estimated for example that the prices of items sold at commodity auctions in Holland and Zeeland were three times higher than amounts paid for the acquisition of the same things in Asia.²⁰ For example, in the 1660s goods from Asia amounting to a value of 31 million guilders were sent to the Netherlands, where they netted a profit of 92 million guilders. However, in the eighteenth century profits declined, as profit margins were reduced, investment costs became higher, and the VOC – suffering the effects of paying high dividends, which rose to 25 percent – went into debt. This was a sign of the decline of the VOC; it ceased to exist by the end of the century.

But until the end the VOC provided many financial opportunities for its investors. It paid dividends to those private individuals who

bought stock as well as to those entrepreneurs who invested money directly in the individual chambers. From such investments the Amsterdam chamber raised about half of the initial capital of the VOC, 3,679,915 guilders.²¹ This gave the Amsterdam chamber the right to 50 percent of all the Company's investments and profits. Zeeland in comparison had a 25 percent share, while the four smaller Chambers were each responsible for 1/16 of all costs and an equal fraction of the profits, which proportions were kept unchanged during the Company's existence, even on the occasions that the different chambers did not succeed in gaining the equivalent returns on their investments from the market. Soon after the initial issue of shares, speculation in the stock began: in the course of the century shares in the VOC came to be traded at prices well over their original value.

Both the VOC shareholders who pocketed high dividends from their investments (as well as from potential sale of stock) and the Dutch traders who were more directly involved in re-exporting goods from Asia to the European or American markets thus profited from the trade with Asia. Merchants and other members of the elite class gained enormously; an even broader group of petty merchants, shop keepers, and artisans, such as ships' carpenters, made money as well. It is thus no wonder that leading Amsterdam merchants like Gerrit Bicker or Gerrit Reynst were involved in trade with the East (and West) Indies. The East Indies trade made it possible for many of the higher employees of the VOC to climb the social ladder in the Netherlands if they had had a career in Asia and had made a fortune – whether legally or illegally. In general the VOC provided a source of income that enabled its investors to increase their capital, and consequently their social position. Among the signs of success that might express one's position were the

purchase of luxury goods, of works of art, and the acquisition, construction, or decoration of magnificent residences. Many of the objects collected or used as decoration were those that the VOC had imported from Asia, or were European pieces that displayed Asian motifs. In this and other ways the massive importation of goods, especially porcelain, from Asia by the VOC effected numerous transformations in taste and manufacture in the Netherlands, and more broadly in Europe.

The Dutch Impact in Asia

These are relatively well-known phenomena, but what can be said about reciprocal impact of the Dutch abroad? The same basic pattern seen in Europe in which cultural historical developments are related to economic and social factors also seems to pertain to Asia. The production and reception of Dutch art in the Indian Ocean and East Asian regions were functions of intensified market relations in which the Dutch East India Company played a major role. Yet numerous local agents within and outside the European trading companies also had a part in these developments. Art objects were not just commodities on an international market, but also figured significantly on local markets. Furthermore, when people moved to Batavia or to the Cape from Europe, America, or Asia, they usually brought with them only a small number of art objects to serve for decorative or commemorative purposes. If more art, or objects, were desired for interior decoration of houses or for a conspicuous display of wealth, they had to be commissioned or purchased. Estate auctions where second-hand goods might be obtained or sold could thus provide an important market instrument. However, since local sources of production were often limited in Dutch outposts, sources were necessarily

sought abroad. Hence arose one cause for the trade in luxuries, in works of art, within the network established by the VOC.

The VOC was in effect not only involved in carrying bullion and distributing objects throughout the eastern hemisphere, including, of interest to this project, the importation of works of art and other luxury items to Europe. Conversely, it often served not just as a purveyor of bullion and occasionally of European goods to Asia, but also as a mediator for the transport of goods between parts of Asia – or in the case of ivory – from one place to another within the broader region extending from the Cape of Good Hope to Japan. In this way the VOC may also be said to have mediated objects and contacts, hence forms of culture.

Various features of mediation, represented by many different sorts of mediators and media, may be discerned in the interchanges affected by the VOC. While the VOC and its personnel were no doubt major players in this process, other forces were also at work. As discussed in Marten Jan Bok's essay,²² one continuing source for art in Asia and Africa was the actual presence in the Indies (and the Cape) of Dutch artists, and of Netherlandish works of art exported abroad. Dutch art and artists could thus provide a direct stimulus for local artists and artisans, which, as suggested for example in Gary Schwartz's and Amy Landau's essays, might receive a positive response from Asian recipients.²³ In addition to this conduit several other channels existed for the mediation of artistic objects and ideas that were not under VOC control. For instance, indigenous agents might pass objects and ideas on, or else adapt them to new environments.

The mediation of Netherlandish art in colonial societies proceeded simultaneously via two processes that varied according to the social groups involved. This is demonstrated by the spread of forms of decoration. In the

first place, decorative patterns from the Netherlands trickled down and were disseminated via the upper social strata of the Company to the middle classes and to various indigenous groups. Eventually these patterns might be appropriated by local producers of art and craft objects. A second process is independent of the first but nonetheless connected with it: members of some local ethnic groups had their own styles of furnishing and adorning their homes that in the course of time absorbed Western or specifically Dutch models.

Modes of mediation, so to speak, thus differed according to the local situations with which the VOC had to deal or which it could eventually create, control, or influence. The summary description of the previous paragraph may apply more broadly, but it best fits the colonial societies that were emerging in Batavia and Cape Town. However, Batavia and Cape Town differed from each other, and, more important, the sorts of goods sought in these places, and the conditions that existed for their exchange, were different from those found in many other sites where the Dutch were involved. Dealings in the colonial societies of Batavia and Cape Town differed from transactions with the great courts of Persia or India, or with those in Japan, where the Dutch were isolated on Deshima, and obligated to send a delegation annually to pay homage and grant tribute to the Shogun in Edo. Forms or modes of mediation, as represented or conducted through different channels of communication and design, also had an impact that varied according to whether they were affecting architecture, sculpture, painting, prints, or other sorts of objects of material culture.

The existence of a wide variety of patterns of interchange and reception of culture is therefore evident in the vastly different areas where the VOC was active. In Batavia European practices and procedures were altered to meet local circumstances. Many different

cultures met at this VOC headquarters city, even though it may also be considered to have been the most important Dutch colonial city in the eastern hemisphere, and may furthermore be regarded as a Dutch foundation. Although (as they later did in Formosa, Galle, or Cape Town) the Dutch applied the same principles of urban design and construction to Batavia that they had employed in the Netherlands itself for laying out fortifications, canals, drawbridges, and they furthermore imported engineers, masons, and even building materials (brick), in Batavia the appearance of constructions differed significantly from that of their Dutch models. The outside surfaces of bricks in buildings in Batavia were plastered over to provide protection from heat; ridges of roofs were placed parallel, not perpendicular to the street, probably for a similar reason; and broad overhangs were set at the front and the back of houses to protect the entrances against tropical rains. The creators of this *Indisch* architectural design were also representatives of a new sort of domestic culture: the Dutch houseowners and their indigenous concubines (*nyai*), helped by their Chinese overseers (*mandor*), and Chinese and Javanese workers. The latter moreover applied Chinese techniques to constructions (Nas).²⁴

Chinese styles of decoration, by way of contrast, penetrated the European strata in Batavia from an early date, as Europeans bought and displayed Chinese cultural goods of many kinds. These included not only paintings, but also porcelain, lanterns, and so forth. A sizeable market for Chinese art objects came into being in Batavia as early as the 1620s; significantly this is a taste that did not manifest itself in the Netherlands until about 1700, when Chinese paintings show up in some of the richer collections.²⁵ In Batavia these objects were probably acquired directly from the Chinese and indirectly at auctions of Chinese estates. Only later

on were Chinese products traded by the VOC at the Cape and Holland. At the high point of this development in VOC commerce, inhabitants of colonial cities could choose from a wide range of art objects that had been produced in China, Japan, Batavia, India, at the Cape, in Holland and in the rest of Europe (North).²⁶

Other, often similar forces of mediation are discernible in smaller places such as Galle on Ceylon. According to estate auctions of the second half of the eighteenth century Sinhalese and Muslims, among them interpreters for the Company, Moslem chiefs and Moslem traders acquired tea and related accessories (Japanese tea kettles), playing cards, and prints. They thus seem to have wished to emulate a Dutch colonial lifestyle (Wagenaar).²⁷ A similar trend is also visible in the settlements of other European trading companies in South Asia, where company translators amassed enormous quantities of cultural goods.²⁸ This situation may be compared with the way in which the functional elites “worked” in Europe as tastemakers for cultural consumption.²⁹

Furthermore, objects sold at estate auctions in Ceylon inspired indigenous craftsmanship, especially visible in furniture. While a few Dutch-led workshops specialized in the production of French rococo style chairs and Chinese chest-making in Japara (north Java), Sinhalese and Tamil furniture makers in Ceylon were also creative and productive. Their invention of the so-called burgomaster chair also came to be circulated and imitated within the territory encompassed by the VOC trading network.³⁰

The existence of this network may also explain how individual decorative motifs may have circulated, for example the floral decorative motifs that were applied in different media over vast expanses of space. Here again the VOC seems to have acted as a mediating factor. In this case it helped to spread motifs used on tombstones, cabinets, chintz, and silverware

throughout the region. Dutch tombstones that were shipped from Sadraspatnam on the Coromandel Coast to Batavia and other places in Southeast Asia bear the same floral borders as does furniture from late-seventeenth-century Batavia (Krieger)³¹; similar borders were also used in Indian chintz fabrics on the Coromandel Coast. These designs were all probably ultimately inspired by Dutch prints, like those found in the floral illustrations of “De blomhof” engraved by Crispijn van de Passe.³²

In the VOC’s dealings with courts interchanges occurred differently. The VOC presented paintings to rulers, and it sent painters as well. For example, the Mogul Sultans of Surat repeatedly made requests to the VOC factory there for landscape and genre paintings as well as for capable painters. In 1657 the local VOC director made mention of two competent painters who were present in his factory. In the 1620s and 1630s the painter Hendrick Arentsz. Vapoer had indeed already been active in Surat and at Agra, where he helped the Dutch to establish diplomatic and commercial contacts. Another cosmopolitan Dutch painter, Jan Luccasz. van Hasselt, who was active in Persia at the court of Shah ‘Abbas I in Isfahan, opened the Persian hinterland for VOC trading in 1622 after the Portuguese had been driven out of Hormuz. His activities are recorded in a letter of 1624 from the Amsterdam VOC *bewindhebbers* to the VOC resident in Isfahan. In this letter the export to Surat of paintings, especially portraits and those with genre subjects is also discussed, because of the animosity that was anticipated against the representation of human beings in images.

In the 1640s the VOC continued its artistic diplomacy in Persia. At the request of the Shah it dispatched the merchant Hendrick Boudewijn van Lockhorst as painter to the Persian court, where he was to receive the enormous salary of 4,000 guilders. Philips Angel, who is perhaps the best-known Dutch artist active in Persia,

succeeded him there; Angel eventually became court painter to Shah ‘Abbas II, with the same salary van Lockhorst had received. Angel is renowned for having painted (no longer surviving) Persian still lifes.

Between 1656 he painted five portraits and a large genre scene (a “Merry Company”) on the wall of the palace, as later travelers record. Despite apparent religious prohibitions, the visual representation of human beings was evidently demanded from Dutch painters in Persia, and it became popular in Persian painting of the Safavid dynasty as well. Persian artists copied Dutch and Flemish models, but mixed these with examples that indicate copying or appropriation of models from Italy (Schwartz).³³

Imperial painters in Isfahan in particular integrated European iconography into compositions that follow pictorial conventions that are associated with Persian painting. Armenian merchant networks, which partially overlap with those established by agents of the VOC agents, also mediated the accessibility of northern European print culture, first to Christian communities, and then to the Muslim population. Through this means the court painter Muhammad Zaman came to produce several paintings that are based on northern European prints with Biblical subjects, where principles of aerial perspective are also introduced, but in which a more local, Persian, aesthetics of color is also evinced. The Dutch role as mediators was further complemented by the Armenian merchant communities in Persia, who, built churches and commissioned their decoration with Europeanized murals, notably at New Julffa. In a way they thereby played a role similar to that of the Jesuits at the Mogul courts in India (Landau).³⁴

The Mogul Empire in fact received western European artistic input through several different channels. Jesuit missionaries confronted the Mogul court with European religious art;

engravings and printed books with frontispieces and illustrations were important forms of transmission,³⁵ and they were often made or commissioned by Netherlandish print-makers or publishers. They could be easily assimilated into a local context, such as that provided by royal Mogul albums, because they were understood to share qualities similar to those possessed by the paintings and calligraphy made by Persian or Indian artists that constituted the bulk of the imperial collections.³⁶

The VOC also presented European prints to Indian princes. The Dutch circulated images at several indigenous Indian courts, such as those of the Rajput rulers. In Rajasthan European imagery inspired local artistic production, a topic that deserves further examination. A double-sided painting from the beginning of the eighteenth century from Udaipur provides a good example of this process. It shows on one side Maharana Sangram Singh II, and on the other a European (a Dutchman); it is composed by mixing together a French fashion print and an image of a VOC employee of the type seen in India.³⁷ It is further possible that Dutch forms inspired the transformation of certain genres of Indian art (Chakravarti).³⁸

In giving gifts and selling objects the Dutch responded to the customs and practices they found around them when they were establishing trading factories in Asia. This included the practice of gift-giving itself as an aid to commerce; it was important to discover what kind of commodities were in demand and what types of gifts might please the rulers or other officials from whom the VOC sought trade privileges. Lists of a variety of goods specified according to the demands of the different Asian settlements (Viallé) are thus recorded as presents.³⁹ These include for example pictures with scenes of Dutch victories over the Spaniards and the English, as gifts for the Shogun from the Dutch factory at Deshima. Although such paintings

might be considered sites of memory (*lieux de mémoire*) in relation to the Dutch Republic, the local governor interdicted their presentation. On the other hand in the eighteenth century the governor of Nagasaki requested twenty-five European paintings with specified dimensions that depicted flowers, birds, and landscapes (Kobayashi-Sato) – strikingly more traditional Japanese subjects, although ones to be made, to be sure, in a different stylistic vocabulary.⁴⁰

After the lifting of the seventeenth-century ban on the importation of Christian books to Japan by Shogun Yoshimune, who was also a patron of Dutch paintings that he ordered through the VOC, a wave of interest in Dutch culture hit Japan. Imitation of Dutch things became even a sort of Hollandomania. One major sign is the production of *ranga*, paintings in Western manner, especially by the Akira school. Artists patronized by the *daimyo* (lord) Shozan also painted landscapes that evince the application of Western techniques. Together with Odano Naotake Shozan also wrote treatises on Western-style painting. These books are only a few of the manifestations that may be regarded as exemplifying what are called in Japanese “Dutch Studies” (*rangaku*).

Such studies were aided by the fact that Dutch residents of the VOC factory on Deshima increasingly made the Japanese presents of Dutch books. From one such book containing a partial translation of Egbert Buys's *Nieuw en volkomen woordenboek van konsten en wetenschappen* the Japanese artist Shiba Kōkan discovered methods for making copperplate engravings and etchings. Kōkan also employed other Western pictorial devices that a few years later Aōdō Denzen would perfect in his work. Perspective prints depicting street views and the interiors of Kabuki theaters (*ukie*) emerged in Edo in the 1760s, perhaps also as another result of the reception of Dutch prints, in this case of theaters and church interiors. Western

media (books and prints) thus proved important both for the establishment of the Japanese artistic tradition of *ranga* and for the subject matter of *ukie* (Forrer).⁴¹

The singular case of China and Taiwan is revealing, although the Dutch were largely unsuccessful in their endeavors in this region, and their impact was comparatively insignificant in contrast with the response to Chinese influence in Europe. The Dutch had a limited effect on Taiwan, where only some of the objects that they themselves had used in their settlements, such as pipes and ceramics, and more interestingly the staffs they supplied as signs of office, percolated down, as it were, into lasting items of indigenous material culture. In China very little in terms of European cultural goods, as distinct from objects purveyed from other Asian cultures, or animals, seems to have had an impact, or even to have made an impression. Exceptions may include painted enamels, and definitely a distinctive sort of complicated turned ivory object, whose original source seem to be Nuremberg.

This may in part have occurred because in contrast with their practices in some other Asian lands the Dutch were often mistaken about what they came to present as gifts, especially in regard to products of European material culture. They seem not to have treated the Chinese as a distinct, highly civilized people, since they gave members of the highly sophisticated court in Beijing bibelots similar to those they would have presented to indigenous people on Taiwan. On one important occasion when they did carry to China highly crafted objects, clocks, these were presented in insufficient number and in bad condition; in any case clocks were already superfluous, because the Chinese already possessed them in abundance. Other objects such as furniture with inlaid stone mosaics which the VOC had offered on an earlier occasion would have been

much better received as gifts in India, where they were much more appropriate to the taste of the Moguls (and the Rajastani rulers) than they were to the emperor of China, where marble furniture was not yet in fashion. Unlike their Jesuit antagonists, who sought out and adapted themselves to the interests and customs of their hosts, the VOC thus does not seem to have approached the Chinese in a way that adequately responded to them as a separate, distinctive, and highly cultivated people (Kaufmann).⁴²

Problems of Interpretation

The variation in interactions involving the VOC, as well as their relative success or failure, present problems for the construction of a simple, uniform theory of cultural interchange. It is clearly most often not the case that a one-way process was involved, in which a finished cultural product was handed over from one culture to another and remained more or less unchanged. Asian recipients of goods did not treat them passively, but took them up and adapted them to their new cultural environment. As Peter Burke has put it, ideas, artifacts, and practices are in general first decontextualized and then recontextualized or “localized”; they are “translated.”⁴³

Many of the terms and theories often still utilized for discussions of global flows are therefore not adequate to present questions. Older notions such as expansion, mission, influence, and diffusion do not fit the case of the VOC, because they imply an unequal relationship, suggesting the superiority of one culture over another. In many cases, the use of these sorts of interpretive terms moreover implies European domination or hegemony. But before the nineteenth century most situations involving European cultural exchanges with Asia do not support the construction of

models based on interpretative hypotheses of this nature, because the evidence does not seem to validate them. In only a few instances involving the Dutch, as in the Spice Islands of Indonesia and in parts of Sri Lanka, did the VOC actually exercise a truly dominant position in relation to its surroundings, and even in these cases the question remains if its cultural impact was commensurate with its political and economic authority or even social prestige.

In general the familiar model of center and periphery prevalent in world system analyses also does not appear to apply to the interpretation of the Dutch in the East. According to the original conceptualization of this model, raw materials from the periphery go to the center in exchange for finished goods. As it has been applied to cultural history, cultural flows would thus work similarly. But as the major examples of Japan, China, and India suggest, the flow of bullion went to Asia, whence luxury items were derived and returned to Europe. In most cases the export of European objects to Asia by the VOC hardly equals the import of Asian works to Europe. And a reversal of the picture of relationships also does not fit, either. Within the Asian context VOC relations speak better for the existence of several centers, not just one, hence for polycentrality.

Another term previously used to describe intercultural relations, namely cultural exchange, may also now also be called into question. While the choice of the notion of cultural exchange might seem to be an appropriate match for the character of the VOC as the first joint-stock company, the economic model implied by the concept of exchange is not fully adequate. Cultural goods are not always objects that are immediately exchanged. Art objects may change their functions and meanings while passing through different zones of value. They may change from being a commissioned

gift to a commodity, a memorial, or another sort of symbolic representation.⁴⁴

Other terms including accommodation, assimilation, acculturation, hybridization or better, transculturation that have been applied to other cross-cultural relations might appear to be useful in the case of the VOC. Again, however most of these terms do not necessarily seem broadly applicable: for example acculturation again implies inequality, and accommodation also seems similar in its weighting. Few instances exist involving the VOC in which either cultural hybridity, transculturation, or cultural accommodation may be found. In general the more neutral notion of cultural transfer thus seems preferable.

But even this last term describes a general process, not the particular role of the Dutch, of the VOC, that was involved in it. The case studies presented in this book took place in what has been described as a network, but the use of the term network also does not indicate specifically what was carried on within it, or how. Another notion has thus emerged as a useful common denominator for the transfer of cultural goods from Europe to Asia, and vice versa, as well as even more tellingly for the Dutch role in transferring goods from one part of the Indian Ocean and East Asian region to another. This is cultural mediation. Several studies in this volume (Kaufmann) have already evoked this term, and this introduction has also employed it in a number of places. Cultural mediation has thus also received a theoretical elaboration in one contribution to this book that differentiates the mediation process into production, transmission, reception, transcultural remediation, and afterlife (Erll).⁴⁵ It is furthermore noteworthy that scholars of other comparable phenomena involving relations between Europe and other parts of the world during the early modern era that used to be described as European expansion

or colonization are also beginning to refer to them as forms of cultural mediation.⁴⁶

Conclusion

Some works by the Amsterdam artist Willem Schellinks (1627-1678) discussed by Gary Schwartz in his essay below help lead to a conclusion. Paintings by Schellinks incorporate themes from Mogul painting: they thus exemplify the fruitful interaction of Dutch and Asian art in the seventeenth century. Schellinks's attitude is also expressed in a poem he wrote praising the "painting of the Benjans", a common term for Indians. Schwartz quotes an excerpt from this poem, which was published in the 1657 in the collection *Klioos Kraam* (The Muse of History Gives Birth). Schellinks's "On the Painting of the Benjans" offers a remarkable capsule history of painting, as Schwartz also notes. Its conclusion adduces some themes that approximate even more closely some themes of the present book, and thus may be quoted here:

The Mogul boasts of his discovery,
despite Peru, which caused Gualpa's mouth to
spew up silver, to its good fortune
and Spain, for which it serves as a crutch
were the West Indies to offer the Benjan for
their art all the silver that Potosí
still has in store,
he would say, "I'll not trade art for treasure."
that teaches us all in Europe this lesson
art cannot be bought for any amount of money.

These words resonate with several themes. In the ultimate lines Schellinks deploys a poetic topos (commonplace) that stems from some dicta of the Roman Stoic Seneca. An artist strives for several aims, fame, love of art, and gain, but of these love of art is superior to gold.

This idea is also expressed in a motto also familiar in seventeenth-century Dutch art where, encapsulated in the Latin motto *Ars auro prior*, it is found in works by Goltzius and Hoogstraten, among others.

Schellinks also establishes a global context for considerations of Dutch relations with Asian cultures. Silver from the Americas, especially from Potosí in Upper Peru, now Bolivia, over which the Spanish had wrenched control from the Inca Atahualpa, was in fact what was most often employed to purchase goods in the eastern hemisphere, including luxury items such as art, as discussed above. The VOC was thus enmeshed in commercial ventures that ultimately encompassed the globe. Its activities were inextricably connected with those of the West India Company (WIC), and this connection is also manifest in the realms of material and visual culture.

Most dramatically, silver from the Spanish fleet seized by Piet Hein for the WIC in 1628 would have ultimately been used to buy things in Asia. Ivory acquired by the WIC in Africa was carried by VOC ships to India, China, Japan, and elsewhere, where it was utilized by local masters. Conversely, textiles bought by the VOC in India were used to purchase and to clothe some of the slaves from West Africa who were sent to the Americas. Objects from both hemispheres were collected by the Dutch in Nieuw Amsterdam, as is demonstrated by Margarieta van Varick, who had lived in Malacca before she came to Manhattan.⁴⁷ On the other hand, Thomas de Wit came from New York to Cape Town, where he decorated his house with both European objects and Chinese paintings (North). The Dresden-born painter-functionary Zacharias Wagenaer was employed by both the VOC and the WIC: Wagenaer worked in Brazil, Indonesia, and Japan, and was the second head of the Cape Colony; as an artist, he depicted animals, human beings, and events in both hemispheres.

The cultural flows which the VOC helped set in motion were thus global in character. Because these cross-currents originated with contacts Europeans had initiated c. 1500, it seems legitimate to trace the first globalization back to this time. A century later the Dutch had followed the Spanish and the Portuguese, and they were joined by the French, English, Danes, and Swedish, among other Westerners. The period with which this book is concerned ends approximately c. 1800, when both the VOC and the WIC ceased to exist, and East-West relations were transformed into conditions more characteristic of the imperial relationships that pertained for the next century and a half. Like the Dutch presence itself, this book therefore gestures in a direction similar to that followed by some recent endeavors that have traced how the Portuguese (and Spanish) “encompassed the globe,”⁸ and as is now being suggested, how they acted as cultural mediators thereon.

However, as the allusions of Schellinks’s poem suggest, the expected directions of

cultural flows from West to East are not so clear; they may be seen to be reversed, to work in counter currents. In particular an old idea that a translation of the arts paralleled the translation of empires from East to West – from Mesopotamia and Persia to Greece to Rome to the western European nations – is returned by Schellinks’s poem eastwards. Schellinks traces a route that begins similarly to that of the translation of empires, but ends by pointing to the superiority of India. We have followed him in reversing traditional emphases on Europe to investigate what the Asian response to or reception of the European may have been. Arguments that cultural production and consumption culminated in Europe are belied by the realities of the cultural interactions that actually took place between Europe and Asia, not to mention the structures of their commercial relations. The best way of describing the role of the VOC, of the Dutch, seems to be as mediating cultures.

Notes

1. It is not the purpose of this introduction to provide a complete survey of the literature. For an overview see F. S. Gaastra, *The Dutch East India Company* (Zutphen 2003), 179–188.
2. K. Glamann, *Dutch Asiatic Trade, 1620–1740* (Copenhagen and The Hague 1958); E. M. Jacobs, *Koopman in Azië. De handel van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie tijdens de 18de eeuw* (Zutphen 2000). These broad overviews are supplemented by numerous contributions on individual regions, including J. Cornelis van Leur, *Indonesian Trade and Society: Asian Social and Economic History* (The Hague 1955); M. A. Petronella Meilink-Roelofs, *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630* (The Hague 1962); Om Prakash, *The Dutch East India Company and the Economy of Bengal, 1630–1720* (Princeton 1985); S. Arasaratnam, *Dutch Power in Ceylon, 1658–1687* (Amsterdam 1958); L. Blussé, *Tribuut aan China: vier eeuwen Nederlands-Chinese betrekkingen* (Amsterdam 1989).
3. J. R. Bruijn, ed., *Dutch-Asiatic Shipping in the 17th and 18th Centuries* (The Hague 1979).
4. See for example N. Steensgaard, ‘The Dutch East India Company as an Institutional Innovation,’ in M. Aymard, ed., *Dutch Capitalism and World Capitalism* (Cambridge and Paris 1982), 235–257.
5. F. S. Gaastra, *Bewind en beleid bij de VOC. De financiële en commerciële politiek van de bewindhebbers, 1672–1702* (Zutphen 1989).
6. See for example J. G. Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia: European and Eurasian in Dutch Asia* (Madison 1983); R. Raben, *Batavia and*

- Colombo: The Ethnic and Spatial Order of Two Colonial Cities, 1600-1800* (Ph.D. diss., Leiden University 1996); L. Blussé, *Strange Company: Chinese Settlers, Mestizo Women and Dutch in VOC Batavia* (Dordrecht 1986); L. Wagenaar, *Galle. VOC-vestiging in Ceylon. Beschrijving van een koloniale samenleving aan de vooravond van de Singalese opstand tegen het Nederlands gezag, 1760* (Amsterdam 1994).
7. TANAP was established to preserve millions of documents of the VOC that are still kept in the archives of Jakarta, Colombo, Chennai, Cape Town, and The Hague and to inspire young Asian, South African, and European scholars to shed new light on the relationships between the VOC and indigenous societies. See L. Blussé and C. Viallé, eds., *TANAP Monographs on the History of Asian-European Interaction* (Leiden 2006-), including R. S. Viljoen, *Jan Paerl, a Khoikhoi in Cape Colonial Society 1761-1851* (Leiden 2006); O. Atsushi, *Changes of Regime and Social Dynamics in West Java: Society, State and the Outer World of Banten, 1750-1830* (Leiden 2006); Hoang Anh Tuan, *Silk for Silver: Dutch-Vietnamese Relations, 1637-1700* (Leiden 2007); B. Ruangsilp, *Dutch East India Company Merchants at the Court of Ayutthaya: Dutch Perceptions of the Thai Kingdom, c. 1604-1765* (Leiden 2007); C. Hsin-hui, *The Colonial "Civilizing Process" in Dutch Formosa, 1624-1662* (Leiden 2008); N. Ranjith Dewasiri, *The Adaptable Peasant: Agrarian Society in Western Sri Lanka under Dutch Rule, 1740-1800* (Leiden 2008); G. A. Nadri, *Eighteenth-Century Gujarat: The Dynamics of Its Political Economy, 1750-1800* (Leiden 2009); A. Singh, *Fort Cochin in Kerala, 1750-1830: The Social Condition of a Dutch Community in an Indian Milieu* (Leiden 2010).
 8. At the NIAS conference some interlocutors even doubted that the project introduced there was appropriate for scholarship on the VOC, because they claimed that the Dutch East India Company was primarily an economic enterprise, accounts of which would by necessity have to be economic history.
 9. L. Blussé and R. Falkenburg, *Johan Nieuwofs beelden van een Chinareis 1655-1657* (Middelburg 1987); M. L. Barend-van Haften, *Oost-Indië gespiegeld. Nicolaas de Graaff, een schrijvend chirurgijn in dienst van de VOC* (Zutphen 1992); K. Bostoen, R. Daalder, and V. Roeper, *Bontekoe. De schipper, het journaal, de scheepsjongens* (Zutphen and Amsterdam 1996).
 10. J. de Loos-Haaxman, *De landsverzameling schilderijen in Batavia. Landvoogdsportretten en Compagnieschilders* (Leiden 1941); idem, *Verlaat rapport Indië. Drie eeuwen westerse schilders, tekenaars, grafici, zilversmeden en kunstnijveren in Nederlands-Indië* (The Hague 1968). See further *Nederlandse schilders en tekenaars in de Oost*, exhib. cat. (Amsterdam 1972), containing an introduction by J. de Loos-Haaxman and a catalogue by Jeanne Terwen-De Loos.
 11. K. Zandvliet, ed., *De Nederlandse Ontmoeting met Azië 1600-1950* (Amsterdam 2000); A. Jackson and A. Jaffer, eds., *Encounters: The Meeting of Asia and Europe 1500-1800* (London 2004).
 12. *Johannes Rach, 1720-1783: Artist in Indonesia and Asia*, exhib. cat. (Jakarta 2001); M. de Bruijn and R. Raben, eds., *The World of Jan Brandes, 1743-1808: Drawings of a Dutch Traveller in Batavia, Ceylon and Southern Africa* (Zwolle 2004). Rach had however also been treated in an earlier study by J. de Loos Haaxman, *Johannes Rach en zijn werk* (Batavia 1928). Other figures who were VOC employees and yet were artists such as Zacharias Wagenaer have also been studied: see S. Pfaff, *Zacharias Wagener* (Hassfurt 2001; Ph.D. diss., Bamberg, 1997).
 13. N. Worden, ed., *Contingent Lives: Social Identity and Material Culture in the VOC World* (Rondebosch 2007).
 14. See for example most notably J. Berger Hochstrasser, *Still Life and Trade in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven and London 2007); T. Brook, *Vermeer's Hat: The Seventeenth Century and the Dawn of the Global World* (New York and London 2008). Although not specifically focusing on the VOC, C. L. Temminck Groll, *The Dutch Overseas: Architectural Survey* (Zwolle 2002) is also noteworthy.
 15. Exceptions to this tendency, including the important Oxford dissertation by Amy Landau, are referred to in the notes to the various essays within.

16. A first result was a volume on broader aspects on cultural and artistic exchanges: M. North, ed., *Artistic and Cultural Exchanges between Europe and Asia, 1400-1900: Rethinking Markets, Workshops and Collections* (Farnham and Surrey 2010).
17. Gaastra, *The Dutch East India Company*, 17-23.
18. Glamann, *Dutch-Asiatic Trade*, 12-21, esp. 14 (Table 2).
19. I. Schöffner and F. S. Gaastra, 'The Import of Bullion and Coin into Asia by the Dutch East India Company in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,' in M. Aymard, ed., *Dutch Capitalism and World Capitalism* (Cambridge and Paris 1982), 216-233.
20. Gaastra, *The Dutch East India Company*, 127-138.
21. *Ibid.*, 23-26.
22. See M. J. Bok, 'European Artists in the Service of the Dutch East India Company' in this volume.
23. See G. Schwartz, 'Terms of Reception: Europeans and Persians and Each Other's Art' and A. S. Landau, 'Reconfiguring the Northern European Print to Depict Sacred History at the Persian Court' in this volume.
24. See P. J. M. Nas, 'Indische Architecture in Indonesia' in this volume.
25. For example the 1706 inventory of William Henry, Count of Nassau, and his wife, the Countess of Rochford, contained "20 Chineze schilderijen," "8 Chineze schilderijtjes," "11 Chineze stucken," and 7 Chineze stuckjes." Het Utrechts Archief: Archief Taets van Amerongen van Natewisch, nr. 45. According to the Getty Provenance Index Database there are only two earlier mentions of Chinese *schilderijtjes* (not *schilderijen*!): 2 *schilderijtjes* in the inventory of Christina Heere (1682) and 20 *schilderijtjes* in the inventory of Cornelis van Herff (1690).
26. See M. North, 'Art and Material Culture in the Cape Colony and Batavia in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries' in this volume.
27. L. Wagenaar, 'The Cultural Dimension of the Dutch East India Company Settlements in Dutch-Period Ceylon, 1700-1800 – With Special Reference to Galle' in this volume.
28. M. Krieger, 'Material Culture, Knowledge and European Society in Colonial India around 1800: Danish Tranquebar,' in M. North, ed., *Artistic and Cultural Exchanges between Europe and Asia, 1400-1900: Rethinking Markets, Workshops and Collections* (Farnham and Surrey 2010), 57-61.
29. M. North, *Material Delight and the Joy of Living: Cultural Consumption in the Age of Enlightenment in Germany* (Aldershot 2008).
30. J. Veenendaal, 'Furniture in Batavia,' in M. van de Geijn-Verhoeven and T. M. Eliëns, eds., *Domestic Interiors at the Cape and in Batavia 1602-1795*, exhib. cat. (Zwolle 2002), 38f.
31. See M. Krieger, 'Dutch Cemeteries in South India' in this volume.
32. Veenendaal, 'Furniture in Batavia,' 30-34.
33. Schwartz, 'Terms of Reception' in this volume.
34. Landau, 'Reconfiguring the Northern European Print' in this volume.
35. L. Y. Leach, *Mughal and Other Indian Paintings from the Chester Beatty Library*, 2 vols. (London 1995), vol. 1, 135-140.
36. Y. Rice, 'The Brush and the Burin: Mogul Encounters with European Engravings,' in J. Anderson, ed., *Crossing Cultures: Conflict, Migration and Convergence. The Proceedings of the 32nd International Congress of the History of Art* (Melbourne 2009), 305-310. For a general overview of cultural exchanges between the Jesuits and Mogul emperors see G. A. Bailey, *The Jesuits and the Grand Mogul: Renaissance Art at the Imperial Court of India, 1580-1630* (Washington, D.C. 1998). The theme of the Western impact on Mogul art is a thread running through many of the writings of Ebba Koch, the pioneer in this field of research, most easily found in *Mughal Art and Imperial Ideology: Collected Essays* (New Delhi 2001).
37. A. Topsfield, *Paintings from Rajasthan in the National Gallery of Victoria: A Collection Acquired through the Felton Bequest's Committee* (Melbourne 1980), Plate 70, 68f.
38. R. Chakravarti, 'Coasts and Interiors of India: Early Modern Indo-Dutch Cross-Cultural Exchanges' in this volume.
39. See C. Viallé, "'To Capture Their Favor': On Gift-Giving by the VOC' in this volume.

40. See Y. Kobayashi-Sato, 'Japan's Encounters with the West through the VOC: Western Paintings and Their Appropriation in Japan' in this volume.
41. See M. Forrer, 'From Optical Prints to *Ukie* to *Ukiyoe*: The Adoption and Adaptation of Western Linear Perspective in Japan' in this volume.
42. See Th. DaCosta Kaufmann, 'Scratching the Surface: The Impact of the Dutch on Artistic and Material Culture in Taiwan and China' in this volume.
43. P. Burke, 'Translating Knowledge, Translating Culture,' in M. North, ed., *Kultureller Austausch in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna 2009), 69-77; P. Burke, *Kultureller Austausch* (Frankfurt am Main 2000).
44. Th. DaCosta Kaufmann and M. North, 'Introduction – Artistic and Cultural Exchanges between Europe and Asia, 1400-1900: Rethinking, Markets, Workshops and Collections,' in M. North, ed., *Artistic and Cultural Exchanges between Europe and Asia, 1400-1900: Rethinking, Markets, Workshops and Collections* (Farnham and Surrey 2010), 1-8.
45. See A. Erll, 'Circulation Art and Material Culture: A Model of Transcultural Mediation' in this volume.
46. This is the conception of a research project being organized by the University of Coimbra on the Portuguese as cultural mediators in the world.
47. See D. L. Krohn and P. N. Miller, eds., *Dutch New York between East and West: The World of Margrieta van Varick*, exhib. cat., Bard Museum, New York (New York, New Haven, and London 2009).
48. J. Levenson et al., eds., *Encompassing the Globe, Portugal and the World in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, exhib. cat. and essay volumes (Washington, D.C. 2007-2008), 3 vols., The exhibition also traveled to Portugal; a comparable exhibition was organized in Berlin: M. Kraus and H. Ottomeyer, eds., *Novos mundos – Welten. Portugal und das Zeitalter der Entdeckungen*, exhib. cat. (Dresden 2007). For the Spanish world, see J. Gutierrez Haces, ed., *Pintura de Los Reinos* (Mexico City 2008), the essay volume accompanying an exhibition held in Madrid and Mexico City in 2010 and 2011. See more broadly still P. Noever, ed., *Global Lab: Kunst als Botschaft Asien und Europa/Art as a Message Asia and Europe 1500-1700*, exhib. cat. (Vienna 2009); and J. Van Alphen, ed., *A Passage to Asia: 25 Centuries of Exchange between Asia and Europe*, exhib. cat. (Brussels 2010).

1 Terms of Reception

Europeans and Persians and Each Other's Art

Gary Schwartz

"Of the 14 stations outside Batavia, Persia [...] stood at the top, surpassing even Japan."¹ The quotation is from the writings of Hendrik Dunlop, one of the pioneer researchers of the Dutch East India Company in Persia. "These pleasing dividends," his younger colleague D. W. Davies wrote, "caused Jan Pietersz. Coen to exclaim in November 1627, 'God grant the Company a long and peaceful trade in Persia [...].' And he was, in fact, graciously pleased to grant a continued high return. For more than a century, the Persian establishments were the most important Company posts on the mainland of Asia." Persia was an insatiable import market for whatever the Company had to offer: spices and condiments, foodstuffs, dyes, drugs, metals, steel products, wood, cloth, tobacco, porcelain, Japanese lacquer, and above all silver. Export was limited largely to silk, with smaller quantities of "foa, a dye stuff, and rose-water."²

Notice that the list does not include works of art. This is not an oversight. Dutch-Persian relations lacked many of the features that made for meaningful artistic exchange in Asia. The Dutch were not in charge of territories in Persia, as they were in the Indonesian archipelago, Sri Lanka, and to a degree the Indian subcontinent. There were no Dutch communities where an artist could set up shop and work for local Dutch patrons, as on the Cape and in Batavia. The Safavid court was receptive to Western art, but it did not espouse it the way the Japanese court did, as a source of knowledge, or the Mogul court, out of curiosity, for status and iconographical support of imperial pretensions.

The lack of positive stimuli was compounded by the existence of one major negative one. In contrast to the above countries, in Persia the state religion was Islam, in the form known as Twelver Shi'ism. While this did not deter the Safavids in the seventeenth century from supporting a lively and eclectic production of figurative art, it did spook the governors and high officials of the Dutch East India Company (VOC), who showed themselves excessively apprehensive about bringing paintings with human figures to that land. The potential damage this could do, one reads between the lines of their missives, was not worth the risk. Why trade for peanuts in a potentially explosive commodity that could endanger the market in silver, spices and silk? We will return to this matter below.

Purchase of Persian art was an even lower priority. If Persian artists showed a degree of interest in Western art and if the Safavid court patronized Dutch artists, European artists and patrons did not reciprocate. The voluminous VOC archives make no known mention of the purchase of even a single work of art in Persia. No sale within seventeenth-century Europe of a contemporaneous work of art from Persia has ever been published, to my knowledge.

The subject we are discussing, it is therefore well to realize, was not of major concern in its time. Our own reasons for delving into the role of art in Netherlandish-Persian relations in the Safavid period are anachronistic; they reflect the highly elevated role assigned to the fine arts in present-day society, especially within the humanities. Even within historical studies

today, this subject receives little attention. In the recent volume *Iran and the Surrounding World: Interactions in Culture and Cultural Politics* (2002), there is no mention of Dutch art or artists in Safavid Persia.³

This situation has its advantages. The subject brings us close to what Roland Barthes might have termed the “zero degree” of art history. The phenomena we will be studying stand out all the more starkly for their location in a void. They help to highlight certain features of more highly developed artistic exchange that are otherwise taken for granted. To gain the most from the sparse evidence available, the material will be analyzed to identify certain implicit features that carry meaning despite their scantiness. These are the terms, sometimes quantitative, sometimes qualitative, of the mutual artistic relations of Persia and the Netherlands, such as they were. What are here called “terms of reception” are not just found in words. Dutch texts on Persian art are virtually non-existent, and Persian ones on Dutch art completely so. Reception is a broader concept than that, however, and other aspects are taken into account as well: the physical treatment of works of art; gestures and other forms of behavior; official documentation; travelers’ reports; the evidence of works of art; and images of persons.

The conclusions of this study with regard to these issues are summarized in Table 1.

Only in two categories, both on the Persian side, do we detect outspoken reception of the

art of one of the cultures by the other. That is, the honors accorded by the Persian court to Dutch artists and the reflections in Persian art of respectful awareness of European art. Notice the reference to “European art,” a broader category than Netherlandish art. There are certainly instances of Persian artists directly copying Dutch and Flemish models. However, these are mixed in with examples of the copying or appropriation of models from Italy, England, and elsewhere. There is no reason to believe that Persian artists or patrons saw or were interested in possible differences between the art of the Netherlands and other European schools. All Europeans were called by the same name – *farangi*, Franks.⁴ In Persian art discourse, Netherlandish art had an undifferentiated place in the Frankish School that was sometimes but not always included in the listing of the seven modes of painting, exemplified by seven peoples.⁵ When a direct comparison is made, it came out in favor of the Persian school, as in these lines from a poem of 1559 by the Shiraz poet ‘Abdi Beg:

Painting has seven principles / it is like the sky,
which has seven spheres, The Islamic bright-
ness of the Muslims / has made manifest the
faults of the Franks.⁶

Table 1: Forms of recognition between the Netherlands and Persia with regard to each other’s art. The pluses indicate appreciative reception, the minuses active or implicit derogation.

	Physical survival	Gestures, reports of respect	Official archives	Travelers’ reports	Reflections in art	Images of persons
Persia	--	++	Lost	--	++	+
Netherlands	--	--	Plentiful, silent on Persian art	Late, derogatory	--	+

Physical Survival

In 1996, in an article on the mortality of art, the present author emphasized an important fact that is widely ignored and sometimes denied by art historians – namely, that the survival of a work of art through time is not the rule but the exception.

We deceive ourselves in claiming that art is an undying repository of memory, that it comes to us intact from the past and that it is in our power to preserve it for posterity. Every generation sees the decay or destruction of far more art than it conserves.... Sooner or later objects fall under the care of an alien culture which has no interest in preserving them. The conservation of art demands money, space, expert knowledge and lots of love. What culture will lavish these things on the art of an enemy or alien group? If it is not done, then at a given moment art objects begin to obey not cultural but physical laws of survival.⁷

In Persia, following the Safavid period, that effect was aggravated by two campaigns of deliberate destruction of earlier art, cultural heritage, and archives. In October 1722, Afghan forces took Isfahan after a siege of seven months and twenty-three days. In the course of a seven-year-long occupation, the Afghans not only ravaged the city and massacred its inhabitants. They also destroyed its paper memory. Sussan Babaie wrote:

The massive destruction and pillaging of the palaces entailed enormous losses, especially of imperial records. All evidence of the empire's administration – its inventories and bookkeeping implements, its documents and decrees – were thrown into the river, according to a later source. The fact that Isfahan was so brutally plundered has contributed to the

dearth of documentation that stands in such sharp contrast to that of the Ottomans.⁸

To which Willem Floor adds the following more specific observation: “in October 1732 when Tahmasp Qoli Khan, the later Nadir Shah left Isfahan, ‘He paid his soldiers munificently, removed all books from the royal library and distributed the books and pictures among the troops.’”⁹

Any Persian records concerning the work of European artists or details of Safavid ownership of works of art from the Netherlands were irretrievably lost in this siege.

A following attack on the Safavid past was undertaken 150 years later not by a foreign invader but by the Persian dynastic successors to the Safavids, the late Qajar monarchs. Shah Nasir al-Din (1831-1896; r. 1848-1896) and his children, following the lead of Iranian nationalist intellectuals, chose to regard themselves as the embodiment not of the medieval or early modern past, but of the ancient Achaemenids, specifically Cyrus the Great. After allowing most of Safavid Isfahan to decay and deteriorate through malign neglect, a more active policy was pursued between 1880 and 1910.

Whether the driving force behind the destruction of the Safavid palaces was Nasir al-Din Shah or his son Zill al-Sultan, a fact is that in total 74 Safavid palaces and their gardens were destroyed during the latter's governorship of Isfahan. [...] The decision maker as to the demolition of the Talar-i Tavila [the hall of stables, a key reception locale for the Safavids] was Zill al-Sultan's older sister, Iftikhar al-Dawla, in 1900. She was also the moving force behind the demolition of some other Safavid palaces such as the Jahannama, the Bihisht-i A'in, the Bagh-i Khargah, and the 'Imarat-i Afschar.¹⁰



Fig. 1.1: The Banquet Hall of the Talar-i Tavila in the Royal Precincts of Isfahan. From Adam Olearius, *Beschreibung der muscowitischen und persischen Reise*, Schleswig 1647.

With these palaces were lost their wall decorations and other relics of artistic creations by artists from all the nationalities represented in cosmopolitan Isfahan, including Dutchmen (fig. 1.1). We can, therefore, draw no conclusions concerning what there once was from what has survived. All we can say is that the laws governing the mortality of art applied with particular force to the VOC period in Persia.

The Netherlands underwent no such calamities. Nonetheless, not a single Persian item with a provenance from the period of VOC presence in Persia is presently known to be preserved in a Dutch museum. The only items of cultural heritage from Persia that I know of in Dutch collections are in Leiden University Library: several hundred manuscripts bought in Turkey

and Syria by Jacobus Golius in the 1620s and 200 manuscripts bequeathed to the library in 1665 by Levinus Warner, the Dutch ambassador to the Ottoman Empire in Istanbul.¹¹ The motive behind these acquisitions was antiquarian, philological, and theological, not interest in contemporaneous or even medieval Persian art. This bias is underlined by the eloquent fact that none of the illustrated travelers' reports on Persia from the VOC period contains a single image of a Persian work of art later than Sassanid times (224-651 A.D.). This seems to be as true of other European countries as of the Netherlands. The only instance known to me of printed illustrations of Persian art are costume plates in Jan de Laet's Latin book on Persia (1633) in the Elsevier series of pocket monographs on the countries



Fig. 1.2: Costume Prints from Jan de Laet, *Persia seu Regni Persici Status*, Leiden 1633.

of the world (fig. 1.2). De Laet says he acquired the miniatures on which these illustrations are based “from his friend Nicolas Hemmius, a merchant who had made the journey into Persia from Ormuz in 1623.”¹² The original drawings, simple depictions of individual figures in typical dress, have never surfaced.

This view of the reception of Persian art in the Netherlands may be excessively bleak. The survey of records concerning Indian miniatures in the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century published in 1996 by Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer presents a more positive picture. Among the items she assembled are several references, from 1663 on, to Persian miniatures that cannot be identified today but were documented

at the time. They were to be found in the collections of the Amsterdam alderman Roeter Ernst (1663), Johan Jacobsz. Swammerdam (1685) and Constant Sennepart (1704). These items were among a far larger selection of miniatures from India and China. Among them was a group of Mogul miniatures owned and admired by the same Cornelis de Bruyn who, as we shall see, wrote quite disparagingly about Persian art.¹³

Gestures, Reports of Respect

One body of evidence above all others illuminates the matter at hand. That is, the respect bestowed on Dutch artists by three succeeding shahs:

‘Abbas I (1571-1629; r. 1587-1629)

Safi (1611-1642; r. 1629-1642)

‘Abbas II (1632/33-1666; r. 1642-1666).

During each decade of the half-century between 1605 and 1656, in the heyday of the Safavid dynasty and of the Dutch penetration of Asia, one Dutch artist or another is recorded as being a painter to the shah.¹⁴ A certain number were given official, well-paid appointments by the shah as well as prominent commissions. Nearly all of them went east as VOC merchants; the Company released them grudgingly, for limited periods of time, to the court. Only in one case is the VOC known to have taken the initiative in sending a Dutch artist to Isfahan to work there as an artist: Barend van Sichem, who seems to have died en route in 1639.¹⁵ Although the VOC was always on the lookout for export goods in whatever territory it operated, it never commissioned or purchased work from Persian artists. The documentation regarding Dutch artists in Isfahan, reviewed below, is the most substantial evidence that we have concerning Dutch-Persian artistic relations.

When Huybert Visnich, the first representative of the Dutch East India Company in Persia, arrived at the court of Shah ‘Abbas I in Isfahan in 1623 he resumed his acquaintance with a remarkable fellow countryman with great prestige at court, prestige that he owed to his mastery of the art of painting. Jan Lucasz. van Hasselt (b. before 1600, d. after 1653) had come to Isfahan in the cortege of a famous Italian traveler, the Roman nobleman Pietro della Valle (1586-1652), with whom he had “traveled,” by his own later statement, “over a period of many years in Italy, Constantinople, Egypt, Jerusalem, Aleppo [where Visnich first met him], Babylon and other places as well.”¹⁶ The painter “made portraits in Constantinople and Cairo, and sketches of antiquities; in Isfahan he

drew the elephants in the Shah’s menagerie and made a portrait of della Valle’s Assyrian bride.”¹⁷

“Jan van Hasselt probably arrived in Isfahan in 1617 and was soon taken into the service of the Shah, who gave him the title of *ustad naqqash* [master painter],” writes Willem Floor, who cites this corroboratory reference: “In 1621 the Carmelites report that a Flemish painter was present at an audience given to them by Shah ‘Abbas I.” According to della Valle, the shah paid him a princely annual salary of 1,000 zecchini, a Venetian gold coin. There is only one reference in the surviving documents to a specific work by van Hasselt. The English traveler Sir Thomas Herbert (1606-1682), who visited Persia in 1628, wrote of the richest room in the Shah’s palace at Ashraf on the Caspian Sea:

The Chamber was Gallery wise, the seeling garnisht with Poetique fancies, gold, and choisest colours, all which seem’d to strive whether Art or Nature should be to a judicious eye more valuable: one *Iohn* a Dutch-man, who had long served the King celebrated his skill, to the astonishment of the Persians and his owne advantage.¹⁸

To the Company, the fact that this valuable contact person at the Safavid court was a painter was more of a potential embarrassment than anything else. In the numerous references to van Hasselt in the VOC papers he is often called “painter to the king,” but there is only one reference to his art, in a revealing passage from a missive of December 1624 to Visnich from the directors in Amsterdam:

Several paintings are [among the goods] going to Surat [i.e. Company headquarters in India, to which the Persian office reported], but we do not think it a good idea to send any of them to Persia, because there are human figures in all of them. We have moreover been advised

in a private writing of 18 January 1624 that you have been helped greatly in attaining your audience and access and opening of trade from His Majesty by a master painter who stands in high favor with the king. For this reason, the aforementioned painter should not be offended on any occasion in any way. If he is a better master than those who made the paintings that are being sent to Surat, then they will not be valued highly in Persia; if they are better, then we will have damaged his reputation with His Majesty by comparison with better work [than his].¹⁹

The importance of Jan van Hasselt for the establishment of VOC operations in Persia cannot be overstated. By his report, Visnich and his party showed up in Isfahan without letters of recommendation.

Upon hearing that they carried no papers from their lords and masters, His Majesty was surprised and ordered me to gather complete information. On my account, His Majesty was prepared to treat our friends graciously,... upon which I asked His Majesty to extend to them the same honor and respect he bestowed upon the Portuguese, English and Italians and that his Majesty provide them with appropriate lodgings, for which I invested all my good will with the king and his minions, so that those of all the other nations were jealous and sought ways to prevent it. His Majesty acceded to all that I requested and designated a handsome palace to lodge our newly arrived friends and to allow them complete freedom, at no cost; they reside there to this day [seven years later].²⁰

Visnich paid van Hasselt a fee of 100 guilders for his initial mediation and worked closely with him for years to come. Van Hasselt's prestige with the Dutch was enhanced considerably in

1625 when the shah included him in an embassy to the Republic led by the court factor Musa Beg. Della Valle tells us that Shah 'Abbas attached van Hasselt to the mission in order to rustle up more Dutch painters for the Persian court.²¹ This would not be the first time he did so. In 1605, the Haarlem painter Cornelis Claesz. Heda was taken on as painter to Shah 'Abbas by a Persian delegation to the court of Emperor Rudolf II in Prague. (Heda never made it to Persia. His ship was captured by the Portuguese and he was sent to Goa. He ended up working for the Bijapur court and the VOC in India.²²) Van Hasselt, who in his own statements never refers to his art, tells it differently: his commission was to aid in expanding trade between Persia and the Republic. Van Hasselt seems to have regarded his status as master painter to the king of Persia as a springboard to a higher station in life and to greater wealth.

Visnich wrote a warm letter of recommendation for the painter.

[Musa Beg] has in his company a Dutchman who has served the king as painter for several years, a young man of good name and repute, very favored by His Majesty, named Jan Luyckassen Hasselt. Since I met him previously in Aleppo, I have been eager to employ him in your service [...].²³

In the Netherlands, Musa Beg made a perfect nuisance of himself. He pestered the States-General and the VOC for services, favors, and payments while chasing after women and drinking too much. The unannounced mission itself was not *comme il faut* in diplomatic terms, and Musa Beg's behavior made things worse. In 1626 van Hasselt returned to Persia before Musa Beg and the rest of the delegation in order to tell the shah what was going on. His report was credited and Musa Beg fell into disgrace.²⁴

For decades the shah had been attempting to invigorate what he rightly perceived as the underdeveloped trade potential of Persia. He already sold silk to several European partners, who transported it mainly overland to Aleppo, on a caravan route that was not only insecure but also crossed the Ottoman Empire, with which Persia was often at war. With the arrival of the Dutch and their seaborne empire, brilliant new opportunities presented themselves. Soon the Company had inland way stations in Shiraz and Lar, supporting the 900-kilometer land route between Isfahan and the port factory at Gamron, renamed Bandar 'Abbas (Port 'Abbas) in honor of the shah after the English East India Company and he drove out the Portuguese in 1615. From there the armed merchant fleet of the VOC had access to all the harbors of the world sea.

The benefits to the VOC of trade with Persia were phenomenal. Within months, a million-guilder cash stream came into being with no one guarding the banks. Anyone on the shore could dip into it, and all who could did. On paper, respectable bodies such as the Persian kingdom, the Dutch Republic, and the United East India Company were involved in legitimate transactions with each other. On the ground, the individuals working for these bodies were enriching themselves prodigiously at the expense of their masters.

Within seven years after Visnich's arrival in Persia, van Hasselt and he built up one of the most profitable businesses in the world and then, in Shakespearean style, they destroyed their own careers. The chief culprit was van Hasselt. The head of the VOC factory in Surat, Pieter van den Broecke, when he saw what riches Visnich was mining, enlisted the aid of van Hasselt to undermine the position of his colleague, hoping to take his place. "Van den Broecke provided van Hasselt, who emerged as Visnich's greatest nemesis, with money and

a letter of recommendation to the Directors, which van Hasselt seemed to have used to malign Visnich."²⁵ Visnich had indeed engaged in illegal practices, but even worse he had neglected to cover his tracks. By 1630 van Hasselt and other conspirators had made Visnich's position so impossible that the founder of the VOC stations in Persia abandoned his post and fled, ending up in Ottoman Iraq, where he was arrested and executed as a spy.²⁶ He signed his last letter, of Christmas Eve 1630, "in Joseph's pit," that is, betrayed by his brothers, "who need a St. Stephen to pray for them: Lord, forgive them, for they know not what they do."²⁷

He was perfectly right. Van Hasselt in fact did not know what he was doing and was busy bringing about his own ruin. In the spring of 1630 he had sailed to Holland with a return fleet commanded by van den Broecke. He carried with him a letter to the States-General from Shah 'Abbas, who however had died in January 1629. Presenting his credentials in The Hague, van Hasselt claimed that they were respected by the new shah, Safi, as well. He presented his mission "not as a simple legation but as a veritable embassy, and van Hasselt himself as the resident representing the shah in the Netherlands."²⁸ He entered into negotiations with the States-General concerning new rights for traders of "the Persian nation," a designation that covered himself as well as native Persians. On 7 February 1631 the States-General actually passed a resolution providing these rights. That resolution, in the view of a leading historian of Asian-European relations, Rudi Matthee, was unique in the history of the Dutch Republic.

In 1631 van Hasselt in fact managed to conclude a treaty with the States General on behalf of the shah, according to which Iranian merchants in Holland received the same rights as Dutch merchants in Iran [...]. This remarkable document [was] the only treaty ever

concluded between the Dutch Republic and an Asian power to include bilateral rights [...].²⁹

The treaty was however never put into effect. It cut into the turf of the VOC, which refused to credit the new arrangements and which from the head office in Amsterdam followed van Hasselt's doings with antagonistic suspicion. And then came the crunch. In October 1631 new letters arrived from Shah Safi, addressed to the *stadholder* and the States-General and making no mention whatsoever of van Hasselt. All credit lost, the painter who probably played the most important diplomatic and commercial role of any Dutch artist of the seventeenth century, a role in which he has been compared to Peter Paul Rubens, met his Waterloo.

After the departure and disgrace of Jan Lucasz. van Hasselt, the Safavid court took on three other Dutch artists as painter to the shah. But they, like van Hasselt, came to an unfortunate end in typical VOC circumstances: one through disease, one through dissipation, and one through corruption.

Shah Safi died in 1642 and was succeeded by his nine-year-old son 'Abbas II. His court was initially run by Grand Vizier Saru Taqi, who in 1643 hired the VOC junior merchant and painter Hendrick Boudewijn van Lockhorst for royal service at an annual salary of 4,000 guilders. This was about ten times the amount that a painter of reasonable talent would earn at home; in Isfahan it seems to have been the going rate, equivalent to the 1,000 zecchini earned by van Hasselt. (In 1618 the zecchino traded at 12.8 ducats of three guilders apiece, making van Hasselt's retainer 3,840 guilders.³⁰) The VOC allowed van Lockhorst to commit to court service for three years, beginning in 1644, after which he was to return to the service of the Company. The head of operations in Persia, Carel Constant, wrote to the Governor-General in Batavia that the shah was

quite pleased with van Lockhorst's portraits. By 1647, however, when the contract expired, a new team had taken charge that was more struck by van Lockhorst's misbehavior than by his portraits. No sooner had he reentered Company employ than he was arrested. On 4 May 1647 the new men wrote to the directors that they had relieved van Lockhorst of his functions "because he could not govern himself and during his stay here led such an excessively luxurious and licentious life that he caused considerable damage to the East India Company."³¹ Van Lockhorst attempted to escape with his Armenian concubine, but was apprehended and sent back to Batavia. (That he had an Armenian concubine was not in itself misbehavior. Christians were not allowed to have sexual relations with Muslim women in Persia, and the VOC tried to keep its servants from marrying; concubinage with Christian women was therefore the relation of first resort.³²)

Van Lockhorst was the fourth Dutch painter in Persia, after van Hasselt, van Sichem, and a certain Joost Lampen, who is mentioned once in this function in 1630, and the third to come to an inglorious end. There was a fifth artist whose story was even worse. Juriaen Ambdis was a ship's gunner and painter. He entered the shah's employ in the former capacity in 1648 as did several of his comrades, in order to fight for Persia against the Great Mogul. After the successful battle of Kandahar, 'Abbas discharged them all from service. While the others resumed their duty for the VOC, Ambdis decided to stay. No doubt inspired by reports of van Lockhorst's fabulous earnings, he told one of his fellow gunners that he was staying behind – that is, as the VOC saw it, deserting – to earn money "with painting and drawing." Failing in that attempt, Ambdis fell almost at once into beggary.

On March 29, 1649 it was reported that Ambdis had been seen walking alone behind a caravan in Iraq by an Iranian merchant, who had given him three loaves of bread. On May 22, 1650 the Isfahan office of the Dutch Company reported that according to information received from an Armenian merchant from Baghdad Ambdis had become a Muslim in that city, "which if it is true, will revolt the feelings of all pious Christians," the director commented. This is the last time we learn anything about Ambdis.³³

The sixth Dutch painter known to have been in Persia was Philips Angel (1618-after 1664).³⁴ His only known works before then were two etchings in Rembrandt's style, one of which is signed and dated 1637. Despite his low profile as an artist – none of the standard books on Dutch artists mention him until the late nineteenth century – Angel was a respected figure in the Leiden art world. Not only did he deliver and publish the St. Luke's Day lecture of 1641; in the mid-1640s he also served as undersecretary and then secretary of the guild of St. Luke.

In 1645 Angel enlisted in the VOC and sailed with his wife for Batavia. Like many artists who took that step, he was driven to it by financial need. In 1646 he was a junior merchant and member of the justice council of Batavia. In 1647, on account of his good work and good character, he was recommended for transfer to Persia as the third man on the Company team. For unknown reasons the assignment did not go through, but in 1651 he was dispatched to Isfahan. According to orders, he was to run the station as second man in Persia, under the head of the Gamron office. However, things did not turn out that way. By way of bad luck, he was in the company of his superiors when his baggage arrived on the backs of 20 or 22 donkeys carrying not only his personal possessions but also 58 pieces of tin weighing 2,697 pounds and eight sacks of medicinal roots weighing 960

pounds. In order to cover up the evidence for this unlicensed private trade and to make some extra money, he had charged the bill for the donkeys to the Company as moving expenses, at an exorbitant rate.³⁵ The VOC was used to overlooking considerable infractions of the rules – in fact, everyone in the Company was criminalized – but this was just too much. Angel was ordered back to Batavia to stand trial.

At this point Angel's status as an artist paid off. During his journey back to the coast, in shame and sick to boot, a missive from Shah 'Abbas II reached the VOC party. The shah said that he did not learn that Angel was a painter until after he had left Isfahan and that he wished to employ him in that capacity. Whatever the truth of the matter, the Company made Angel an offer: either continue on to Batavia to face criminal charges or return to Isfahan as a painter to the shah of Persia. Traveling under arrest with his manservant and his pregnant (by whom we know not) black female servant, in miserable health, Philips Angel faced the choice between a kangaroo court in Batavia or a stint as an artist in Isfahan, a position that had ended badly for all his predecessors. Although Isfahan was considered an unhealthier place than Gamron or Batavia, Angel took the latter option. Returning to the extraordinary Persian capital, he invested more than 2,000 guilders in a studio and in 1653 went to work. With the court Angel seems to have got on brilliantly. In addition to a salary of 4,000 guilders a year, he was paid 6,000 guilders for five paintings of unspecified subjects and presented with a robe of honor. (The VOC preferred to regard this payment not as the purchase price of the paintings but as remuneration for Angel's expenses, to be credited to the Company.)

History began to repeat itself. Angel was distrusted by the Company; as early as 1654 the new Governor-General, Joan Maetsuyker, ordered the head of the Persian region, Dirck

Sarcerius, to remove Angel from Isfahan and send him back to Batavia. (This was matched by another Company action at the same time against a painter who had risen in the ranks. In 1654 the directors objected to the advancement in India of Isaack Koedijck, who was doing very well as a merchant, merely on the grounds that he was trained not in commerce but in art.³⁶) Because Angel was engaged in large-scale commissions for the shah as well as the chief of the royal slaves, Sarcerius declined to execute the command. Reconstructing these events, Willem Floor remarked rightly:

Sarcerius and the Governor-General clearly did not realize the advantage they had over other competitors in having a painter in their service, who had the Shah's favour. Any praise of Angel was toned down by Sarcerius although the Shah had written that he was very pleased with him. This impression is confirmed by the Chronicle of the Carmelites where it is stated that: "Nothing could be more useful to the Mission than if we had here a good painter, the Shah taking great pleasure in painting; and in these countries good artists are rare. There is a Dutchman who works for the Company, who has done very little, and yet has received very good rewards, and the Shah has conferred great favours on him."³⁷

Angel was able to use his influence at court for the benefit of the Company, but was unable to muster support for himself. He tried to rally resistance to Maetsuyker's order, but to no avail. On 10 July 1655 Angel left Isfahan for Gamron, where he arrived on 31 August. There he was treated contemptuously by certain Company officials, who spread the unlikely story that "some courtiers [of the shah] plainly told them that the Shah had honoured Angel enormously by giving him twice Dfl. 10,000 not because of the paintings which he presented to him, which

amounted only to one item called the 'Sacrifice by Abraham' in all these two years, but out of respect for the Company."³⁸

Whatever arrangements had been made between the shah, Angel, and the VOC regarding payment for his services, these were not sufficiently clear to avoid disagreement. Upon his return, Angel laid a claim before the Company for monies he felt were coming to him. In January 1656 the claim was refused, and the Company instituted charges against him for illegal private trade.

At the end of July 1656 the widowed artist married a woman from a distinguished family. Maria van der Stel was the daughter of a murdered VOC official and the younger sister of Simon van der Stel, later the founder of Stellenbosch and governor of the Cape. It might have been thanks to this newly acquired attachment to a prominent family that Angel was able to walk away from his contentious VOC job and take up various positions in the civil government of Batavia, including secretary of the aldermen's chamber. The supposition that he was protected by his marriage finds support in the fact that his relations with the township of Batavia turned sour shortly after the death of Maria on 6 July 1661. On 21 October, in the wake of earlier accusations of financial impropriety, Angel was arrested for misappropriating 6,000 or 7,000 rijksdaalders. Four days later his goods were sold at auction for 4,242 rijksdaalders, at which point the VOC laid a new claim against him for 3,300 guilders for "the expensive studio that he built on his own responsibility in Isfahan in violation of the orders of the director in Persia." In December the Reformed church of Batavia ejected Angel from Holy Communion, readmitting him conditionally.³⁹ In 1664 an inventory of Angel's possessions was drawn up in Batavia. He was "lodging" – an apparent euphemism for cohabiting – with the widow Dieuwertje van Thijs. The meager inventory

included nine “paintings of various portraits” of Angel, his deceased wife, his grandfather, and his children. That is the last record of the man who trod in the footsteps of Jan Lucasz. van Hasselt and Hendrick Boudewijn van Lockhorst. Three painters who were richly paid retainers of the shah of Persia overplayed their hands in their relations with the VOC and were brought down low by Jan Compagnie.

Philips Angel suffered the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune not only in his lifetime. After his death he was also mistreated, by fellow artists, writers, publishers, and art historians. Precious drawings that he made in Persia and Batavia were published under the names of other draftsmen, painters, scholars, and engravers. For a long time his identity was confused with that of a namesake from Middelburg. It was not until 1949, when Laurens J. Bol studied these issues, that the identity of Philips Angel was cleared up.⁴⁰ This is particularly unfortunate because Angel produced some of the most important antiquarian documents of the time. On his way to Isfahan in 1652 with the party of the newly appointed ambassador to Persia, Joan Cunaeus, Angel stopped off in Persepolis. There, on 10 February 1652, he created one of the first drawings of the ancient site to come down to us. That is, it has come down in the form of a print after Angel’s drawing, which itself is lost. It is reproduced in François Valentijn’s *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indiën, vervattende een naaukeurige en uitvoerige verhandeling van Nederlands mogentheyd in die gewesten* (Old and New East India, Containing a Precise and Extensive Report on Dutch Authority in Those Territories; 1724-1726).

It would be nice to say that Angel’s drawings of Persepolis were inspired by the scholarly interests that were manifest in his St. Luke’s Day lecture in praise of painting.⁴¹ This however cannot be maintained, in view of damning testimony reported by the French traveler and

art dealer Jean-Baptiste Tavernier. Tavernier claims that Angel told him personally “that he had spent his time poorly, and that the thing [that is, Persepolis] was not worth the effort of being drawn, nor to oblige the interested traveler to take a detour of as much as a quarter of an hour from his route.”⁴²

Our last reference to Angel in Persia is the kindest one. In a journal entry for 1657, the same Jean-Baptiste Tavernier relates that upon taking leave of Shah ‘Abbas II he received as a parting gift “several drawings, of which a few were by himself, since the king had indeed learned to draw from two Dutch painters, one named Angel and the other Lokar [van Lockhorst] that the Dutch Company had sent to him.”⁴³ ‘Abbas was only eleven years old when van Lockhorst came to Isfahan and eighteen when Angel arrived. It is nice to think of him taking drawing lessons from these Dutch artists and being proud enough of the results to give samples of his work to visiting dignitaries.

Reciprocity on the part of the VOC is not evident from the documents. The Company showed its regard for one of the king’s painters, Mamet Beg, in its own way. In August 1638 it lent him 40 tomans, about 1600 guilders, without requesting a receipt, and which it did not expect to be repaid. This piece of petty corruption under the table, recorded in contemptuous innuendo in the books, is paltry indeed compared to the public shows of favor conveyed by the shahs on his Dutch painters.⁴⁴

Insofar as institutional maneuvering can be interpreted as a form of artistic reception, the picture seems clear. From 1605 to 1655 a certain pattern prevailed in the artistic relations between the Safavid court and the Dutch authorities. During the reigns of Shahs ‘Abbas I, Safi and ‘Abbas II, Dutch painters were welcomed at the Safavid court and accorded

public signs of high regard. Upon request of the court, individual artists would be allowed by the Dutch to enter royal service, always with strings attached. The relations are put into so many words in this passage concerning the neighboring kingdoms of India from the pioneering study of our subject, two articles by Pieter Arend Leupe in *De Nederlandsche Spectator*, 1873.

In 1656, while the post of second man [of the VOC station] at Soeratta [Surat] was filled by [the Dutch painter Isaack] Koedijck, [the Great Moghul] Shah Jehan sent a letter to one of his governors, in which he writes of "having heard news about the painters and surgeon (or one with knowledge of the things of nature) of the Hollanders," commanding him to send them to the court at once. The governor informed Director Hendrik van Wijck [of the VOC in Persia, where the personnel were apparently stationed] of the order. Van Wijck was not in the least pleased. In the first place because the [Indian] ruler was deciding over the persons in question without acknowledging him and regarded Company employees as being in his service. In the second place because it was usually so difficult to get personnel back again once they had been placed at the disposal of His Majesty. But in order not to offend His Majesty and in view of the [possible] consequences [of refusal], van Wijck, supported by his council, decided to honor the request, stipulating however that the oldest member of the group would go in the capacity of agent [of the VOC] and that he be put in charge of Company interests there.⁴⁵

The VOC, by contrast, is not known ever to have patronized a Persian artist. The attitude of the VOC toward its own functionaries who worked as artists for the shah was dictated entirely by the administrative and diplomatic interests of

the Company. This is true even in the single instance, concerning Barend van Siche, when it did seem to take the initiative in sending an artist to Isfahan.⁴⁶

Christians for Christians Outside the Royal City

On 28 September 1638, a new director for Persia, Adam Westerwolt, was issued his instructions by the high command in Batavia. After touching on the trade in "rarities," the instructions continue:

Which is why we are also giving you a certain Barend van Siche, who is an able draftsman and is reasonable with the brush as well, along with Claes Andriesz. of Amsterdam who can make enamels and set jewels. In the past His Majesty [Shah Safi] has displayed particular appreciation for the work of these artists. You shall offer their services and thanks to them you will garner as much good will as previously was the case with French and Italian [artists]. The supplies they require will be sent in batches.⁴⁷

The instruction from Batavia says that work by van Siche had reached Safi before 1638, to the marked satisfaction of the shah. The appointment specified in the instruction seems to have been aborted. Westerwolt fell ill and died en route to Qazvin, where the shah was in temporary residence. This seems also to have been the fate of van Siche, about whom the documents are further silent, while Claes Andriesz. – as well as Huybert Bufkens, a diamond polisher – do appear in later dispatches.⁴⁸

Willem Floor speculates that van Siche may have reached Isfahan alive and have gone to work not for the shah but for the Armenian

community. The All Savior's Cathedral and other Armenian churches of New Julfa, across the river and within easy walking distance of Isfahan, are elaborately decorated with cycles of wall paintings illustrating the Bible and the lives of the saints. The authorship of these paintings is a vexed question. Floor's suggestion that Barend van Sichem was involved in their creation fits in well with the known evidence. In 1950, the English art historian T. S. R. Boase, who visited New Julfa in British military service during the Second World War, demonstrated that some of the monumental paintings in All Savior's resembled woodcuts by Christoffel van Sichem the Younger (1581-1658) in the first Armenian Bible, published in Amsterdam in 1666.⁴⁹ Boase noted that the arrangement of the subjects was highly significant. It followed the dictates of typology, an age-old Christian interpretive method that links subjects from the Hebrew Bible to passages in the Christian Bible. This implies a modicum of theological and iconographical knowledge, knowledge that would have been commanded by the Armenian patriarchate in New Julfa.

Boase assumed that the Amsterdam imprint of 1666 was the source for the imagery in New Julfa. However, the decorations in the church are now dated to 1645-55, ruling this out. Nonetheless, the connection was real and significant, in a form of which Boase was unaware. The same engravings used in the Armenian Bible were printed earlier by van Sichem, in a volume of Bible prints entitled *Bibels tresoor* [Biblical Treasury], published in Amsterdam in 1646, making them available as a source for the churches of Julfa. The correspondences were published in 1968 by J. Carswell (see plates 1.1a-b).

What would have been the role of Barend van Sichem? Floor writes that he "was unable to find any family connection between

Barend and Christoffel." That connection has since been found by Marten Jan Bok, in the framework of the NIAS project. Barend was baptized in the Nieuwe Kerk in Amsterdam on 27 October 1620 as the son of Christoffel van Sichem the Younger, the maker of the woodcuts. In 1638 he was only eighteen years old, making it unlikely that he was personally responsible for the execution of the mighty vaults and domes in Julfa Cathedral. However, he may well have been the bearer of iconographical models for that project. The edition of 1646 did not come out of thin air. One of the prints is dated 1631, and Christoffel van Sichem is likely to have had the drawings for most if not all of his woodcuts, many of them based on older sources, by the time Barend left for the east. In accounting for the transmission of those images from Amsterdam to New Julfa, there is every reason to take seriously the possibility that Barend van Sichem was the main agent. It is not even necessary to assume that he survived his trip. He may have been bringing prints and drawings for the Armenian community that were delivered there and were adapted and executed by local Christian artists.

If we therefore expand our view of "Persian art" to "art in Persia," the connection between the van Sichem family and the Armenian community of New Julfa emerges as a key example. With regard to extant survivals, this connection would by far exceed the VOC in importance. Opposed to this view of the transfer in real time of Dutch sources to Persia, Amy Landau points to sources in the more distant past that had been used by van Sichem and that could have been available in their original form to the Armenians of New Julfa.⁵⁰ That is, the extremely influential volumes of iconographic models published in the 1590s by the Plantin press in Antwerp, Hieronymus Nadal's *Evangelicae historiae imagines* (1593)

and *Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia* (1594) as well as other prints and books that Catholic missionaries had been introducing into Asia for over a century. While granting this point, I do not believe that it detracts from the significance of the van Sichems as providers of iconographical and stylistic content to the Armenians of New Julfa. The fact that the first Bible edition in the Armenian language (1666) was a translation of Christoffel van Sichem's *Bibels tresoor* (1646) and was undoubtedly printed by the van Sichem firm, is indicative of meaningful ties between them and the Armenian community. With such a strong, tailor-made connection at hand, it seems to me unlikely that the New Julfa clergy would have resorted to a much older source.

The hard evidence presented in Table 2 for royal Persian patronage of Dutch artists may not be extensive. However, it shows that for 30

of the 37 years from 1618 to 1655, there was a Dutch painter in royal or high court service in Isfahan.

Official Documentation

In Persia, as we have seen, no official documents have survived. In the Persian literature of art there are no reported references to European artists except in the most general terms. The Dutch records, on the other hand, are immense. It therefore is significant that they contain no mention of Persian art or for that matter hardly any of Dutch art.

These two points are brought out clearly by what is missing from two exhaustive publications on the respective subjects, David Roxburgh's masterly study of Persian writings on art and Hendrik Dunlop's collection of

Table 2: Persian court patronage of Dutch painters, 1605-1655.

Shah 'Abbas I (1571-1629; r. 1587-1629)	1605 His envoy to the court of Emperor Rudolf II takes on the Haarlem painter Cornelis Claesz. Heda as painter to the king. Heda never reaches Isfahan. 1617-1630 Employed the Dutch painter and draftsman Jan Lucasz. van Hasselt. Among his commissions was the decoration of the royal palace at Ashraf. Extends title <i>ustad naqqash</i> (master painter) to van Hasselt, bestows favor on him, honors causes pleaded by him. 1625 Sends van Hasselt on diplomatic mission to the Netherlands led by Musa Beg. 1629 Signs letter to States-General giving van Hasselt status of envoy.
Mulaim Beg, factor to Shah Safi	1630 Has Joost Lampen paint several pictures in his house.
Shah Safi I (1611-1642, r. 1629-1642)	<1638 Expresses satisfaction to Company officials concerning portraits by Dutch painter Barend van Sichem, who is sent by the VOC to work in his service.
Grand vizier Saru Taqi (in office 1632, assassinated 1645)	1643 Mediates in hiring of Dutch painter Hendrick Boudewijn van Lockhorst to work for court of young shah, at annual wage of 4,000 guilders.
Shah 'Abbas II (1632/33-1666; r. 1642-1666)	1643> Takes art lessons from van Lockhorst. 1652 Intercepts the departure from Persia of Philips Angel, who was being removed by VOC to Batavia to face charges, bringing him back to Isfahan to work for him as painter and drawing teacher. 1653 Puts Angel to work at 4,000 guilders a year painting palace decorations in Isfahan. Pays Angel 6,000 guilders, according to Angel for five small paintings, according to VOC money intended for the Company. Grants Angel high favor at court. 1655 Upon departure of Angel, presents artist with robe of honor and 100 tomans for watercolors.

sources for the study of the Dutch East India Company. In Roxburgh's book on a large number of Persian writings on painting, there are only two passing references to European art, none to Dutch art in particular.⁵¹ In Dunlop we find three references to paintings, compared to the hundreds referring to such items as pepper, sandalwood, sappanwood, presents, spices, sugar, tin, and tolls. In fact, as shown by the missive of 1624 cited above, trade in paintings was avoided by the Company out of trepidation with regard to the religious sensibilities of Muslims, uncertainty concerning quality, and the nagging suspicion that Persian buyers would not understand why the price of a painting had to be so high.

The VOC archives reveal that the Persian court turned to the Company not only as a source for painters but also of paint. On 15 March 1635 the manager of Persian operations, Nicolaes Jacobsz. Overschie, wrote from Gamron to Batavia that the shah had *again* requested that he be sent from the Netherlands sufficient paint to execute portraits of one thousand persons, with brushes in corresponding quantity. The order was not shipped, since in December 1636 the request was taken up again in the general order for 1637.

Voor de Coningh van Persia verwe om duysent personen te conterfeijten pinceelen na adv-enandt.⁵²

[For the King of Persia, paint for portraits of a thousand persons, brushes in the same measure.]

We have no record of the presence of a Dutch artist at the court during that period. The ruler was the fifteen-year-old Shah Safi, who is reported by the VOC to have a taste for the work of Western artists and jewelers. However, we cannot be sure that the order was an expression

of artistic interest – say, for creating portraits of courtiers to adorn public buildings. There was another use for portraiture in the pre-photography age in the Middle East. Painted images of wanted criminals were spread around the provinces to help track down fugitives. This would fit in better with what we know about Shah Safi's suspicious and vengeful character. Whatever purpose was intended, the VOC did not rush to help the king of Persia to accomplish it.

As we have noted, the VOC displayed habitual reluctance to send figurative art to Persia. The repeated conviction by Company officials in Amsterdam and Batavia that Persians would be offended by images of human beings is hard to explain. Not only is Persian art full of human and even divine figures, there is also the express wish by the Safavid court for paintings of genre subjects, with pretty girls, rather than the battle scenes that the Dutch thought more appropriate. The head of the Gamron station, Wollebrant Geleijnsz., wrote the following to headquarters in Batavia on 9 May 1641 concerning an aborted attempt by the Dutch to present some paintings to the shah.

We are hereby returning the large painting of the sea battle at Gibraltar fought by Admiral Heemskerck as well as [the portrait of] the chief merchant Adriaen van Oostende and various Moors, as a [French] painter formerly in the king's service told us that they would not please the king or be valued at anything close to their price. What he would like are [paintings of] beautiful women, banquets, parties, anything smacking of luxury....⁵³

The Dutch traveler Cornelis de Bruyn, to whom we will return below, wrote in 1711 something that must have been well known to any resident of the country:

there is little difference between their religion and that of the Turks, except that the Persians have no aversion to painted images, which one sees in their houses as a matter of course.⁵⁴

The English East India Company had better intelligence on this issue than the Dutch. In 1618, on a list of 101 items considered “vendible” in England, India, and Persia, English agents included as number 101, under “[...] particulars [...] supposed to be most acceptable to present unto the kinge[...],” – that is, Shah ‘Abbas I: “Pictures bearing the resemblance eyther of man woman or other creatures beinge drawne to the lyfe are much desired by this king.”⁵⁵

This misunderstanding on the part of the VOC must be held responsible in some measure for the low level of artistic interchange between the Republic and the Safavid Empire. We do not know how it arose, but it might be conjectured that the Heren XVII took advice concerning trade with Muslim countries from a Dutch theologian who made a major point of the presumed Muslim antagonism to images. In the sixteenth century, the Safavid Shah Tahmasp may indeed have given expression to this feeling, after decades of supporting and practicing the arts, when in 1556 he issued an Edict of Sincere Repentance, dismissing all painters and calligraphers from their court positions. However, it is not likely that the motivation was aniconism, which is not ordained by Shi’ite Islam. As one recent student of the edict, Abolala Soudavar, put it, “Had there been a Shi’ite prohibition of painting, Ṭahmāsb would have been a master at finding ways to circumvent it.”⁵⁶ The same author points out that the fact that calligraphers as well as painters were dismissed from royal service, casts another light on the matter.

If painting had been from time to time the subject of religious controversy, calligraphy was

not only immune from such controversy but represented Islamic art *par excellence*. Therefore, if Ṭahmāsb expelled calligraphers along with painters, a reason other than religious fanaticism must be sought.

Whatever information the VOC was acting on, we seem to be confronted with a case of bending too far over backwards out of ignorance and exaggerated fear, compounded by commercial defensiveness.

One occasion when the Dutch, by their own account, outdid their European rivals in an artistic endeavor took place in 1636. On 24 November of that year Nicolaes Jacobsz. Overschie wrote the following in a report to the governors in Amsterdam:

On the 13th of this month the shah [the 25-year-old Shah Safi] was given a triumphal reception, bringing with him many Turkish prisoners from Eriwan, as well as an ambassador from Constantinople and one from Hindustan. The shah extends to him [Overschie], as he does to the Englishmen [in Isfahan], the courtesy to invite him to festive meals. H.M. [His Majesty] begins to take increased interest in affairs of state.

Like the other foreigners, Overschie had a triumphal arch made. The shah honored the triumphal arch with a visit and Overschie offered H.M. jewels and money in the amount of 4,000 guilders, while H.M. also accepted a cup of wine and spent an hour there. He also inquired after the name of His Princely Excellency [Frederik Hendrik]. H.M. declared that this triumphal arch was the most beautiful of all. The total costs amounted to 6,000 guilders, not including the gift. He [Overschie] hopes that this will not be held against him.⁵⁷

Unfortunately, Overschie does not tell who designed and executed the triumphal arch.

Travelers' Reports

Not only in Europe but in Persia and India as well books of travel were a popular and widespread form of literature. However, when we turn to this resource for what it tells us about the art of painting in the mutual regard of Persians and Europeans, we draw a near blank. Persian travel literature from our period has been studied in an authoritative volume by Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Indo-Persian Travels in the Age of Discovery*.⁵⁸ The book is silent concerning the art of painting. For that matter, the index contains no reference to the Dutch East India Company. The idea that the Dutch were somehow in control of territories in Persia and India beyond the confines of their offices, trading posts, factories, and harbor installations would have come as a complete surprise to contemporary locals. On Persian literature in general, Sussan Babaie writes:

Until late in the seventeenth century, when some substantive written commentaries on Christians appear in Safavid sources, Europeans feature rarely, often in passing and invariably with little or no commentary on the specifics of their character or social conduct [...]. Persian chronicles take an interest in describing, characterizing and doling out either praise or disdain for the visiting dignitaries from their rival empires of the Mughals, the Uzbeks or the Ottomans. Europeans seem to have been neither as important, nor as interesting.⁵⁹

The disregard was mutual. During the seventeenth century the Dutch were notably backward in publishing about Persia. In every western European language as well as Russian, important travelers' reports on Persia saw the light of day from 1600 on. The trend was set

by a book published in that very year by the "adventurous but unscrupulous Englishman Sir Anthony Sherley."⁶⁰ The earliest piece of travel literature on Persia by a Dutch author did not come out until three-quarters of a century later, in 1676. (The most informative piece of Dutch writing on Persia from the seventeenth century was the journal of a failed VOC delegation to Isfahan in 1651-1652 by Cornelis Speelman; it was not published until 1908.)

By 1676 the Dutch East India Company had been established in Persia for half a century, since 1623. Before that year important first-person books on Persia had appeared in French, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, and Russian, some of them printed in Amsterdam. Dutch translations had been published of travel accounts by Adam Olearius and Jean Chardin. The man under whose name the 1676 imprint was published was not a VOC official. He was a sailmaker named Jan Struys. The English title of his book is *The Perillous and Most Unhappy Voyages of John Struys*.⁶¹ It was a ghost-written product based only in part on the experiences of Struys, who could not read or write very well, and for the rest cobbled together by Olfert Dapper from various published sources. However, the words under which it was recommended in 1677 by the Amsterdam bookseller Jan Claesz. ten Hoorn are quite apposite: "Most travellers who travel there are commonly people who rather focus on personal profit than on a precise description of a place [...]."⁶²

A notable exception to this rule was the German physician and naturalist Engelbert Kaemper (1651-1716), who after spending a year in Isfahan from 1684 to 1685 with a Swedish delegation entered the service of the VOC. He served as chief surgeon of the VOC in Persia from 1685 to 1688, when the Company transferred him to Japan. The posthumous publication of his writings on his travels in

1712 was a formidable contribution to European knowledge of the Orient. Kaempfer's book contains an extensive, illustrated section on Persepolis, but is silent on contemporaneous Persian art and on the activities of European artists in the country.

The first substantial comments on the country by a Dutchman who actually spent time there are to be found in a book published in 1711 by Cornelis de Bruyn, whose English title begins *Travels into Muscovy, Persia and Part of the East Indies*.⁶³ De Bruyn was a dedicated traveler who did aspire to write a precise description of the places he visited. He provides detailed information on the time it took to travel from A to B and the distances between them, on the quality and price of fruit, on water, vegetation, bird life, and the weather. His book contains a treasure of information on Persian and Armenian costume, jewelry, and folkways. He was a passionate draftsman who provided his book with more than 200 illustrations. He would depart from the caravan with which he normally traveled and, accompanied by Armenian interpreters, would spend hours traipsing around in search of the best angle from which to draw a village or town. De Bruyn showed considerable interest in antiquities, tombs, and miscellaneous ruins that he drew assiduously without knowing very much about them.

De Bruyn devotes two and a half columns of his large book to "The Use of Painting by the Persians."⁶⁴ His attention was drawn in the first place to matters involving the Dutch. He tells of a visit he paid to one of the two painters who during his visit to Isfahan worked for the shah,

in order to sample his art, which consisted mainly of painting small birds from life in water color. And I must admit that his work was quite attractive, exceeding my expectations,

although like all the rest he showed little or no understanding of light or shadow, which are after all of the essence in painting. This painter was at the time engaged in painting for the king water colors of flowers from a book of prints printed in our fatherland. [Because the images were in black and white and the artist was painting the flowers in color,] a European clergyman told him as well as one could what color they were. They have excellent pigments here, but I did find some that were brought from our Netherlands, such as enamel paint and others.

The European clergyman was in all likelihood a Catholic priest or friar from one of the missions that were permanently established in Isfahan. The practice that de Bruyn here described is a rich adaptation by a Persian artist of European art and natural history. The resulting painting cannot however have been of impressive quality either as a work of art or a botanical document. To a contemporary of such scientifically inclined still-life painters as Jan van Huysum and Rachel Ruysch, painted copies of prints colored in on the basis of recollection by a third party cannot have been taken very seriously.

While the Dutch artist-traveler was able to express grudging admiration for his Persian colleague's watercolors of small birds, when it came to miniature painting, the glory of the Persian Golden Age, he displays sheer contempt.

People of distinction also own books that are handsomely bound and decorated with all manner of figures dressed in their style, as well as hunting scenes, single figures of men and women, companies, animals, and birds, depicted in beautiful colors in water color. There were also indecent images, which they like quite a lot. I found books of this kind with

a certain distinguished gentleman, but all the painting was poor, flat, stiff, and totally lacking in technique. So that there was nothing attractive about it, aside from the pleasing colors. All the sheets were adorned with gold and silver to please the eye.

De Bruyn's opinion concerning Christian art in Persia was no more generous.

The interior of the small Armenian church [the Anna-baet, or Episcopal cloister] is painted on the walls from top to bottom. Most of what you see are Biblical stories, painted by Armenians with little art [...]. Of the glorious cathedral, [de Bruyn says no more than that] it is painted completely with Biblical stories.⁶⁵

De Bruyn even takes the trouble to disparage patronage of the arts in Persia. Only exceptional individuals, including certain rulers of the past, were willing to pay a fair price for art. Otherwise they kept their money in their purses. He cites the case of a German painter named Dionys who painted a multi-figure composition for the shah that was accepted but never paid for. In this context, de Bruyn repeats a story dating from 1652 about a large painting of riders brought to Isfahan by Joan Cunaeus. And that, aside from the remark about religion quoted above, is all that de Bruyn has to say about art in Persia.

De Bruyn's dismissive judgment of Persian painting corresponds with the only other passage on the subject that I have found in the extensive European travel literature. In 1686 the Frenchman Jean Chardin brought out an account of his travels to Persia and the East Indies undertaken between 1671 and 1677. Chardin is considered to be the most perspicacious and intelligent of the European writers on Persia from the seventeenth century. His

chapter "On Mechanick Arts and Trades" begins thus:

Before I treat of the *Arts* and *Trades* in particular, I'll make five general Observations with regard to the Subject [...]. The first is, That the *Eastern* People are naturally Soft and Lazy, they work for, and desire only necessary things. All those beautiful Pieces of Painting, Carving, Turning, and so many others, whose Beauty consists in an exact and plain imitation of Nature, are not Valu'd among those *Asiaticks*: They think, that because those Pieces are of no use for the occasions of the Body, they do not therefore deserve our Notice: In a Word, they make no account of the making of good Pieces; they take notice only of the Matter, which is the Reason that their Arts are so little improved; for as to the rest, they are Men of good Parts, have a penetrating Wit, are Patient and Sincere, and would make very skillful Workmen, were they paid liberally.⁶⁶

Even allowing for the conventional nature of these remarks, with their echoes of Herodotus and Lucian on the ancient Persians, they and the judgment of Cornelis de Bruyn leave no room for doubt concerning the main issue. That is, that Chardin and de Bruyn could not see Persian painting in any other terms except those of high Western art, and in those terms it failed.

Both Europeans think in terms of bipolar opposites. In no particular instance do they find common features between the art of their countries and of Persia. This is all the more a pity because in other respects these travelers were open-minded for their time. Rudi Matthee, in a fresh reconsideration of the contribution of these and other European travelers to our knowledge of Persia, takes issue with colleagues who accuse

Table 3: Comparative Judgments of Jean Chardin and Cornelis de Bruyn of Persian and European Painting.

Source	Feature	Persian	European [implicit]
Chardin	Industry	Lazy	[Diligent]
Chardin	Imitation of nature	Not valued	Mastered
Chardin	"Making of good Pieces": contribution of artist versus cost of materials	Do not value skill above materials	[Have high regard for artistic skill]
de Bruyn	Light and shadow	Not understood	[Mastered]
de Bruyn	Modeling	Flat	[Suggestive of volume and space]
de Bruyn	Grace	Stiff	[Suggestive of movement]
de Bruyn	Technique	Lacking	[Mastered]

seventeenth-century writers on Persia of cultural bias. "Early modern European travelers to Iran brought remnants of past religious and cultural prejudice with them," he writes, "yet the best explored the country with an open eye, an appreciation for difference, and even a critical perspective on their own culture." While I agree in general with this judgment, which Matthee backs up with solid evidence, I can say with some certainty that it does not apply to the fine arts.⁶⁷

Art Itself

Turning to the art of Persia with the judgments of Chardin and de Bruyn in mind, we discover something of considerable interest. That is, that by the time the two travelers visited Persia, the artists of that land had already gone a long way to appropriating and adapting the very features they find lacking in Persian art. This phenomenon can be demonstrated with two typical examples, one from the 1550s and another from the 1670s. Both images show one of the favorite motifs of Persian painting, court receptions.

Yusuf Entertains at Court before His Marriage is the subject of the earlier painting (see plate 1.2a; Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art). It partakes fully of the stereotype characteristics that were found so objectionable by Chardin

and de Bruyn. There are no shadows, no modeled forms, space is treated as a makeable commodity, nothing in the painting is depicted directly from nature, the figures are indeed stiff, and gold is applied to please the eye without adding anything to the composition.

At the far end of this development, regard a painting of another court event, *The Head of Iraj Presented to His Brothers Salm and Tur* (see plate 1.2b; Dublin, Chester Beatty Collection). Cast shadows are employed, space is effectively suggested, the figures are modeled to some degree, faces are individualized as are the trees in the background. Nonetheless, one can still see what the Europeans were talking about when they would call a painting of this kind stiff and lacking in artistry.

References to and adaptations of Western art begin long before the VOC first put foot on Persian soil in the 1620s. Eleanor Sims, one of the foremost specialists in Persian art, remarks repeatedly in her survey *Peerless Images: Persian Painting and Its Sources* that new developments in Persian art tend not to grow in steps but to start at a climax and decline from there. One can say this in fairly certain terms of the study by Persian artists of Dutch art. In the 1990s the art historian Gauvin Bailey published an extraordinary example of our phenomenon (see plates 1.3a-b). A drawing by the Persian artist Sadiqi (b. 1533/34; d. after

1600) in the Harvard Art Museums, dated to the 1580s, clearly shows knowledge of a Netherlandish woodcut of the fifteenth century by an anonymous Flemish artist known as the Master of the Banderoles. The angel of the *Annunciation* in the Flemish print was adapted by the Persian miniaturist without wings, without halo, and without cross. No exact model for the Madonna has been found, but other Annunciate Virgins by that master and his contemporaneous colleagues come close. The words in the banderole are turned by Sadiqi into meaningless signs. The large inscription above and below reads

I have gained experience from every single thought. There is nothing more honorable than generosity.

This would seem to refer to the patron for whom the drawing was made, who is identified in the smaller inscription below the figures:

These two figures are in the manner of the Frankish masters: drawn while in the service of the one giving asylum to those seeking the right path, the Wonder of the Age, Khvaja Ghiyath Naqshband. Written by the servant [of God] Sadiqi, the Librarian.

Khvaja Ghiyath Naqshband was a many-sided individual, a maker and manufacturer of costly textiles, an artist and poet, an archer, athlete, and connoisseur of the arts. His profession led Bailey to connect him to another object with figurative elements derived from the same Flemish print as the painting. The textile collection of the Correr Museum in Venice owns a Persian brocade datable to the year 1603 that shows motifs from sura 19 of the Koran, in forms that reflect knowledge of Flemish prints. In this work they do retain haloes, in the pointed Persian form.



Fig. 1.3: Aegidius Sadeler II (c. 1570-1629), Portrait of Mehdi Quli Bey, 1605. Engraving.

Naqshband is believed to have died in the mid-1590s, leaving up in the air Bailey's suggestion that the brocade came from his workshop. However, around that time there was a fresh opportunity for Persian artists to learn about Netherlandish art. In 1599 Shah 'Abbas I sent a high-level delegation to the court of Emperor Rudolf II in Prague. There the Persians made contact with the remarkable stable of artists maintained by the emperor, including some of the best Flemish engravers of the day. The mission returned to Isfahan in 1602, but in 1605 Ali Quli Bey, the nephew of the chief envoy, visited Prague once more. On that occasion he was portrayed in a print by the Antwerp engraver Aegidius Sadeler (fig. 1.3). I would speculate that one of the Flemish artists in Prague presented to a member of the Persian delegation old and new engravings that came into the hands of Sadiqi. Only a small number of Persian masters are considered practitioners

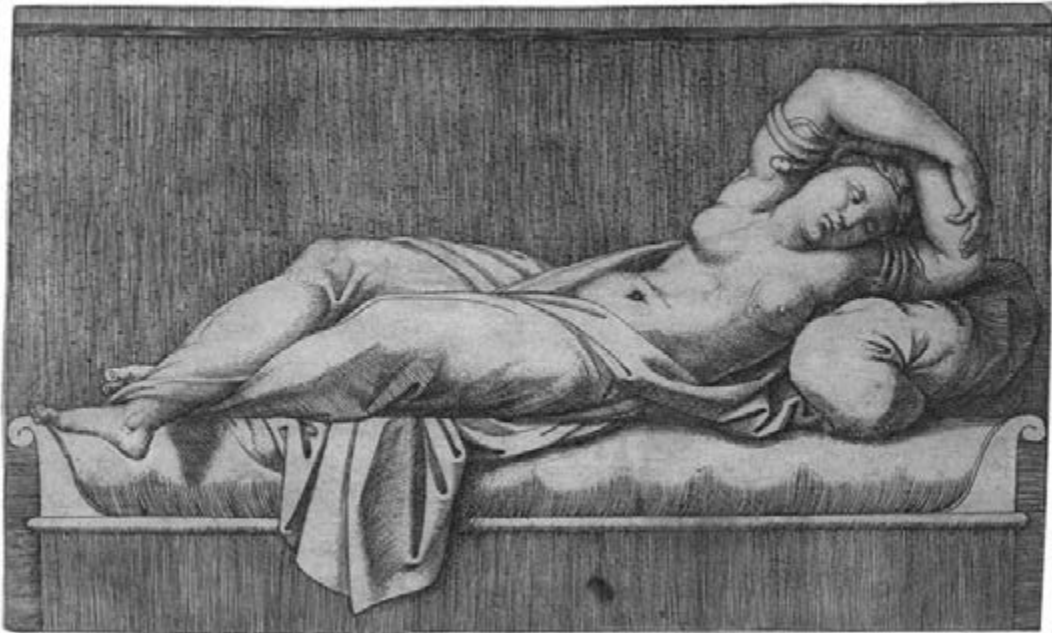


Fig. 1.4a: Marcantonio Raimondi (1480-1534) after Raphael (1483-1520), *Reclining Woman, Partly Nude, identified as Cleopatra*, c. 1515-1527. Engraving.



Fig. 1.4b: Riza Abassi (c. 1565-1635) after Marcantonio Raimondi, *Reclining Woman*, Late Sixteenth Century.

of an art informed by European principles. This manner was sometimes employed by Sadiqi's younger contemporary Riza (1565-1635), as in his adaption of a print by Marcantonio Raimondi after a Raphael painting of a famous antique statue in the Vatican then thought to depict Cleopatra but since identified as Ariadne (fig. 1.4a-b). When Riza's pupil Mu'in Musawir, Mu'in the Painter, honored his teacher with a portrait drawing, on which according to the inscription he worked from 1635 to 1673, he showed him at work, tenderly drawing from his imagination a European man (see plate 1.4).

The earliest surviving examples in Persia of monumental painting in a European mode are found in a mid-seventeenth-century royal pavilion in the palace complex of Isfahan, the Chihil Sutun or Hall of Forty Columns. The building stands in a shady park, open from the first to visitors who were even allowed to peer at royal celebrations on the terrace and within.⁶⁸ Not all the decorations in the building are from the Safavid period, and those that are have been dated variously, from the 1650s to 1670.⁶⁹ The earlier date, shortly after construction was completed, seems the most likely. The wall paintings in the building are regularly brought into connection with Western art with regard to the use of perspective and landscape background, the portrait-like depiction and plastic modeling of figures, and the European garb and behavior of figures in various panels. These features, combined with the documented presence in Isfahan of Dutch painters during the period of decoration, has fostered the assumption that the murals with the most pronouncedly European appearance were the work of Dutch painters. When I was led through the building in the summer of 2007, my well-informed guide stopped before a hunting scene and said plainly that it was made by Philips Angel (see plate 1.5).

However, as Sussan Babaie suggested in 1994 and Amy Landau showed convincingly in 2007, the derivations from European art are not direct, but came into being through the participation in the project of local Armenian artists. This is visible, to cite an example illustrated by Landau, in the unmistakable resemblances between a wall painting of *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* in the Armenian Bethlehem Church of New Julfa, of the 1630s and 1640s, and the most representative mural in the Chihil Sutun, *Shah Tahmasp Holding a Reception for the Moghul Emperor Humayun*. The definition of space, the columned dais and window on a Western-style landscape, the grouping of the figures, and the cast shadows, occurring within a few years of each other in the same location, speak strongly of a common source. Landau writes that

correspondences between the Meydani Bethlehem and the Chihil Sutun indicate a shared pool of designers, craftsmen and painters on behalf of the court and the Armenians of New Julfa [...]. Contemporary documentation indicated that [...] the Armenian painter Minas, to whom the Bethlehem murals are attributed, [...] worked for Muslim court officials, supervised building projects and trained Persian painters. It is then plausible that this Armenian painter, trained by a European artist, was involved in the decoration of the Chihil Sutun.⁷⁰

Concerning the possible participation of Dutch artists in the decoration of the Chihil Sutun, Landau writes convincingly that "Dutch artists may well have participated in the project," but that it is unlikely that foreigners who did not speak the local languages could have played a supervisory role. In addition, she points out that "the Chihil Sutun murals are a hybrid of European and Persian elements," making "sole

European authorship [...] unlikely.”⁷¹ Her remarks conjure up an appealing and believable picture of a collaborative art world in Isfahan, with Persian court artists occupying studios in the Daulatkhané, the palace precinct where royal workshops of all kinds were housed, and Armenian colleagues based in New Julfa, an hour’s walk away. European artists too will have lived in New Julfa, where all non-Muslims were put, but they may have had workshops in Isfahan itself. Be that as it may, on a project as ambitious as the Chihil Sutun, designed to impress an international as well as local audience, the talents of all three groups would be called upon.

Study of this material, and of our subject in general, has greatly benefitted from the work of Amy Landau, who in 2007 was awarded a Ph.D. by Oxford University for her dissertation *Farangī-sāzī at Isfahan: The Court Painter Muhammad Zamān, the Armenians of New Julfa and Shāh Sulaymān (1666-1694)*. One of her most striking conclusions is that the application of Western principles of art in Persia was not a long-term trend in taste or a natural outcome of increased East-West commerce. Rather, its most significant manifestation took place all at once, at a given, rather late moment, after a good century of being honored more in the breach than in the observance. Landau finds in the work of Muhammad Zaman a sharp break with earlier practice, a programmatic favoring of European above traditional Persian aesthetic principles. In her view,

the unprecedented sophistication of Muhammad Zaman’s assimilation of the European artistic tradition, as presented by his manuscript paintings of 1675 and the biblical compositions of the 1670s and 1680s, is the result of historical circumstances specific to the post ‘Abbas I epoch.

Those circumstances pertain to certain religious and cultural policies of the often neglected Shah Sulayman and the ways in which they affected the practice of poetry and art in Persia in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Whether or not that was the driving motivation for Muhammad Zaman’s stylistic choices, there is no doubt that his work raises to an unprecedentedly high level the integration of European artistic principles and models in Persian painting. This applies to subject matter of all kinds. Landau rightly stresses the importance of the subjects from the Jewish and Christian Bibles that were ordered from Muhammad Zaman by Shah Sulayman himself in support of his supposition that he might be the Messiah (see plates 1.6a-b). However, the artist also worked in an identical way on non-religious, even erotic motifs.

Landau’s revision casts a different light on the main question that concerns us here, the significance of the Dutch contribution to Persian art.

Emphasis must be shifted away from external factors, such as the flow of Europeans and their goods into Iran in the first half of the century, and placed on internal historical developments in the latter half. I believe changes in Safavid visual culture are not so much directly and causally linked with Iranian taste for exotica and the patronage of European artists. Rather, they are related to developments in non-royal patronage and evolving aesthetic interests in and outside of the court.⁷²

These remarks are in keeping with our opening assessment of the negligible significance of the Dutch input, via the VOC, in Persian artistic developments.

Images of Persons

This section deals not only with portraits of individuals but also with the generic and iconographical types that were more familiar both to Persians and Europeans. The tiny European on Mu'in Musawir's portrait of Riza can stand for all Persian images of the Westerner, Dutchmen or not. They were men – Western women were unknown in Persia – with characteristic clothing, often with red hair and nearly always with hats. If any portraits of individual Europeans were made by a Persian artist, they have either not survived or have not yet been recognized as such. It has been suggested with some likelihood that a portrait by Anthony van Dyck of Henrietta Maria, a copy of which was presented to the shah by an English delegation on 16 April 1638, accompanied by a personal letter from Charles I to Shah Safi, was adapted by Muhammad Zaman in 1675 for a non-portrait image of an Indian princess being visited by Bahram Gur.⁷³ This reminds us that the relatively low regard in which Europeans were held in Persia is due in considerable measure to the fact that no European ruler ever visited the country. A favorite theme in Persian art is the meeting between a shah and the ruler of a foreign land. Those rulers came from neighboring countries, not Europe. Within Europe, the Dutch stood on a lower plane than countries with a proper king. Not only for that reason, the English had longer staying power in the region, down to Iran in the twentieth century. Shah Suleyman does not seem to have had Dutch painters in his employ. Instead, he turned to the English, requesting in 1668-1669 in a letter to King Charles II that he send him “an enameler, a watchmaker, a diamond cutter, a goldsmith, a gunsmith, a painter, and a cannon-maker.”⁷⁴

As Sussan Babaie has shown, Persians demonstrated lively interest not only in how Europeans dressed, but also in what they did when they took their clothes off. Just as the Dutch

were misinformed about Persian imagery, the Persians allowed themselves to be misled about the sex life of Christians. They seemed seriously to have believed that Christians adhered to the belief that

“celibacy and taking the path of Jesus is better than taking a wife.” [...] Persians saw their European guests' abstinence from sex (and not just among missionaries) to be a bizarre form of repression, as the paintings and later discursive sources indicate.⁷⁵

One of the paintings to which Babaie refers is a single-sheet painting entitled *Lovers' Dalliance*, painted in the mid-seventeenth century by Muhammad Qasim Tabrizi (d. 1659) (see plate 1.7). The man's hat is not – or not entirely – a sign of sexual kinkiness, as in Randy Newman's song “You Can Leave Your Hat On,” but a marker identifying the man as a European. In addition to such explicit images, Europeans were also shown in social foreplay, partying, flirting, and drinking. In these forms of behavior they were depicted in public on palatial wall paintings. Concerning this form of imagery, Babaie writes:

[...] the large panel on the east flank of the Qaysarriye portal depicts a crowded and rather bawdy gathering of European revelers: all are dressed in formal clothing reminiscent of seventeenth-century Dutch costumes and occupy a balconied loggia with a vista onto the distant landscape that recalls contemporary Dutch and Flemish painting [...]. As far as I know, there is no parallel tradition within Mughal or Ottoman realms of mural painting that spotlights Europeans, especially in public spaces, as we find in Safavid Isfahan.⁷⁶

To which she however adds: “Whether the artists of these images intended them to be

recognizably of one or another nationality remains unknown.” This uncertainty is manifest in a remark penned by Cornelis de Bruyn⁷⁷ concerning “several European figures painted in the Chihil Sutun, dressed in Spanish fashion and otherwise.”



Fig. 1.5: Dominicus Custos (after 1550-1612), Shah 'Abbas I. From *Atrium heroicum Caesarum*, Augsburg 1602.

Summing up, we can say that the image of the Netherlander in Persian art was invariably a generic image, indistinguishable from that of other Europeans. There were single-sheet paintings of European men in recognizable costume and in flagrante delicto with women of the Middle East; wall paintings of Europeans in attendance on the shah and engaged in more and less raucous leisure activities. The function of these images within Persian visual culture seems to reflect internal interests and

received ideas rather than dynamic bilateral interchange with Europeans.

Stereotyping and prejudice are also the norm in Netherlandish images of Persians, with a number of important exceptions. Among the exceptions is Aegidius Sadeler's powerful portrait of Mechti Quli Beg. Less exceptional but better circulated is the portrait of Shah 'Abbas I made by another Flemish engraver in Prague (and Augsburg), Dominicus Custos (fig. 1.5). It was made for a collection of portraits of great rulers published in Augsburg in 1600 under the title *Atrium heroicum Caesarum* (Heroic Court of the Emperors).⁷⁸

If Persian interest in the Dutch suffered from the lack of high Dutch delegations to their country, the opposite effect took hold in Europe, albeit with visits by intermediaries, not the shah himself. A powerful impulse was administered by Sir Robert Sherley, representing 'Abbas I in Europe in 1608-1613 (see plate 1.8).

Sir Robert and his Circassian wife, Lady Teresia, both dressed exotically *à la Perse*, made a great stir during their protracted progress around the courts of Europe.⁷⁹

Although they did not visit the Netherlands, the Sherleys were in close contact with various people from the circle of Rubens. Through those contacts, it is surmised, Rubens acquired materials that allowed him to include in his album of costume studies two sheets with seven drawings of Persians (fig. 1.6).⁸⁰ He made use of them in at least one painting pertaining to Persia, *The Head of Cyrus Brought to Queen Tomyris*, c. 1622-1623 (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts).

In the following decade the Northern Netherlands did receive a Persian mission. In 1625 the royal factor Musa Beg showed up in The Hague and Amsterdam (see above pp. 31-32). His appearance and behavior made a powerful



Fig. 1.6: Peter Paul Rubens, *Study of Eastern Women's Dress* from the *Costume Book*, c. 1610-1615. Pen and Ink.

impression on the popular imagination and on Dutch artists. "It is this embassy," wrote Hermann Goetz in 1938,

to which must be attributed the strong Persian interest so long to be felt among the public and the artists of Holland [...]. The most obvious of these new Eastern features in the art of Holland are the figures of actual Persians or of other persons in Persian costume. This vogue was so strong that we are fairly entitled to speak of a specific Persian tradition among the Dutch artists affecting portraits and religious paintings in Eastern garb. This tradition sets in suddenly in 1626-27, slowly to ebb away about the end of the century.⁸¹

While admitting that most of his examples display no authentic knowledge of Persia, Goetz makes one prophetic statement that did not pan out until more than 70 years later. "It seems quite probable that the famous embassy of Joan Cunaeus [...] revived the interest in paintings *à la Persane* [...]." ⁸² In fact, one major evocation of that embassy was indeed painted, but that was not recognized until in 2009 Erlend de Groot of the Rijksmuseum published his discovery that a painting by Jan Baptist Weenix (1621-1659) that until then had been thought to depict a Dutch delegation to Sri Lanka or Bijapur in India was an image of the arrival in Bandar 'Abbas of the VOC functionary Joan Cunaeus, on a mission to Shah 'Abbas II in Isfahan (see plate 1.9).⁸³ The artist had never been to the Middle East; he modeled his topographical details on a print in Isaac Commelin's 1646 book on the VOC and presumably on information provided by Cunaeus himself, who returned to the Netherlands in 1658. De Groot's perfectly convincing new identification of the subject matter of the painting is a major contribution to the history of early Orientalism in Europe. The particulars of costume and of the place of dogs and horses

in the event are conveyed with an air of authority. Erlend de Groot is justified in saying that Weenix's painting is "the most important visual documentation of Dutch relations with mighty Persia." At the same time, this reveals the narrow limits of such documentation. It has not much more reportorial value than the flower paintings by the artist in Isfahan who copied black-and-white Dutch prints and filled in the colors on the basis of oral information provided by expat churchmen from another country.

The fact that one of the members of the Persian mission was the Dutch artist Jan Lucasz. van Hasselt deserves to be re-emphasized here. One striking example of the trend described by Goetz is actually attached to the name van Hasselt. On 15 May 1636, a woman named Grietje Hermans van Hasselt (1613/14-1668) married Jochum Berntsen van Haecken (b. 1603/04) in the Buurkerk in Utrecht. In celebration of the event, an intriguing painting was made of a wedding couple seated at a festive table, surrounded by guests (see plate 1.10a). The groom wears a crown and golden chains. He and his bride – *portraits historiés* of Jochum and Grietje, whose ages are inscribed in the painting – are dressed in exotic garb. The subject is interpreted, somewhat hesitantly, as the wedding feast of the Jewish maiden Esther and King Ahasuerus of Persia. Some support for this theory is provided by the carpet behind them, with the prominent star motif. The name Esther is related to the Persian word for star, *setareh*.

The painting, owned since 1947 by the Centraal Museum in Utrecht, is signed and dated *J. Hasselt fe 1636*. The artist is assumed to be a relative of Grietje. Three painters with that name come into consideration, the most likely of whom is Jan Gerritsz. van Hasselt. In 1983, Leonard Slatkes, in his book *Rembrandt and Persia*, suggested that the author was Jan Lucasz. van Hasselt. Even if this is not the case,

it seems reasonable to suppose that he was involved in the conception if not the execution of the painting.

In addition to the location of the presumed subject in the Elamite capital of Susa, the ruins of which lie some 300 kilometers west of Isfahan, the painting refers in other ways as well to Persia. The geometry of the carpet, with small lobes connecting larger lozenges, speaks of an origin in Shiraz. Concerning the rich clothing, the costume historian Jennifer Scarce wrote when I showed her an image of the painting:

It [...] seems to me that while the characters in the painting are beautifully and opulently dressed, most of them are wearing garments of plain rich silks with a satin finish which are of European origin, probably Italian. I do, however, detect traces of a subtle repeated medallion lattice on the woman's red gown which is outlined in gold. This may be of Persian brocaded silk.⁸⁴

About two years after the date of the Hasselt wedding dinner, another painting of such an event came into being, a large canvas by Rembrandt (see plate 1.10b). This is not a *portrait historié*, but a history painting of another story from the Hebrew Bible. The theme is quite obscure; only one other depiction of it has ever been recorded in Dutch art, a lost painting by Gabriel Metsu. It shows the wedding feast of Samson and his first wife, from Timnah. The story is from the Book of Judges, chapter 14. In the days before his wedding with a Philistine woman, Samson killed a lion and later found that the carcass had been taken over by a swarm of bees, which was producing honey in it. At the wedding feast, he posed to the 30 companions who had been assigned to him a riddle based on this incident. The prize was 30 linen garments and 30 sets of clothes. The men pressured Samson's bride to discover the

answer. She badgered him until he told her the solution, which she passed on to her compatriots. When they came up with the answer to his impossible riddle, Samson guessed what had happened. He paid off the wager by killing 30 countrymen of the wedding guests and giving their clothes to the winners.

On 18 October 1641, at the annual dinner of the Leiden painters' guild on the day of their patron saint, the evangelist Luke, Rembrandt's painting was singled out by the speaker for special praise:

I once saw a depiction by Rembrandt of the Wedding of Samson, of which we read in Judges, chapter 14, verse 10. You can see in it how that keen intelligence, by thinking hard about the actual way the guests sit (or in this case recline) at table – since the ancients used small beds on which to lie, not sitting at table the way we do today, but lying on their elbows the way the Turks still do in that part of the world – showed it very nicely.... These fruits of natural representation, true to the subject, come into being by reading the story well and analyzing it in deep and wide reflections.

Although it speaks of Turks rather than Persians, the text, published in book form in 1642 as *Lof der schilderkunst* [In Praise of Painting], suggests that Rembrandt had performed a kind of ethnographic research for his painting.⁸⁵ Remarkably, the speaker was none other than Philips Angel, who within a few years was himself to come to Persia with the VOC. If in 1642 he was contemplating that move, this would help explain his interest in things Oriental.

Rembrandt's envisioning of the event is not copied from van Hasselt's, but it comes so close in general arrangement and details such as the crown, the carpet, the white tablecloth, the discourse between the groom and a guest, and the exotic clothing that we must assume

that Rembrandt saw the painting by J. Hasselt. And if Jan Lucasz. was involved in the creation of the painting, as I am inclined to believe with Slatkes, we can surmise further that the two of them met between 1636 and 1638, that Jan Lucasz. was the source of Rembrandt's ideas concerning table manners at Middle Eastern feasts and that this was known to the Leiden speaker.

This is not Rembrandt's only connection to Persia in the years after Musa Beg's mission. In 1635 he painted the portrait of the VOC official Philips Lucasz. (b. before 1600, d. 1640) and his wife Petronella Buys (c. 1605-1670). From 1625 on Philips spent ten years in the Indies and Asia for the VOC. Toward the end of this term he served as "Council of India, Commander of the Company's naval forces in the kingdoms of Gujarat and Persia." In that capacity he paid two visits to Gamron (19 January-2 March 1632; 22 February-19 March 1633), although he never got to Isfahan.⁸⁶ Petronella Buys's sister Maria Odilia was married to Governor-General Jacques Specx, who owned the portraits of Philips and Petronella as well as several other paintings by Rembrandt. None of them seem to contain visual or iconographic references to Persia. If however we widen our scope to Indo-Persian sources, Rembrandt is revealed to have shown the strongest interest in the art of Asia of any European artist of his time. His 25 copies of the 1650s after drawings of people from the Mogul court are famous, as is his adaptation of one of them for an etching of 1656.⁸⁷

Equally forthright testimony to a new appreciation of Indo-Persian art in the Netherlands was evinced in the same years as Rembrandt by the Amsterdam artist Willem Schellinks (1627-1678). In one of four paintings by him that incorporate sources from Mogul painting (see plate 1.11) we see two cavalcades approaching from either side of a stage, bringing princely personages toward the center. This takes

place under the aegis of a celestial vision of the apotheosis of Mogul emperors Akbar and Jahangir. The source of that detail was also known to Rembrandt, who made a copy of it about the same time. Even more unusual is that Schellinks also wrote a poem about the excellence of Indian art. It appeared in the second volume of a two-volume collection of poetry called *Klioos Kraam* (The Muse of History Gives Birth).

His poem is called "On the Painting of the Benjans," a common word for Indians. It presents the following capsule history of the art of painting: after being invented by the Chaldeans, painting was improved on by the Greeks, then the Romans, then the High and Low Germans (that is, the Netherlanders) and the French, only to be trumped in our time by the clever Gujarat.

Delightfully, on the silken sheet,
His painting is as wonderfully distinguished
As the brush has ever been able to create:
So that he, mocking Europe,
Captures once more the crown of painting.⁸⁸

This is the highest praise ever paid to Indian painting in the West at that time. It seems to have emerged from enthusiastic discussions between Schellinks and Rembrandt and perhaps a group of collectors around them like those identified by Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer. Among them must have been a high official of the Dutch East India Company. Drawings of the Moghul court were not the kind of collectible one could pick up at the bazaar. The Schellinks-Rembrandt initiative can be called a starting shot for a development that never came to fruition.

Not that Persia lacked appeal to the Dutch public. On the Amsterdam stage, a number of plays were produced on Persian themes. *The Coronation of Darius* by P. Dubbels was staged

thirteen times in seven years from 1651 to 1665. *Kosroes, King of Persia* by A. B. de Leeuw had less luck, with only three performances in 1656. Jacob Cats's *Cyrus and Aspasia*, the story of the emperor's love for a shepherdess, was the most successful of these productions, going through seventeen performances in six years between 1656 and 1662.⁸⁹ It has been suggested that this is the subject of the painting by Rembrandt known as *The Jewish Bride*.⁹⁰ Whether or not this probably unprovable hypothesis is true, the painting, with its tender evocation of love between a man and woman in seemingly Oriental dress, fits in with Rembrandt's respectful evocation of the east in his work of this period.

Conclusion

Real-life contact between Dutch VOC officials and the Persians was anything but tender. It was mainly guided by sheer venality and disfigured by thievery and abuse of power, corruption and lying, threats, and employment of actual violence on both sides. To paraphrase von Clausewitz, the VOC warfare was a continuation by other means not of politics but of business.

The terms in which artists of the Persian and Netherlandish cultures received each other's work and each other barely come loose of the prejudgments brought to the arena by members of each group. This impression may be overly influenced by the sparseness of the evidence. It is possible that a minority opinion has been wiped out by time. The fact that the evidence is so sparse is however itself a reflection of the fact that artistic exchange is a minuscule phenomenon by comparison with more material forms of commerce. In the marketplace, a certain equality and mutuality are presumed. When a buyer and seller shake hands on a deal, they agree on the value of the items or services

concerned. It was hard enough for the VOC to achieve workable exchangeability in trading silk and silver. Transactions were complicated by issues of prestige, military considerations, corruption on both sides, European smugness, and the underlying assumption by the Persians that the Dutch were petitioners for favor, bringing tribute to the king of kings. Deals that were made, even royal edicts and resolutions of the States-General, were simply thrown out the window at the first setback or the first opportunity to gain an advantage by violating the treaty. Yet business did get done.

When it came to works of art, nothing close even to that defective degree of compatibility was attainable. All other factors aside, there was too large a financial-cultural gap between Dutchmen who wouldn't give a stiver for a Persian painting and Persians to whom European prices for works of art were incomprehensible. Recall the missive of 1641 accompanying a return shipment of paintings that were not offered to the Safavid court because they would not "be valued at anything close to their price." It would have taken a Joseph Duveen to sell Dutch paintings to the Persians for a good price, and none of the VOC officials in the country were endowed with his belief in the product, let alone his gifts as a salesman.

If Rudi Matthee is right that "the seventeenth-century travelers [...] brought with them a set of specific ways of seeing that facilitated the translation and the mediation of difference to the point of engaged empathy,"⁹¹ then the fine arts formed an exception. Of the two cultures, the Persians showed themselves far more open to European values than vice versa. Insofar as art entered Dutch-Persian relations, it can be said to have smoothed over rough edges. In a global perspective on our subject, we could suggest that fine art serves to divert attention from – and therefore make more palatable – the raw interest or hard necessity that otherwise threatens to

govern human relations. This may sound cynical, and to some it undoubtedly was. But artists and art lovers who looked beyond the borders of their own upbringing, however few in number they may have been, could be richly rewarded. In the midst of the mutual exploitation of Dutchmen

and Persians in the Age of the VOC, the realm of art gave room, however infrequently it was entered, for imagining, projecting, or experiencing the most personal qualities of the other and oneself.

Notes

1. "Van de 14 kantoren buiten Batavia stond, blijkens eene opgave der 'Generaele Winst' van 1 Januari 1625-7 Januari 1626, Perzië met een winstcijfer van f. 176.429:12:4 bovenaan en overtrad zelfs Japan." H. Dunlop, ed., *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Oostindische Compagnie in Perzië*, vol. 1 (all that appeared), 1611-1638, vol. 72 of the series *Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën* (The Hague 1930), LXXV. Now wonderfully available online at <http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/retroboeken/perzie/>. The author wishes to express kind thanks and appreciation to Willem Floor and Rudi Matthee for reading and commenting on this essay; to Radinck van Vollenhoven and Martine Gosse link for commissioning an article from me on Dutch artists in Safavid Persia and other essential help; to Sussan Babaie, Gauvin Bailey, Jan de Hond, Amy Landau, Mary McWilliams, David Roxburgh, Jennifer Scarce, and Pauline Scheurleer for invaluable help along the way; to Petry Kievit for editorial improvement; and to NIAS and my fellow members of the NIAS theme group *Netherlandish Art in Asia* for a memorable experience in collaborative scholarship. Much of the contents of this essay have been published in other form previously. In 2009 in the publication cited in note 14, and in G. Schwartz, 'Between Court and Company: Dutch Artists in Persia,' in A. Langer, ed., *The Fascination of Persia: The Persian-European Dialogue in Seventeenth-Century Art & Contemporary Art from Tehran*, exhib. cat. Museum Rietberg (Zürich 2013), 152-169.
2. "Den 9en November 1627 schrijft Coen naar Amsterdam: 'God geve, de Comp. lange een vredigen handel in Persia behouden [...].'" Dunlop, *Oostindische Compagnie in Perzië*, LX-III; D. W. Davies, *A Primer of Dutch Seventeenth Century Overseas Trade* (The Hague 1961), 99f.
3. N. R. Keddie and R. Matthee, eds., *Iran and the Surrounding World: Interactions in Culture and Cultural Politics* (Seattle and London 2002).
4. An exception to this rule is reported at secondhand by "one foreign observer, writing in the second half of the seventeenth century, [who] belies the notion that, in practice, the Iranians looked at Europeans generically as *Farangiyān*, asserting that they saw the Russians as uncultured, the Poles as bellicose, the French as quarrelsome, the Spanish as noble, the Italians as sagacious, the English as practically inclined, and the Dutch as mercantile." R. Matthee, 'Between Aloofness and Fascination: Safavid Views of the West,' *Iranian Studies*, 31.2 (1998): 219-246, esp. 231.
5. "[...] classical Muslim geographers [...] divided the world into seven 'climes,' situating Europe in the outer edge, beyond the realm of civilization." Matthee, 'Between Aloofness and Fascination,' 220.
6. Y. Porter, 'From the Theory of "Two *Qalams*" to the "Seven Principles of Painting": Theory, Terminology and Practice in Persian Classical Painting,' *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World*, 15 (2000): 109-118, esp. 113.
7. G. Schwartz, 'Ars Moriendi: The Mortality of Art,' *Art in America* (November 1996): 72-75.
8. S. Babaie, *Isfahan and its Palaces: Statecraft, Shi'ism and the Architecture of Conviviality in Early Modern Iran* (Edinburgh 2008), 270f.
9. W. Floor, *A Social History of Sexual Relations in Iran* (Washington, D.C. 2008), 19.

10. W. Floor, 'The Talar-i Tavila or Hall of Stables, a Forgotten Safavid Palace,' *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World*, 19 (2002): 149-163, esp. 160.
11. See the information on the history of the collection on the website of the Leiden University Library: <http://media.leidenuniv.nl/legacy/Collectieplan%20BC%20Midden-Oosten%20-%202001-10-08.pdf> (accessed 15 November 2011). With thanks to Jan Just Witkam for largely confirming this impression. Witkam also pointed out interestingly that early catalogues of the Leiden University Library drew no distinction between illustrated and unillustrated manuscripts – a rule that however applied to Western as well as Oriental manuscripts.
12. R.A. Ingrams, 'Rubens and Persia,' *The Burlington Magazine*, 116, nr. 853 (April 1974), 190-197, esp. 193.
13. "Aanwijzingen voor de aanwezigheid van Indiase miniaturen in de Republiek in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw," in P. Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'Het Witsenalbum: Zeventiende-eeuwse Indiase portretten op bestelling,' *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, 44.3 (1996): 167-254, esp. 211-230.
14. Four scholars have reviewed the Dutch artistic presence in Persia in the seventeenth century: P.A. Leupe, 'Nederlandsche schilders in Persië en Hindostan, in de eerste helft der 17^{de} eeuw,' *De Nederlandsche Spectator*, 33 (23 June 1873): 260-263, and 34 (23 August 1873): 265-266; J. de Loos-Haaxman, *De landsverzameling schilderijen in Batavia: landvoogdsportretten en compagnieschilders* (Leiden 1941), with valuable introductions and appendixes extending further than the collection itself; H. Gerson, 'Asien,' in *Ausbreitung und Nachwirkung der holländischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Haarlem 1942), 535-550, reprint with additional matter by Bert Meijer (Amsterdam 1983); and W. M. Floor, 'Dutch Painters in Iran during the First Half of the 17th Century,' *Persica: Jaarboek voor het Genootschap Nederland-Iran*, 8 (1979): 145-161. I am most grateful to Willem Floor for having read and commented on an earlier version of the part of the present text dealing with the Dutch artists in Persia. Any errors it may contain I claim exclusively for myself. The following section is extracted from G. Schwartz, 'Safavid Favour and Company Scorn: The Fortunes of Dutch Painters to the Shah,' in M. Gosselink, Dirk J. Tang, and J. Braam, eds., *Iran and the Netherlands: Interwoven through the Ages* (Gronsveld and Rotterdam 2009), 133-152.
15. For his interesting story, see above, 37-39.
16. "Nadien ick jaeren soo in Italiën, Constantinopolen, Egipten, Jerusalem, Aleppo, Babiloniën, als meer andere plaetsen, geperegrineert hadde, ben ten laetsten gecommen aen het Hoff van den Coninck van Persiën [...]" Dunlop, *Oostindische Compagnie in Perzië*, 722, from the *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal*, 1630-31, 29 June 1629.
17. Floor, 'Dutch Painters in Iran,' 146.
18. Th. Herbert, *Description of the Persian Monarchy Now Being the Orientall Indyas, Iles and Other Ports of the Greater Asia and Africk* (London 1634), 169.
19. H. Dunlop, *Oostindische Compagnie in Perzië*, 126, nr. 63: "Van Bewindhebbbers, Amsterdam, aan Huybert Visnich, Ispahan. Amsterdam Dec. 1624. [...] 'Eenige schilderijen gaen mede op Surrat, doch wy en vinden niet goet, dat daervan eenige na Parsia werden gesonden, vermits in all de selve menschelycke figuren geschildert sijn. Oock hebben wy verstaen by particulier advijs van den 18 January 1624, dat U E. by een meester schilder, die by den Coninck in groot credit is, seer sijt geholpen by Sijn Majt. in 't vercrygen van uwe audientie ende ander acces ende openinghe in den handel, waerover den voorseyden meester schilder niet en dient ergens in by eenige occasie te werden geoffen- ceert. Indien hy beter mester is als de gene, die dese schilderyen, op Surrat gesonden, hebben gemaect, soo en souden sy aldaer in Parsia niet wesen geëxtimeert ende indien beter waren, soo soude hy ons aen hem in sijn reputatie by Syn MaT. daerinne te cort geschieden door comparatie van beter werck met het syne."
20. "Syne MaT., horende dat ze geene brieven en brochten van haere heeren ende meesters, was verwondert ende heeft my belast, dat ick mijn op alles wel soude informeren. Syne MaT. wilde de vrienden, aldaer aengecomen, om mynent wille seer wel tracteren, seggende

- myne getrouwicheyt hem bekendt te wesen, verseeckert zijnde, dat ik niet anders als de suyvere waarheyt verclaren soude, waerop ik aen zyne MaT. versocht hebbe, dat se nevens de Portugesen, Engelschen ende Italianen in gelycke eere ende respect mochten werden getracteert ende onthaelt ende dat Zyne MaT. belieffden hunluyden met een bequaeme huysinge te versien, daertoe ick alle mijn faveur by den Coninck ende Zyne mignons hebbe gecontribueert, alsoo alle d'andere natiën hunluyden affgunstich waeren ende middelen sochten 't selve te beletten. Syne MaT. heeft my datelijck alles toegestaen ende doen aenwysen een schoon paleys, omme onse aengecomen vrienden daerinne te logeren ende alle vrydom, sonder enige costen, te genieten, twelcke geschiet is ende logeren alsnoch aldaer, tot op desen huydigen dage." Dunlop, *Oostindische Compagnie in Perzië*, 724, from the *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal*, 1630-31, 29 June 1630. This self-satisfied version of events is not contradicted by anything else in the VOC papers.
21. Floor, 'Dutch Painters in Iran,' 146.
 22. De Loos-Haaxman, *De landsverzameling schilderijen in Batavia*, 35. At the 2010 conference of Historians of Netherlandish Art in Amsterdam, Rebecca Tucker gave a paper entitled 'At Home in Bijapur: Cornelis Claesz. Heda and Dutch Art in India.'
 23. "Van Huybert Visnich, Gamron, aan de Staten-Generaal. 9 February 1625. [...] Heeft in sijn geselschap een Nederlander, den Coninck alhier eenige jaren voor schilder gedient hebbende, een jongman van goeden naeme, fame, seer gewilt van Sijn MagT., genaemt Jan Luyckassen Hasselt, welcken persoon, alsoo ick hem voor deesen in Aleppo gecent hebbe, heeft hem seer gaerne ten dienste van UE. laten gebruycken." Dunlop, *Oostindische Compagnie in Perzië*, 144, nr. 72.
 24. U. Vermeulen, 'L'ambassade persane de Musa Beg aux Province-Unies (1625-1628),' *Persica: Jaarboek van het Genootschap Nederland-Iran*, 7 (1975-1978): 145-154.
 25. "Aen Van Hasselt, die achteraf Visnich's grootste vijand bleek te zijn, verstrekke Van den Broecke geld en een aanbevelingsbrief, gericht tot Bewindhebbers, waarvan Van Hasselt gebruik schijnt te hebben gemaakt, om Visnich zwart te maken [...]." Dunlop, *Oostindische Compagnie in Perzië*, LXXV.
 26. W. Floor and M. Faghfoory, *The First Dutch-Persian Commercial Conflict: The Attack on Qeshm Island, 1645* (Costa Mesa 2004), 54-64.
 27. "Van Huybert Visnich (vermoedelijk te Ispahan) aan Johan. van Peenen. 'In den put Josephs,' 24 December 1630 [...]. Daertoe verleene Godt een openinge van passagie ende helpe my met Joseph uut den put, daer van myne broeders in geworpen legge, dewelcke wel eenen St. Steffen van nooden hebben, om voor haer te bidden: 'Heere, vergeeft het haer, want syen weten niet, wat sy doen.'" Dunlop, *Oostindische Compagnie in Perzië*, 360-361, nr. 198.
 28. "Ce qu'il y a donc d'important ici, c'est qu'il ne s'agit pas d'une simple légation mais d'une véritable ambassade puisque Van Hasselt se fixerait aux Pays-Bas comme résident représentant le Shah." U. Vermeulen, 'La mission de Jan L. van Hasselt comme agent du shah de Perse aux Provinces-Unies (1629-1631),' *Persica: Jaarboek voor het Genootschap Nederland-Iran*, 8 (1979): 133-143, esp. 135.
 29. R. Matthee, *The Politics of Trade in Safavid Iran: Silk for Silver, 1600-1730* (Cambridge 1999), 113.
 30. These are approximations in a notoriously difficult field. For the value of the zecchino in Venetian ducats in 1618, see J. C. Hocquet, *Denaro, navi e mercanti a Venezia* (Rome 1999), 408. For the ratio between (Dutch) ducats and guilders, admittedly in the eighteenth century, see J. van Zanden and M. van Tielhof, 'Roots of Growth and Productivity Change in Dutch Shipping Industry, 1500-1800,' *Explorations in Economic History*, 46.4 (2009): 389-403, Appendix 2, n. 5.
 31. "[...] daar deze een persoon is, die zichzelf niet gouverneeren kan en gedurende zijn verblijf alhier in het leiden van een zeer luxurieuus, ongebonden leven aan de O.-I. Compagnie veel schande [translated in the text as 'schade'; GS] heeft aangedaan [...]." De Loos-Haaxman, *De landsverzameling schilderijen in Batavia*, 43.

32. See on this subject Floor, *A Social History of Sexual Relations in Iran*, 150ff.
33. Floor, 'Dutch Painters in Iran,' 150.
34. The best lexicon entry on Angel, indeed the only complete and reliable one in the art-historical literature, is that by M. Wurfbain and S. Kratzsch in Saur's *Allgemeine Künstler-Lexikon* (Munich and Leipzig 1992).
35. C. Speelman, *Journaal der reis van den gezant der O. I. Compagnie Joan Cunaeus naar Perzië in 1651-1652*, ed. A. P. H. Hotz (Amsterdam 1908), XLI, 199.
36. De Loos-Haaxman, *De landsverzameling schilderijen in Batavia*, 63.
37. Floor, 'Dutch Painters in Iran,' 154.
38. Ibid., 154.
39. "De Compagnie eischte een bedrag van 3300 guldens wegens 'de costelijke schildercamer, die door dezen in den jaere [left blank] in Spahan tegen ordre van den directeur in Persia op zijn eygen autoriteit gemaect heeft.'" De Loos-Haaxman, *De landsverzameling schilderijen in Batavia*, 49-51.
40. L. J. Bol, 'Philips Angel van Middelburg en Philips Angel van Leiden,' *Oud Holland*, 64 (1949): 3-19; A. van der Willigen Pz., *Les artistes de Harlem: notices historiques avec un précis sur la gilde de St. Luc*, édition revue et augmenté (Haarlem and The Hague 1870, reprint Nieuwkoop 1970), 68-73 (on Philips Angel, 70).
41. I committed this error of judgment in Schwartz, 'Safavid Favour and Company Scorn The Fortunes of Dutch Painters to the Shah', 141.
42. "[...] qu'il avoit mal employé son temps, & que la chose ne valoit pas la peine d'estre dessinée, ni d'obliger un curieux à se détourner un quart-d'heure de son chemin." Speelman, *Journaal*, XCII, quoting Tavernier 1680-1681, vol. 3, 729.
43. "[...] plusieurs desseins, dont quelques-uns estoient de sa propre main. Car le roi a fort bien appris a dessigner de deux peintres hollandais l'un nommé Angel et l'autre Lokar que la Compagnie hollandaise luit avait envoyé." De Loos-Haaxman, *De landsverzameling schilderijen in Batavia*, 43, quoting from J. B. Tavernier, *Les six voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier: qu'il fait en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes* (Paris 1680-1682), vol. 1, 456. There are earlier editions of the journals in English.
44. "Van Adriaen van Oostende, Ispahan, aan Bewindhebbers, Amsterdam, 10 Augustus 1638 [...] noch sonder noot aen Mametbeecq, Conincx schilder, geleent 40 tomannen – daer weynich van weder comen sal [...]." Dunlop, *Oostindische Compagnie in Perzië*, 656, nr. 318.
45. "Terwijl de betrekking van tweede persoon aan het kantoor te Soeratta in 1656 werd waargenomen door Koedijk, zond Shah Jehan aan een zijner gouverneurs een brief waarin hij schrijft 'te hebben gehoord, het nieuws van de schilders en chirurgijn (of die kennis heeft van de natuurlijke dingen) der Hollanders,' met last hen dadelijk naar het hof te zenden. De gouverneur gaf van dezen bekomen last terstond kennis aan den directeur Hendrik van Wijck, die hiermede in het geheel niet was ingenomen. Vooreerst omdat de vorst over deze personen wilde beschikken zonder hem daarin te kennen, en de dienaren der Compagnie te beschouwen als in zijnen dienst te wezen en ten anderen omdat, wanneer ze eenmaal ter beschikking van Z.M. waren gesteld, het doorgaans zooveel moeite kostte hen weder terug te krijgen. Maar om Z.M. niet voor het hoofd te stooten en om der gevolgen wille, besloot van Wijck, gesterkt door zijn bijhebbende raden, aan zijn verzoek gevolg te geven, doch tevens zóó dat aan den oudsten hunner het karakter van agent zou worden toegekend en dat dezen de belangen der Compagnie aldaar zouden worden opgedragen." Leupe, 'Nederlandsche schilders in Persië en Hindostan,' 265. Quoted here as exemplary for the attitude of the VOC in such matters in Persia as well as India.
46. For a summary of the references to other painters, see Schwartz, 'Safavid Favour and Company Scorn,' incorporating the main findings of Leupe, 'Nederlandsche schilders in Persië en Hindostan' and Floor, 'Dutch Painters in Iran.'
47. "Waarom wij UEd. mits dezen ook medegeven eenen Barend van Sichem, die zeer wel teekenen en het penseel mede redelijk wel manieren kan, idem Claes Andriesz. van Amsterdam die wel in esmalte (émail) en het

- verzetten van steenen werken kan. Vóór dezen is de Majesteit van dezen kunstenaars een bijzonder liefhebber geweest. UE. zullen haren dienst presenteren en met hare persoonen zooveel benevolentie winnen als voortijds bij Franschen en Italianen wel geschied is. De noodwendigheden voor dezen wordt in partijen medegezonden; hetgeen nog gebreken mogte en nu niet te bekomen is, zullen als voren naar deze voldoen." Leupe, 'Nederlandsche schilders in Persië en Hindostan,' 262; Floor, 'Dutch Painters in Iran,' 148f. I remain slightly concerned over this reading of the case: had the shah expressed pleasure in the work of these specific individuals, or in the talents of European painters and craftsmen in general?
48. Bufkens is buried in the Armenian cemetery in Julfa, outside Isfahan. The inscription on his gravestone, as photographed in April 2008 by Martine Gosselink, reads: "Hier Leyt Begraven Huybert Bufkens, in syn Leven [...] wegens de N^{lse} Oost-Indische Comp^e, En Diamant Slyper in Dienst vande Coninck van Persien – Obyt [...] 25en December 1658. [Here lies buried Huybert Bufkens, in his life [servant] of the Dutch East India Company and diamond cutter in the service of the King of Persia, deceased [...] 25 December 1658.]"
 49. T. S. R. Boase, 'A Seventeenth-Century Typological Cycle of Paintings in the Armenian Cathedral at Julfa,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 13.3-4 (1950): 323-327.
 50. See A. Landau, 'Reconfiguring the Northern European Print' in this volume.
 51. D. J. Roxburgh, *Prefacing the Image: The Writing of Art History in Sixteenth-Century Iran* (Leiden 2001).
 52. The Hague, Nationaal Archief, VOC 13473, Generale eisen van Indië, eis van 1636 voor 1637. With kind thanks to Cynthia Viallé for this and the following reference.
 53. "Soo sijn wij UE meede terugge sendende de grootte schilderije vande zee strijt voor Gibraltar door den admirael Heemskercken gedaan, alsoo den oppercoopman Sr Adriaen van Oostende en verscheijde Mooren, niet min een schilder voor deesen in dienst van den coningh geweest ons onderrechten bij den coningh niet aengenaem, nocht op verde naerde waerdije geexlimeert soude werden, maer wel schoone personagies, vrouw, persoonen, bancquette, feesten, als aenlijdinge tot luxurie [...]" The Hague, Nationaal Archief, VOC 1135, Gamron, 9 May 1641, Wollebrant Geleijnsz. to Batavia, Governor-general and councillors, fol. 802v.
 54. "Met een woort alleen zeg ik, dat'er tusschen hunnen Godtsdienst, en dien ter Turken zeer weinigh verschil is, uitgezeit dat de Persianen geen en afkeer hebben van geschilderde beelden, die men ook doorgaens in hunne huizen ziet." C. de Bruyn, *Cornelis De Bruins Reizen Over Moskovie, Door Persie En Indie: Verrykt met Driehondert konstplaten, Vertoonende de beroemste lantschappen en steden, ook de byzondere dragten, beesten, gewassen en planten, die daer gevonden worden* (Amsterdam 1711), 173.
 55. R. W. Ferrier, 'An English View of Persian Trade in 1618: Reports from the Merchants Edward Pettus and Thomas Barker,' *JESHO*, 19 (1976): 182-214, esp. 214. With thanks to Willem Floor for this reference.
 56. A. Soudavar, 'Between the Safavids and the Mughals: Art and Artists in Transition,' *IRAN*, 37 (1999): 49-66, esp. 51.
 57. Dunlop, *Oostindische Compagnie in Perzië*, 590: "290. Van Nicolaes Jacobsz. Overschie, Ispahan, aan Bewindhebbers, Amsterdam. 24 November 1636.
"De Shah is den 13en dezer triomfantelijk ingehaald, vele gevangen Turken meebrengende, afkomstig uit Eriwan, alsmede een ambassadeur uit Constantinopel en een uit Hindustan. De Shah bewijst hem, evenals aan de Engelschen, de beleefdheid hen op gastmalen te noodigen. Z.M. begint zich meer met staatszaken te bemoeien.
"Evenals de andere vreemdelingen heeft Overschie een eerepoort doen maken. De Shah heeft die eerepoort met een bezoek vereerd en Overschie heeft aan Z.M. juweelen en geld ten bedrage van f4.000 aangeboden, terwijl Z.M. tevens een beker wijn heeft aanvaard en er een uur heeft doorgebracht. Hij vroeg ook naar den naam van Zijne Princelijke Excellentie. Z.M. had verklaard, dat onze eerepoort de mooiste van alle was. De totale

- kosten bedragen f6.000, behalve de schenkage. Hij hoopt, dat men hem dit niet ten kwade zal duiden."
58. M. Alam and S. Subrahmanyam, *Indo-Persian Travels in the Age of Discovery* (New York 2010).
 59. Babaie, *Isfahan and its Palaces*, 12. This remark comes uncannily close to the two-thousand-year-older judgment of Herodotus, *Histories*, par. 134: "After themselves, [the Persians] hold their immediate neighbours in the highest regard, then those who live the next furthest away, and so on in order of proximity; so they have the least respect for those who live furthest away from their own land." I doubt however whether Sussan Babaie would second the following remark by Herodotus: "The reason for this is that they regard themselves as by far the best people in the world in all respects, and others as gradually decreasing in goodness, so that those who live the furthest away from them are the worst people in the world." For more specific references to sources, see Matthee, 'Between Aloofness and Fascination,' 226-228.
 60. L. Lockhart, 'European Contacts, 1350-1756,' in W. Bayne Fisher, P. Jackson, and L. Lockhart, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 6 (Cambridge 1986), 373-409, esp. 386. Schwartz, 'The Sherleys and the Shah: Persia as the Stakes in a Rogue's Gambit,' 78-99.
 61. *The Perillous and Most Unhappy Voyages of John Struys through Italy, Greece, Lifeland, Muscovia, Tartary, Media, Persia, East-India, Japan, and Other Places* (London 1683).
 62. K. Boterbloem, *The Fiction and Reality of Jan Struys: A Seventeenth-Century Dutch Globetrotter* (Basingstoke 2008), 1.
 63. De Bruyn, *Cornelis De Bruins Reizen Over Moskovie, Door Persie En Indie*; A new and more correct translation than has hitherto appeared in public of Mr. Cornelius Le Bruin's *Travels into Moscovy, Persia, and Divers Parts of the East-Indies* (London 1759).
 64. De Bruyn, 'The Use of Painting by the Persians,' in, *Cornelis De Bruins Reizen Over Moskovie, Door Persie En Indie*, 173f.
 65. De Bruyn, *Cornelis De Bruins Reizen Over Moskovie, Door Persie En Indie*, 138f., 182.
 66. *Sir John Chardin's Travels in Persia*, ed. Sir Percy Sykes (London 1927); photomechanical reprint (Amsterdam 1971), 248f.
 67. R. Matthee, 'The Safavids under Western Eyes: Seventeenth-Century European Travelers to Iran,' *Journal of Early Modern History*, 13 (2009): 137 and passim. Matthee, quoting P. J. Marshall, declares his intention of seeking "similarity, convergence and complementarity, rather than stark difference," in the writings of European travelers in Persia. In all candor, I can say that I began the present research in the same spirit. However, I failed to find any evidence of complementarity in these writings with regard to art. In Matthee, 'Between Aloofness and Fascination,' 231f., the same author does include references to the art of painting in a study of Safavid attitudes to Europeans. By locating some of the developments discussed in the present article in a broader context, Matthee arrives at a more upbeat picture of the situation than that sketched here. He is surely right, however, in concluding: "An admixture of premodern toleration, calculated pragmatism, and plain human curiosity prevailed in the practical attitude of Iranians toward people from the West" (246). This applies perfectly well to the spotty adaptation by Persian artists of models and ideas in Western art.
 68. Sussan Babaie speaks of the "architecture of conviviality" as a leading principle of Safavid statecraft. Babaie, *Isfahan and its Palaces*.
 69. S. Babaie, 'Shah 'Abbas II, the Conquest of Qandahar, the Chihil Sutun, and its Wall Paintings,' *Muqarnas: An Annual on Islamic Art and Architecture*, 11 (1994): 125-142, esp. 131; A. Landau, *Farangī-sāzī at Isfahan: The Court Painter Muḥammad Zamān, the Armenians of New Julfā and Shāh Sulaymān (1666-1694)* (Ph.D. diss., Oxford 2007), 219.
 70. Landau, *Farangī-sāzī at Isfahan*, 212-213.
 71. *Ibid.*, 213.
 72. *Ibid.*, 5-6.
 73. More amazingly, the same artist created in the early 1680s a painting entitled by Eleanor Sims, *Pastiche of the Holy Family and the Trinity, the Angel of the Annunciation, and Charles I in the Guise of St. Joseph*. Sims (1983), 76-77

- (Pastiche) and 82, note 20 (gift of English royal portraits). See also Ferrier, 'An English View of Persian Trade,' for the English gifts to Shah Safi.
74. Matthee, 'Between Aloofness and Fascination,' 236, n. 79.
 75. Babaie, *Isfahan and its Palaces*, 130f.
 76. *Ibid.*, 117f.
 77. De Bruyn, *Cornelis De Bruins Reizen Over Moskovie, Door Persie En Indie*, 148.
 78. S. R. Canby, *Shah 'Abbas: The Remaking of Iran* (London 2009), 257-258, cat. nr. 125. In this interesting entry, Canby comes to the provisional conclusion that the image derives not from a likeness of 'Abbas but from a portrait series in Munich of the Ottoman sultans.
 79. Ingrams, 'Rubens and Persia,' 194.
 80. *Ibid.*, 197; K. Belkin, *The Costume Book*, vol. 24 of the *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard* (London 1980), 165-170, cat. nrs. 39-40. The source for Rubens's images, which are extensively annotated concerning color and other features, has never been identified. Ingrams thinks they derive from Persian miniatures, while Belkin prefers the theory that they are based on drawings made by a European traveler in Persia.
 81. H. Goetz, 'Persians and Persian Costumes in Dutch Painting of the Seventeenth Century,' *The Art Bulletin*, 20 (1938): 280-290, esp. 281f.
 82. Goetz, 'Persians and Persian Costumes,' 288.
 83. E. de Groot, 'The Dutch Embassy to Isfahan (Persia) in 1651-52 Led by Johannes Cunaeus: A New Interpretation of Weenix's Monumental History Painting,' *The Rijksmuseum Bulletin*, 57.4 (2009): 312-325.
 84. Jennifer Scarce, e-mail of 1 April 2008.
 85. Goetz, 'Persians and Persian Costumes,' 284, remarks: "It is not quite easy to define the differences between the Persian, Turkish, and Indian fashions of dress during the first half of the seventeenth century, as not only the Turks but also the Indian Mohammedans copied the Persian model to a considerable degree." This applies to more customs than dress alone.
 86. N. MacLaren and C. Brown, *The Dutch School: 1600-1900*, 2 vols., Vol. 1: *Text and Comparative Plates*, Vol. 2: *Plates and Signatures* (New Haven and London 1991), 343-346, with earlier literature. See also Dunlop, *Oostindische Compagnie in Perzië*, 399, a source that seems to have been missed until now in the art-historical literature. Dunlop does not have a very high opinion of Philips's reputation in the Company.
 87. P. Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'Mogolminiaturen door Rembrandt getekend,' *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis*, 32 (1980): 10-40. Certain aspects of the present project would have benefitted, in my opinion, had the Indo-Persian realm been treated as a whole.
 88. With kind thanks to Jan de Hond of the Rijksmuseum, who introduced the poem into scholarly discourse at a seminar of November 2009 at the NIAS.
 89. E. Oey-de Vita and M. Geesink, *Academie en Schouwburg: Amsterdams toneelrepertoire 1617-1665*, Amsterdam (Huis aan de Drie Grachten) 1983, 160 ("Darius kroning"), 161 ("Cirus en Aspasia"), 178 ("Kosroes, koning van Parssen"). There may be other Persia themes hidden behind less unequivocal titles.
 90. G. Schwartz, *Rembrandt: His Life, His Paintings* (London 1985), 328.
 91. Matthee, 'The Safavids under Western Eyes,' 137-171, esp. 140.

2 Reconfiguring the Northern European Print to Depict Sacred History at the Persian Court

Amy S. Landau

Introduction

Notions of an alternative form of artistic representation deriving from *farang* (Europe) would have formulated in Iran as early as the thirteenth century with the circulation of Western art via diplomatic and commercial channels. Not until the late seventeenth century, however, did “Europeanized” modes of Persian painting develop. At that time there was an enthusiastic welcoming of *farangī-sāzī* (Europeanized style),¹ especially in the Safavid capital at Isfahan, which was affectionately known to its inhabitants as *Isfahan nesfi-jahān* or Isfahan, half the world. There imperial painters integrated European compositions and techniques, and fused them with established pictorial conventions of Persian painting. Playing a key role in this cultural process was the European print, a world-girdling art form of the early modern period.

Networks that helped shape alternative approaches to the Safavid arts were numerous and involved local and foreign agents. This volume is dedicated to one such network: the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (Dutch East India Company, VOC). The Safavid ruler Shah ‘Abbas I (d. 1629) permitted the establishment of the VOC in his empire in 1623, and representation of the Dutch East India Company remained in Persia until 1759.² During that period, the VOC overlapped with other multicontinental collectives at Isfahan, including New Julfan Armenians, the East and French India companies and the Latin missionaries,

who often spoke for the mercantile interests of their imperial sponsors. Trade communities were the in-between class mediating goods and information within the boundaries of the Safavid empire.

Discussing *farangī-sāzī*, scholars have consistently underscored the Dutch presence in Safavid Persia. In 1979, Willem Floor published the Dutch artists mentioned in the VOC records known to have been in Iran during the first half of the seventeenth century.³ Gary Schwartz has continued this line of research, building upon and expanding Floor’s findings. Now questions may be raised, if not fully answered, as to the proximity these artists had with the court, with whom they interacted, and the objects and art they brought. I have argued elsewhere that the majority of Dutch artists remained on the periphery, having minimal talent and limited understanding of local languages and limited access to the court.⁴ Two main exceptions were Jan van Hasselt and Philips Angel, whose careers have been revisited in recent scholarship.⁵

Although the Iranian elite commissioned mural paintings from Dutch and other European painters during the early seventeenth century, there is no evidence to argue that *Safavid* court artists were assimilating European motifs and techniques and combining them with Persian elements for indigenous expression at that time. This could be an issue of the physical survival of evidence. Yet it is remarkable that all the extant dated material indicates that it was not till the second half of the century that a style based on the fusion of

European and Persian traditions was developed by Safavid painters and sponsored at court. Paradoxically, Floor has suggested that the presence of Dutch painters in Iran waned in the latter part of the century,⁶ and Schwartz's research in the present volume confirms this.

While the presence of Dutch artists was at its ebb, Safavid painters re-interpreted northern European prints. Among other subjects, Persian artists were drawn to religious compositions, as attested by numerous single-sheet paintings based on Netherlandish examples.⁷ A selection of these will serve as the focus for my discussion. Dating between the late 1670s and the late 1680s, this corpus forms a coherent group in terms of style, authorship, patronage, and theme. Executed in the "Europeanized" mode, the paintings are all signed by the royal painter Muhammad Zaman ibn-i Haji Yusuf (fl.c. 1670-1700), recognized as the most adept practitioner of *farangī-sāzī*. Their subject matter may be described as biblical and their inscriptions indicate that they were commissioned by, or gifted to, the Safavid ruling elite, including the apex of power, Shah Sulayman (r. 1666-1694). Muhammad Zaman's paintings represent a dynamic and relatively short-lived encounter between the Persian court and European religious art. There is no immediate precedent for Muhammad Zaman's works and analogous compositions by his contemporaries. Within the boundaries of historic Iran, one has to look as far back as the Ilkhanid period (1256-1353) for such a programmatic approach to non-Islamic religious iconography.⁸

Muhammad Zaman's adaptation of European biblical prints calls for a historical and conceptual understanding. In the secondary literature, his late-seventeenth-century compositions have been placed in the context of Shah 'Abbas I, who ruled Persia from 1587 to 1629, and that painter's Europeanizing mode has been discussed in relation to the presence

of Dutch artists in Iran during the first half of the century. I believe however that Muhammad Zaman's repurposing of European images of biblical personages and his Europeanizing mode were related to historical factors that belong largely to the post-'Abbas I epoch.

Part of this historical context was the mediation (or, *remediation*) of northern European print culture by the affluent Armenian merchant community of New Julfa, a suburb of the Safavid capital at Isfahan. An underlying hypothesis of my work has been that Armenian commissions of Europeanized idioms and print technology strongly reverberated at the Persian court.⁹ Among transoceanic communities in Safavid Iran, New Julfa's merchants were arguably the most privileged intermediaries as throughout the seventeenth century they maintained close relations with court officials. Due to familiarity with Persian and European languages, Armenian merchants were interpreters in exchanges between Iranian and European representatives and they are known to have imported items of interest into Iran, including prints and the printing press. An objective of this article is to establish a connection between Muhammad Zaman's appropriations of printed biblical scenes and the heavy reliance on northern European print culture by Armenians in their cultural-religious projects post c. 1640s.

My other objective is to show that it was through a Perso-Islamic lens that the Muslim Safavid viewer would have read European biblical compositions. As Muhammad Zaman's European-inspired images are single pages unaccompanied by text, and, with one exception, without known precedent in the Persian visual tradition, it is assumed that their subject matter was appreciated simply for its exotic "Christian" subject matter. This view presumes that the European print's original Christian associations and formal intent were maintained in its

Persian adaptation and ignores processes of interpretation in Safavid Iran. I will suggest that Muhammad Zaman's biblical paintings are linked with the rejuvenation of stories of the prophets by the powerful and popular theologian Muhammad Baqir Majlisi II (1627-1698) and to religious rhetoric at Sulayman's court. More tentatively, I propose that the desire to exert emblematic power over European compositions of the pre-Islamic prophets is connected with heightened sensitivities about images of sacred history. Interpretation of European visual narratives is a complex issue that must be studied from a variety of perspectives. This article sets out to frame a select group of factors that would have shaped Safavid interest in European biblical iconography, and is part of a larger study on the topic.

Muhammad Zaman's Biblical Paintings

Muhammad Zaman's paintings were conceived as single-pages to be compiled with other paintings and calligraphies in an album (*muraqqa'*). Their inscriptions, three of which running along the compositions' horizontal borders, offer a relatively unusual amount of information. The artist's name and year of execution are found on all four works, which in order of execution and in accordance with their titles in modern scholarship are *Maryam and Ishba* [Mary and Elizabeth] (dated 1089 AH/1678-79 CE) (fig. 2.1)¹⁰; *Holy Family with the Descent of the Holy Spirit* (dated 1094 AH/1682-83 CE) (see plate 2.1)¹¹; *Ibrahim's* [Abraham's] *Sacrifice* (dated 1096 AH/1684-85 CE) (see plate 2.2)¹²; and *The Return of the Holy Family from Egypt* (dated 1100 AH/1689 CE) (see plate 1.6b).¹³ Muhammad Zaman signed *Maryam and Ishba* and *The Return* using his patronymic *ibn-i Hājī Yūsuf*, while on the other two his name appears simply

as *Muhammad Zamān*. The use of the artist's patronymic and the title *Hājī*, acquired through pilgrimage to Mecca, is significant: a look at Muhammad Zaman's oeuvre indicates that he took the opportunity to highlight his family's fulfillment of their Muslim obligation to perform the Hajj on works of religious subject matter.¹⁴



Fig. 2.1: *Maryam (Mary) and Ishba (Elizabeth)*, dated 1089 AH/1678-79 CE.

Dar dār al-saltanat-i isfahān (in the ruling city of Isfahan) is inscribed on *The Return* documenting that the painting was made in the Safavid capital, and it is generally believed that all Muhammad Zaman's biblical pages were executed at Isfahan, the seat of the Safavid court.¹⁵ Muhammad Zaman's paintings, with the exception of the *Holy Family* bear dedicatory inscriptions. The standard dedication to *sarkār* (or, *sarkār-i navvāb*) ("royal highness"), is followed by such honorific formulas as

ashraf-i aqdas-i arfa'-i humāyūn-i ashraf-i a'lā ("the noblest, most pious, most exalted, loftiest majesty"), inscribed on *Maryam and Ishba*; or *kāmyāb-i sipihr rikāb-i ashraf-i aqdas-i arfa'-i humāyūn-i a'lā* ("the heavens [are his] cavalcade, the noblest, most pious, most exalted, loftiest majesty"), on *Ibrahim's Sacrifice*, and in a slightly different form on *The Return*. On the basis of his reading of *sarkār*, Anatoli Ivanov inferred that Muhammad Zaman's biblical paintings were made for the royal treasury.¹⁶ However, *sarkār* (or, *sarkār-i navvāb*) does not exactly mean "royal treasury," which would imply a specific government institution.¹⁷ Instead, *sarkār* is an ambiguous honorific title given to someone in a position of political power. In the above instances, *sarkār* followed by various elaborate laudations may be understood as referring to the shah, vizier, or any other powerful member of court. That *The Return* was made for Shah Sulayman himself is supported by the evocation: "May God the Most High raise his standard, his fortune and his caliphate over all mankind until the Day of Resurrection." We shall revisit the inscription's intriguing apocalyptic tenor later. The point here is that three of the four inscriptions indicate that the paintings were intended for individuals in positions of authority. Finally, in the inscription of the *Holy Family*, the artist signaled the time and labor he invested: *bi-raqam-i kamtarīn Muḥammad Zamān dar muddat-i chahārdah māh sūrat-i itmām yāft fi shuhūr-i sana 1094* ("Signed by the humblest Muhammad Zamān. [The painting] was completed during a period of fourteen months, during the months of the year 1094/1682-1683"). Fourteen months does indeed seem like a long period to dedicate to one composition. Irrespective of the inscription's validity, it does highlight the significance of the artist's creative process and the value placed on that process in elite Safavid circles.

Adapting the Northern European Print

The artist's intentionality shines through the relationship between the Safavid works and their European sources. On the one hand, Muhammad Zaman closely quoted his printed composition in a manner of "imitation" that was a venerated and well-established practice in Persian art and literature.¹⁸ On the other hand, the artist re-worked compositional and stylistic features to create a new "reading" for his viewers.¹⁹ In cases such as *Ibrahim's Sacrifice*, the correspondence with the exemplar, here a composition by the Antwerp artist Pieter de Jode engraved by Egbert van Panderen (c. 1580-1637) (fig. 2.2),²⁰ is so strong it seems that the Safavid artist wished to make an exact impression by hand.²¹ The ability to quote verbatim was considered a feat of great technical skill, which Muhammad Zaman would have wished to showcase. An engraving by Lucas Vorsterman I (1595-1675) after Peter Paul Rubens's *Return from Egypt* was the model for Muhammad Zaman's rendition (fig. 2.3).²² This engraving is part of a series etched by Vorsterman (c. 1620) after works by Peter Paul Rubens printed in Antwerp. The correspondence between the Safavid *Return* and the Rubens-Vorsterman print is interesting. As is the case with the Latin printed text below the Rubens-Vorsterman image, Muhammad Zaman's Persian inscription, also running along the narrow horizontal frame, makes reference to the artist as well as the place and date of production. Muhammad Zaman quotes aspects of his source's compositional features: the fall of the drapery, stance of the figures, and the casting of shadows. Intriguing additions and deletions are made, however. He replaced the matronly Mary, wearing a wide-brimmed hat, of his Rubens-Vorsterman print, with a beautiful maiden with cascading hair,



Fig. 2.2: Sacrifice of Abraham, Composition by the Antwerp Artist Pieter de Jode. Engraved by Egbert van Panderen, dated c. 1590–1637.

earrings and a loose veil;²³ ignored the eagle and snake, which while of great Christological significance, did not seem to appeal either pictorially or iconographically; and repositioned the palm tree to the border of the composition. The figural group of *Maryam and Ishba*, relating the visit of Mary, who had just conceived, to her pregnant cousin Elizabeth, nods to a “Visitation” scene probably from a printed series of “The Life of the Virgin,” as exemplified by the Dutch engraver Hendrick Golzius (1558–1617) or the Fleming Aegidius Sadeler after Jan Speckaert. Muhammad Zaman reproduces the particular right-handed clasp between Mary and Elizabeth and signature architectural arch of Visitation scenes.



Fig. 2.3: An Engraving by Lucas Vorsterman I (1595–1675) after Peter Paul Rubens *Return from Egypt*.

The *Holy Family* is by far the most complex composition of Muhammad Zaman’s series. It is a hybrid scene composed of highlights from Christian iconographic cycles; Gabriel appears

with Mary, Joseph, and Jesus upon whom the Holy Spirit descends with cherubs, and God the Father above.²⁴ Joseph is positioned at the composition’s center, and, sharing the light of the Holy Spirit with infant Jesus and Mary, is being crowned. Here we see a young, handsome, virile version of Mary’s earthly husband, rather than the oft-depicted aged Joseph. The portrayal of a youthful vibrant Joseph suggests artistic production of early modern Spain and her colonies as a source for the Safavid painter. Josephine devotion peaked, as King Charles of Spain named Joseph patron saint of his empire in 1679. As Charlene Villaseñor Black explains:

Seventeenth-century Spanish and Mexican artists reconceptualized Joseph as an important figure, and they gave him an increasingly substantial role in their images, placing greater compositional importance on his figure and representing him as a youthful, physically robust, diligent head of the Holy Family.²⁵

Muhammad Zaman’s composition points to popular prints narrating Joseph’s role as exemplary earthly husband to the Virgin (in Betrothal paintings Mary is depicted unveiled with soft waves over her shoulders); as dutiful father and teacher to infant Jesus; as co-recipient of angel Gabriel’s message of Mary’s pregnancy; and as head of the Holy Family (see plate 2.3). It was not uncommon for Spanish and Mexican artists to combine several scenes to narrate the life of Joseph, which was being built up by contemporary theologians. Such prints were issued at Antwerp commissioned by the Spanish Crown.

While I have cited linear black-and-white images as Muhammad Zaman’s sources, it is the Safavid artist’s confidence as a colorist that enhances the visual experience of his

compositions. His palette of bright saturated and contrasting opaque watercolors appeals to Safavid tastes and book arts. While meeting local aesthetics of bright bold and contrasting color, Muhammad Zaman introduces principles of aerial perspective. He creates a dramatic contrast with his muted shades in the background that display an understanding of occidental color perspective. Muhammad Zaman's approach to color bears some similarities with European hand-colored painted prints, and the possibility that the Safavid artist was looking at European painted prints must be kept open.²⁶ In accordance with the Persianate tradition, Muhammad Zaman defines form through both color and line, giving roundness and density to his figures. His line follows his print and then is exaggerated: he overemphasizes his application in an apparent effort to create surface pattern.

So the question is: what was the appeal of the European print for depicting biblical history? There was an established Safavid iconography for illustrating stories of the biblical prophets. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a rich visual tradition for biblical events formulated within Persian painting in illustrated copies of *Qisas al-anbiyā'* [Stories of the Prophets] (see plate 2.4),²⁷ *Fālnāma* texts,²⁸ *Majālis al-'ushshaq* [Assemblies of Lovers], *Rawsat al-safā* [Resting Place of the Pure], and *Zubdat al-tavārīkh* [The Cream of Histories], where depictions of pre-Islamic prophets are found. Like Persian illustrations, the European prints capture figures in the midst of dramatic action. The European print however relates the narrative without being embedded in text. It's a communication solely in image. Further, the large-scale of the human figures and the verisimilitude of their rendering amplify the theatrical character of the presentation. I believe the independent and theatrical nature of the European printed image certainly were

factors that enhanced the appeal of northern European prints in Safavid Persia.

Merchants as Intermediaries of Northern European Print Culture

The received theatricality of painted compositions based on northern European prints resounds in the words of Jean Chardin, the French Huguenot merchant who travelled in Iran during the 1660s and 1670s: '... les Mahometens viennent à cette Eglise, comme à un Théâtre, pour se divertir de la vue de ces peintures, Il leur en faut ouvrir les portes à toute heure' [The Muslims come to this church as if to a theatre, to amuse themselves by looking at the paintings; it is necessary to open the door for them at all hours].²⁹ Here Chardin is describing All Saviour's cathedral completed in the 1660s with Europeanized murals from floor to ceiling (see plate 2.5). To my mind, the Safavid reception of European biblical compositions is related to the upsurge in local patronage and production of religious art by the empire's settled and Christian communities, especially in New Julfa, where churches were erected with unprecedented speed and decorated with compositions based on European art, mostly northern European prints.

The Armenians of New Julfa played an important and unexplored role in mediating sacred idioms. Shah 'Abbas I established New Julfa at the onset of the seventeenth century to house affluent Armenian long-distance traders, whom he had forcibly deported from Julfa on the river Arax during his campaigns against the Ottomans.³⁰ New Julfa is located adjacently to Isfahan, across the *zayanda rūd*, the river to the south of the city. The suburb's population was comprised of wealthy Armenian mercantile families whose New Julfan factors traveled along the veins of a network extending from



Fig. 2.4: "Nadal's Bible" (the Images and the Adnotationes), *Christus en de Samaritaanse vrouw bij de put* [Christ and the Samaritan Woman at the Well], Feria VI. Post Domin. III. Qvadrage by Hieronymus Wierix and Bernardino Passeri. From Jerome Nadal's *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*, Antwerp 1593.

Amsterdam to Manila through which satellite communities were established.³¹

In New Julfa, Armenian merchants commissioned churches and monasteries and a printing press. Armenian merchants successfully imported European print technology from Italy and Amsterdam to Iran. Between 1638 and 1642 four books were printed in New Julfa,³² and by the late 1650s an Armenian printing house was established in Amsterdam, the costs of which were underwritten by New Julfan merchants.³³ In Amsterdam, Oskan Erevants'i printed the Armenian Bible 1666 [-1668] using compositions by the Dutch woodcut engraver Christoffel van Sichem II (1577-1658).³⁴ The use of Dutch compositions for the first Armenian printing of the bible is clearly significant. The bible funded by merchants and maintained by them as personal copies was narrated not by the iconographic scenes that developed within the Armenian manuscript tradition but by northern European woodcuts that communicated biblical stories in greater detail with an increased number of images. It is important to note that the New Julfa paintings, like those by Muhammad Zaman, employed Netherlandish prints as their sources.

To decorate New Julfa's churches, Armenian artists drew upon van Sichem's own prototype, namely the engraved compositions of *Evangelicae historiae imagines* (Antwerp, 1593) and *Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia* (Antwerp, 1594) by the Jesuit priest Jerome Nadal. "Nadal's Bible" (the *Imagines* and the *Adnotationes*) contained works by Jan and Adriaen Collaert and the Wierix Brothers and was among the most lavishly illustrated presentations of Gospel narratives in the late sixteenth and seventeenth century (fig. 2.4).³⁵ The illustrations proved to be so successful on Jesuits missions to China and Ethiopia, for example, in part because of their ability

to communicate biblical narratives in a clear and powerful manner without recourse to text. Like Muhammad Zaman's sources, the figures of Nadal's compositions are large-scale and dramatic human action is pushed to the foreground.³⁶

The sharp increase in church building and decoration with Europeanized murals by one of Iran's wealthiest merchant communities made an indelible impression upon the Muslim population, as Chardin's above quote demonstrates. The eighteenth-century Armenian historian Xač'atur Ĵulayec'i recounts in *Patmut'wn Parsic'* [History of the Persians] that Shah Sulayman himself came to New Julfa's All Savior's Cathedral and, among other subjects, discussed the wall paintings based on "Nadal's Bible" with the Armenian theologian, philosopher, and artist Yovhannēs Mrk'uz (1642-1716).³⁷ Yovhannēs explained the usefulness of the paintings to communicate religious history. According to Xač'atur, Shah Sulayman was captivated by the murals but voiced his opinion that the pictures of sacred ones were inappropriate in houses of prayer, according to Muslim practice.

The key issue here is mediation. Much like the Jesuits in Mogul India, Armenian merchants, artists, and theologians transmitted northern European printed compositions by such artists as Jan and Adriaen Collaert and the Wierix brothers at a time of particular receptivity and personal exchange among religious communities. Occidental sacred idioms were transmitted by a settled community of Armenian merchants whose finances could support elaborately decorated religious buildings in close proximity to the Persian court and whose members, including painters, had significant degrees of interaction with Safavid officials and artists, the meeting of Shah Sulayman and Yovhannēs Mrk'uz, being only one example. In effect, Yovhannēs Mrk'uz served as an interlocutor of printed compositions

from the *Imagines* and the *Adnotationes* at a time of great interest in biblical narratives, as we shall see. My emphasis on the Armenians as mediators of northern European prints in no way precludes the significance of the VOC in the transmission of this material. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources make it clear that printed compositions were of commercial value in Safavid Iran, in fact throughout Asia, and the VOC would have responded to such a demand (one just need to cite the Dutch ship on its way to China that ran aground near Nova Zembla in 1596 carrying a significant number of prints.) My point is that because of the sustained intellectual, political and commercial exchanges between New Julfan merchants and the Safavid court, Armenians would have likely played the more significant role as interlocutors.

Reading of Muhammad Zaman's Paintings

Muhammad Zaman's biblical paintings for royal consumption symbolically regain possession of the biblical prophets in the same visual vocabulary which had been boldly used at All Savior's Cathedral. Returning to the mise-en-scène of Shah Sulayman in conversation with Yovhannēs Mrk'uz at All Savior's Cathedral, I would like to highlight the biblical verse read by Yovhannēs: (Matt. 5:17) "Do not think that I have come to abolish the law or the prophets; I have come not to abolish but to fulfil."³⁸ This verse stresses the link between Judaism and Christianity, as well as the continuity between the two religions. A Muslim audience would have read into this passage the role of Islam as the ultimate inheritor of the prophetic tradition and the Prophet Muhammad as the *seal of the prophets*. The biblical prophets depicted throughout the congregation area and chancel at the cathedral were thus inherited by

Islam. We may look to explain, at least in part, Yovhannēs's choice of passages to read to Sulayman and Muhammad Zaman's focus on the biblical prophets by reference to contemporary interest in the prophetic tradition shared by "people of the book" and literary production on the subject. I strongly believe Muhammad Zaman's images were read through the prism of Perso-Islamic narratives of the prophets.

Muhammad Baqir Majlisi II (1037-1110/1627-1698), the son of Muhammad Taqi Majlisi (1003-1070/1594-1659), a theologian under 'Abbas II, was one of the most important religious figures of the late Safavid period. Muhammad Baqir Majlisi, who eventually rose to become Isfahan's *shaykh al-Islām* (highest religious dignitary of the city), breathed new life into the genre of the stories of the prophets in his *Hayāt al-qulūb* [Life of the Hearts], which was in fact dedicated to Shah Sulayman. Majlisi recasts the biblical narratives in accordance with the rich tradition of stories of the prophets in Perso-Islamic culture. This tradition includes Old and New Testament events and personalities in the Qur'an, which were expounded by exegetes in the commentary tradition (*tafsīr*) and in sayings of the prophet (*ḥadīth*). Biblical subject matter surfaces again in Islamic historiography. Majlisi's *Hayāt al-qulūb* is a direct continuation of a full-fledged genre dedicated to biblical themes, often under the title *Qisas al-anbiya'* [Stories of the Prophets], illustrated versions of which were referred to above.

Given the popularity of the *Hayāt al-qulūb* and its royal sponsorship, Muhammad Zaman's biblical compositions may be understood in relation to Majlisi's rejuvenation of the stories of the prophets. For example, in Majlisi's account of Zakaria and Yahya (St. John the Baptist) in *Hayāt al-qulūb*, the exchange between Maryam and Zakariya's wife, Ishba is recounted.³⁹ The latter asks to see Maryam to inquire how she had become pregnant. When the two meet,

Ishba, herself heavily pregnant with Yahya, was hardly able to stand on her feet. Through the divine help and instruction of Yahya, she manages to rise to greet Maryam, who, as her unborn child informs her, is the mother of 'Isa (Jesus). While still in Ishba's womb, Yahya bows to 'Isā in the womb of Maryam. This was a first testimonial made by Yahya (*in avval tasdīqī būd ki u rā kard*).⁴⁰ This is just one example of the numerous correlations one could draw between Majlisi's *Hayāt al-qulūb* and Muhammad Zaman's biblical paintings. Here it should also be mentioned that the corpus of Islamic stories of the prophets was enriched by seventeenth-century Persian translations of biblical narratives made by missionaries residing in Iran.⁴¹

At the time Majlisi was reviving the genre of the stories of the prophets and Muhammad Zaman was painting his single-pages based on northern European prints of Old and New Testament scenes, there was much struggle to define boundaries between religious communities in Iran. Though continuous, relations in Iran between Muslim officials, Apostolic Armenians, and Catholic missionaries were complex and ranged between peaceful cooperation and aggressive exchanges. The Safavid court became increasingly aware of the divisions and tensions among the different Christian sects through local struggles between the Latin missionaries and the Apostolic Armenians, both of whom approached the court with grievances about the opponent. In relation to this, one is tempted to suggest that there was greater desire on the part of both the Apostolic Armenians and the Muslim court to assert power over circulating iconographies of the prophets, visual as well as literary.

As a final point, Muhammad Zaman's images of Ibrahim, 'Isa and Maryam may be discussed in association with political and religious rhetoric at Sulayman's court. The royal painter's biblical images are contemporary with

Sulayman's campaign of presenting himself as a devout ruler. Sulayman projected a pious image through public ceremony. This included participation in the annual *Feast of Sacrifices* (*'id-i qurbān*) during which it was customary to slaughter a camel in commemoration of Ibrahim's willingness to sacrifice his own son.⁴² It was in 1684-1685, when the German physician of the VOC Engelbert Kaempfer was in Isfahan and witnessed Sulayman's participation in the annual festival, that Muhammad Zaman executed his rendition of Ibrahim's sacrifice for the court. According to Kaempfer: on the day of the sacrifice, the sacrificial beast was taken to a designated spot on the other side of the *zayanda rūd*, near New Julfa, and in the presence of city officials, was bound and made to squat with its head positioned to face Mecca. After the recitation of the appropriate prayers, Sulayman was the first to strike the beast.⁴³ Through his participation, Sulayman displayed his observation of Shi'i rituals, as he placed himself in the image of Ibrahim, whose faith and submission to God are venerated in Islam. When selecting his subject matter, Muhammad Zaman may well have had in mind the highly public *'id-i qurbān* ceremonies, in which Shah Sulayman enthusiastically took part.⁴⁴

Muhammad Zaman's biblical images that revolve around 'Isa and Maryam may allude to the eschatological significance of 'Isa (Jesus) as a *sign of the hour* as signified in the Qur'an (sura 43:63) and Maryam as the mother of the messiah. According to shi'i eschatology, following the appearance of the Imam Mahdi, Jesus would return for his second coming. According to some traditions, it is Jesus' task to kill the Antichrist (*Dajjāl*), whose emergence will be recognized in Isfahan. After the killing of the Antichrist, a period of peace and prosperity would ensue until the Day of Resurrection (*yaum al-qiyām*), succeeded by the Day of Judgment (*yawm al-dīn*).

There was sensitivity surrounding the issue of millenarianism and messianism in seventeenth-century Iran. The French Jesuit Father Rhodes, for example, associates the persecution of the Jews in Iran with their boasting about the imminent appearance of their messiah.⁴⁵ The year that Sulayman first came to the throne, i.e. 1666, was full of millenarian and messianic hopes and expectations. Chiliastic hopes were fuelled in two monographs written by Majlisi II on the advent (*zuhūr*) and return (*raj'a*) of the Mahdi. In *The Return*, Majlisi predicted that in sixty-five years (i.e. in 1143/1730-1731) from the Mahdi would appear.⁴⁶ In this way, the cleric associated Sulayman's rule with the advent of the Mahdi, and thereby infused his reign with great hope and expectation. Here we may refer back to the inscription found on Muhammad Zaman's painting *The Return* which extols the rule of Shah Sulayman: "For his prosperous Royal Highness, the heavens are his cavalcade, the noblest, the most pious, exalted, loftiest Majesty, may God the Most High raise his standard, his fortune, and his caliphate over all mankind *until the Day of Resurrection*."⁴⁷ It is against the background of eschatological currents that reference to "the Day of Resurrection", as well as images of Isa and Maryam, may begin to be understood. Further research in this matter is required.

Conclusion

The importance of northern European print culture for the development of *farangī-sāzī* is in clear evidence. This study focused on a series of single-sheet biblical paintings executed between the late 1670s and the late 1680s based on European prints by the imperial painter Muhammad Zaman. As stated earlier, in the secondary literature Muhammad Zaman's compositions were placed in the historical

context of Shah 'Abbas I, particularly in relation to the presence of Dutch artists in Iran during the first half of the century. Moreover, they were interpreted as little more than exotica. Such historical and conceptual frames wrest these Safavid images from their intriguing religious, political, and cultural contexts.

Muhammad Zaman's biblical compositions were informed by, and in dialogue with, seventeenth-century cultural and political currents. Independent of a prescribed written narrative, the artist's pages referred to literary and visual worlds outside the paintings' frames. As an illustrator of sacred history at Sulayman's court, Muhammad Zaman would have been aware of the court theologian Muhammad Baqir al-Majlisi's popular *Hayāt al-qulūb* [Life of the Hearts] containing stories of the prophets dedicated to Shah Sulayman, as well as the prevailing rhetoric regarding Majlisi's eschatological prediction of the return of the long-awaited Mahdi. Muhammad Zaman's selection of scenes revolving around the Holy Family and Ibrahim would resonate far beyond foreign exotic Christian imagery: They would recall biblical stories as retold in the rich Islamic literary tradition and would likely conjure the eschatological significance of 'Isa (Jesus) as a *sign of the hour* as most recently predicted by Majlisi.

Religious iconography for stories of the prophets had developed in Persian manuscript painting by the end of the sixteenth century. Significantly, Muhammad Zaman took a synchronic approach, looking to northern European prints rather than to indigenous examples. I believe local channels of mediation played an important role in his choices. Within local networks, European Christian scenes were discussed and reinterpreted. The mediation of European print culture would have involved numerous agents. In this article the intermediary role of the New Julfan Armenian mercantile

network has been emphasized. A defining feature of New Julfan domestic and religious architecture was a pictorial language based predominately on northern European print culture. The surge of New Julfa's architectural patronage and Europeanized decoration by Isfahan's newly emerged mercantile elite from approximately the late 1640s to the 1690s made an indelible impression. This was illustrated through the documented conversation between Shah Sulayman and the Armenian theologian,

philosopher, and artist Yovhannēs Mrk'uz concerning the wall paintings at All Savior's Cathedral. New Julfan patronage of printing at Amsterdam would have also contributed to the mediation of European print culture in the Safavid Empire. The issue of Armenian mediation (or remediation) is an important aspect of understanding how global merchant networks transmitted artistic vocabularies in the early modern period.

Notes

1. *Farangī-sāzī* is a compound word comprised of two elements: a) the adjectival form of *farang* (Europe), *farangī*, denoting an individual from any region of Europe, or Western Christendom, and is often translated "Frankish" or "European"; b) a form based on the present stem of the verb *sākhtan* (to make) that may be rendered into English as "making". See also *Ali Akbar Dihkhuda, Luḡhatnāma*, compiled by M. Mu'in and S. Ja'far Shahidi, 15 vols. (Tehran 1372-1373/1993-1994), vol. 10, 15087, where *farangī-sāzī* is defined as an individual who works in a European manner and as a work made in a European style.
2. For a concise overview of the Dutch in Persia, see W. Floor, 'Dutch-Persian Relations,' in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. VII, fasc. 6, 603-613; also see that author's 'The Dutch and the Persian Silk Trade,' in Ch. Melville, ed., *Safavid Persia: The History and Politics of an Islamic Society* (London 1996), 323-369.
3. That is from the reign of 'Abbas I to 'Abbas II, see W. Floor, 'Dutch Painters in Iran during the First Half of the 17th Century,' *Persica: Jaarboek voor het Genootschap Nederland-Iran*, 8 (1979): 145-161.
4. As discussed in A. Landau, *Farangī-sāzī at Isfahan: The Court Painter Muhammad Zamān, the Armenians of New Julfa and Shāh Sulaymān (1666-1694)* (Ph.D. diss., Oxford 2009), 39-42.
5. Van Hasselt, the first Dutch artist employed at court, resided in Isfahan for an extended

period (1620-1628), was granted the royal title *ustād naqqāsh* (master painter), and maintained contact with Iranians, including a court painter, even after his departure from the empire. Floor has identified Jan van Hasselt with "Giovanni" mentioned by Pietro della Valle. Della Valle related that a certain Giovanni was commissioned to paint murals in the royal palaces at Ashraf and that he was granted the title of *ustād naqqāsh*, see Floor, 'Dutch Painters in Iran,' esp. 145-147. For van Hasselt's mission to the Netherlands on behalf of the shah, also see U. Vermeulen, 'La mission de Jan L. van Hasselt comme agent du Shah de Perse aux Provinces Unies (1629-1631),' *Persica: Jaarboek voor het Genootschap Nederland-Iran*, 8 (1979): 133-44. Philips Angel, author of *Praise of Painting* (Lof der Schilderkonst, editio princeps 1642) worked for the court between 1653 and 1655, and was perhaps the only Dutch painter in Iran who enjoyed significant status as an artist. On Angel in Iran, see Floor, 'Dutch Painters in Iran,' 150-155, and references therein. I have suggested elsewhere that Angel and the artistic tradition he extolled, namely that of the Leiden "fine painters" (*Leidse fijnschilders*), would have reverberated in Iran due to its similarities with the aesthetic of Persian painting: small-scale formats, clarity of minute details, precision of drawing, and highly polished surfaces, see A. Landau, 'From Poet to Painter: Allegory and Metaphor in a Seventeenth-Century Persian Painting

- by Muhammad Zaman, Master of Farangī-sāzī (the Europeanized Style),’ *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World*, 28 (2011): 101-131. Also see Willem van Bennekom, ‘Philips Angel in Isfahan,’ in J. Evert Abrahamse, M. Carasso-Kok, and E. Schmitz, eds., *De Verbeelde Wereld: Liber amicorum voor Boudewijn Bakker* (Bussum 2008), 193-198.
6. Floor only documents the Dutch painters in Iran until 1666. He says: “[...] of the remaining period and of the 18th century documents (in particular 1710-1730) no mention is made anymore of Dutch painters with the exception of Cornelis de Bruin about whom sufficient information exists,” ‘Dutch Painters in Iran,’ 156f.
 7. For example, Safavid artists and patrons were also captivated by images of European women. See A. Landau, ‘Visibly Foreign, Visibly Female: The Eroticization of *Zan-i Farangī* in Seventeenth-Century Iranian Painting,’ in F. Leoni and M. Natif, eds., *Eros and Sexuality in Islamic Art* (London 2013), 99-130.
 8. Here, I refer to the Christian iconography assimilated for the illustration of biblical themes and religious subject matter in the scriptoria of the famous Ilkhanid vizier Rashid al-Din. For example, a “Nativity of Christ” served as a prototype for “The Birth of Muhammad” that illustrates a scene from Jāmi’ al-tawārikh (Compendium of Chronicles) composed by the powerful vizier, Edinburgh, University Library, MS Arab 20. This illustrated manuscript has been dated c. 1315, see Sh. Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid al-Din’s Illustrated History of the World* (London 1995). See also T. Allen, ‘Byzantine Sources for the Jami’ al-tawarikh of Rashid al-Din,’ *Ars Orientalis*, 15 (1985): 121-136, and T. Fitzherbert, *Bal’ami’s Tabari: An Illustrated Manuscript of Bal’ami’s Tarjama-yi Tarikh-i Tabarī in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington (F59.16, 47.19 and 30.21)* (Ph.D. diss., University of Edinburgh 2001), for an excellent discussion of the religious iconography in that historical work.
 9. The role of the New Julfa Armenian merchants as mediators of European culture is highlighted in A. Landau, *Farangī-sāzī at Isfahan*; idem, ‘From the Workshops of New Julfa to the Court of Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich: An Initial Look at Armenian Networks and the Mobility of Visual Culture,’ in V. Porter and M. Rosser-Owen, eds., *Metalwork and Material Culture in the Islamic World: Art, Craft and Text: Essays Presented to James W. Allan* (London 2012), 413-426; and idem, ‘European Religious Iconography in Safavid Iran: Decoration and Patronage of Meydani Bet’ghehem (Bethlehem of the Maydan),’ in W. Floor and E. Herzog, eds., *Iran and the World in the Safavid Age* (London 2012), 425-446.
 10. Formerly in the collection of F. R. Martin, the painting’s present location is unknown. In this article, I shall be employing the Islamic names for biblical personages, unless the context dictates otherwise.
 11. Library of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, E-14, fol. 94. Henceforth this painting will be referred to as Holy Family.
 12. Library of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, E-14, fol. 89.
 13. Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Boston, 1966.6; formerly in the collection of F. R. Martin. From here on this painting will be referred to as *The Return*.
 14. Landau, *Farangī-sāzī at Isfahan*, 146.
 15. See, among others, B. Schmitz, *Islamic and Indian Manuscripts and Paintings in the Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York 1997), 50. There is no evidence to indisputably confirm or deny this suggestion.
 16. A. Ivanov, ‘The Life of Muhammad Zaman: A Reconsideration,’ *Iran*, 17 (1979): 65-70, esp. 69.
 17. On the other hand, *sarkār-i khāssa-yi sharīf* inscribed on the album page “Narcissī” in the St. Petersburg Album (f. 83r), does indeed refer to the Royal Treasury. For the dating of this work, see *The St. Petersburg Muraqqa’: Album of Indian and Persian Miniatures from the 16th through the 18th Century and Specimens of Persian Calligraphy by Imād al-Hasanī* (Milan 1996), esp. 102. I wish to thank W. Floor with whom I verified this point.
 18. The excellent work of Paul Losensky addresses the high esteem early modern poets had for both tradition and novelty in Safavid poetry, see his *Welcoming Fighānī: Imitation*

- and Poetic Individuality in the Safavid-Mughal Ghazal* (Costa Mesa 1998).
19. A full pictorial analysis of the relationship between the Safavid works and their sources is beyond the scope of the present study and is addressed in an upcoming study on European religious iconography in late Safavid Iran tentatively entitled 'The Visual and the Sacred in Late Safavid Iran.'
 20. Layla Diba defined this prototype in an unpublished paper entitled 'Late Seventeenth Century Persian Miniature Painting,' given at the Seventh International Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology (Munich 1976). Ivanov has discussed the popularity of the composition, which also appears on a Delft plate c. 1650, see Ivanov, *Al'bom indiiskikh i persidskikh miniatur*, 50-51. For van Panderen's print, see H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450-1700*, eds. K. G. Boon and J. Verbeek (Amsterdam 1964), vol. 15, 82; and for a discussion on van Panderen, see H. Hymans, *Histoire de la gravure dans l'école de Rubens* (Brussels 1879), 60-63. A. J. Qaisar has argued that the prototype for Muhammad Zaman's *Sacrifice* was a painting of the subject by Rembrandt. However, the Safavid illustration of the sacrifice bears little resemblance to Rembrandt's composition. See A. J. Qaisar, 'Muhammad Zamān: A 17th-Century Controversial Artist,' in A. J. Qaisar and S. P. Verma, eds., *Art and Culture: Endeavours in Interpretation* (New Delhi 1996), 79-90, esp. 87-89.
 21. In future research I intended to explore if any of the Safavid artists, including Muhammad Zaman, were painting over prints. A few decades earlier, such reproduction of northern European compositions was initiated in Mogul India, where court artists learned occidental techniques by copying and painting over Flemish prints. See G. Bailey, *Counter Reformation Symbolism and Allegory in Mughal Painting* (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University 1996), 57, wherein it is noted that Portuguese and Spanish artists also learned techniques of modeling, color, and brushstrokes by reproducing Flemish engravings, citing G. Kubler and M. Soria, *Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal and Their American Dominions, 1500-1800* (Baltimore 1959).
 22. Ivanov located the source for this, see, *Al'bom indiiskikh i persidskikh miniatur*, 53; and idem, 'The Life of Muhammad Zamān,' 65f. For the print, see Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts c. 1450-1700*, vol. 43, 22.
 23. The facial features, costume, and accoutrements of Muhammad Zaman's version of Mary are comparable to those of the women etched by the Flemish artist Aegidius Sadeler II (c. 1570-1629) whose prints are well-documented in the Indo-Persian sphere. For example, Aegidius Sadeler's *The Holy Family with Saint Anne and Two Angels* was copied in Mogul India. For the original, see Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts c. 1450-1700*, vol. 23, 79, and for the Mogul example, see E. Smart and D. Walker, *Pride of Princes: Indian Art of the Mughal Era in the Cincinnati Art Museum* (Cincinnati 1985), ill. 9. Alternatively, Muhammad Zaman was looking at a different print issue itself based on Rubens. I am currently researching this possibility.
 24. Eleanor Sims has suggested that the painting may derive from a Flemish-influenced English work produced by the circle of van Dyck, and that the portrayal of Joseph is based on Charles I and has also pointed to Rubens as a possible source for compositional elements; see E. Sims, 'The European Print Sources of Paintings by the Seventeenth Century Persian Painter Muhammad Zaman ibn Haji Yusuf of Qum,' in H. Zerner, ed., *Le Stampe e la Diffusione delle Immagini e Degli Stili* (Bologna 1983), 73-83, esp. 76-77, 81-82, n. 16.
 25. C. Villaseñor Black, *Creating the Cult of St. Joseph: Art and Gender in the Spanish Empire* (Princeton and Oxford 2006), 14. Joseph became so important as an intercessor for the Spanish and Mexican viewer that his position even challenged that of the Virgin Mary, who began to be depicted on the margins, as seen in the Safavid example. Here I am indebted to Alicia Weisberg-Roberts and Opher Mansour, who both generously suggested this possibility and C. Villaseñor Black's work. I would also like to thank Joaneath Spicer for discussing

- with me the history of European printing in northern Europe.
26. For European painted prints, see S. Dackerman, *Painted Prints: The Revelation of Color in Northern Renaissance & Baroque Engravings, Etchings & Woodcuts* (Baltimore 2002). In my forthcoming study 'The Visual and the Sacred in Late Safavid Iran,' I explore the role of European hand-colored prints in Iran.
 27. See R. Milstein, K. Rührdanz, and B. Schmitz, *Stories of the Prophets: Illustrated Manuscripts of Qisas al-anbiya'* (Costa Mesa 1999).
 28. The most celebrated of the surviving examples is the Safavid "Dispersed" Fālnāma that dates to c. 1550s/1560s and is associated with the court of Shah Tahmasp. For an excellent study of illustrated versions of Fālnāma, see M. Farhad and S. Bagci, *Falnama: The Book of Omens* (Washington, D.C. 2009).
 29. Jean Chardin, *Voyages du Chevalier Chardin, en Perse, et autres lieux de l'Orient...* (Amsterdam 1735) vol. 2, 106; quoted and discussed in Ina Baghdiantz McCabe, *The Shah's Silk for Europe's Silver. The Eurasian Trade of the Julfa Armenians in Safavid Iran and India (1530-1750)* (Atlanta 1999), pp. 175–177.
 30. For a study of (Old) Julfa's prosperity and commercial network in the sixteenth century, see E. Herzig, 'The Rise of the Julfa Merchants in the Late Sixteenth Century,' in Ch. Melville, ed., *Safavid Persia: The History and Politics of an Islamic Society* (London 1996), 305–322. For a thorough investigation of the deportations based on a range of sources, see that author's 'The Deportation of the Armenians in 1604–1605 and Europe's Myth of Shāh 'Abbās I,' in Ch. Melville, ed., *Persian and Islamic Studies in Honour of P. W. Avery* (Cambridge 1990), 59–71.
 31. The most recent and pioneering work on the Julfan trade diaspora is that of Sebouh Aslanian. See the following works by that author: *From the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean: The Global Trade Networks of Armenian Merchants from New Julfa* (Berkeley 2011); 'The Circulation of Men and Credit: The Role of the Commenda and Family Firm in Julfan Society,' *The Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 50.2 (2007): 124–171; 'Social Capital, "Trust" and the Role of Networks in Julfan Trade: Informal and Semiformal Institutions at Work,' *Journal of Global History*, 1.3 (2006): 383–402; 'Trade Diaspora versus Colonial State: Armenian Merchants, the East India Company and the High Court of Admiralty in London, 1748–1752,' *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, 13.1 (2006): 37–100. Also see E. Herzig, *The Armenian Merchants of New Julfa, Isfahan: A Study in Premodern Asian Trade* (Ph.D. diss., Oxford University 1991); see also his 'The Volume of Iranian Raw Silk Exports in the Safavid Period,' *Iranian Studies*, 25 (1992): 61–81; I. Baghdiantz McCabe, *The Shah's Silk for Europe's Silver: The Eurasian Trade of the Julfa Armenians in Safavid Iran and India (1530-1750)* (Atlanta 1999).
 32. For printing activities in New Julfa, see R. H. Kévorkian, *Catalogue des "incunables" arméniens (1511/1695) ou chronique de l'imprimerie arménienne* (Cahiers d'orientalisme IX) (Genève 1986), 114–119; and V. Nersessian, *Catalogue of Early Armenian Books 1512-1850* (London 1980), 22f.
 33. See I. Baghdiantz McCabe, 'Merchant Capital and Knowledge: The Financing of Early Printing Presses by the Eurasian Silk Trade in New Julfa,' in Th. F. Mathews and R. S. Wieck, eds., *Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Art, Religion, and Society* (New York 1998), 59–71.
 34. For the extensive use of van Sichem's compositions at the Oskanian press, see Nersessian, *Catalogue of Early Armenian Books*, 28; for Armenian printing in Amsterdam, see, for example, Baghdiantz McCabe, 'Merchant Capital and Knowledge'; R. H. Kévorkian, *Catalogue des "incunables" arméniens (1511/1695)*, 39–66; and Nersessian, *Catalogue of Early Armenian Books*, 24–29. W. Floor, who has carried out extensive research on the Dutch East India Company in Persia, has noted the dispatch of a certain painter Barend van Sichem to Iran by the company's Governor-General. For Barend van Sichem and possible links with Christoffel, see Floor, 'Dutch Painters in Iran during the First Half of the 17th Century,' 145–161. For discussions of van Sichem's oeuvre, see F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts (ca 1450-1700)*, vol. 27, 39–53. In the van Sichem family there were

- four woodcut artists named Christoffel, see H. Lehmann-Haupt, 'Christoffel van Sichem, a Family of Dutch 17th-Century Woodcut-Artists,' *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1975): 274-306, and H. F. Wijnman, 'De Van Sichem-puzzle,' *Oud Holland*, 46 (1929): 233-244. Van Sichem's works were used to illustrate a number of books, often of religious subject matter, including the *Biblia Sacra* printed by Pieter Iacobsz Paets (Amsterdam 1646; reprinted 1657). This work is often referred to as the 'van Sichem Bible,' see M. Funck, *Le livre belge à gravures: guide de l'amateur de livres illustrés imprimés en Belgique avant le XVIIIe siècle* (Paris 1925), 394, and Lehmann-Haupt, 'Christoffel van Sichem,' 290. See essays in this volume.
35. In previous scholarship the oeuvre of the Dutch woodcut engraver Christoffel van Sichem II (b. 1577, Basel; d. 1658, Amsterdam) was consistently cited as the source for church decoration in New Julfa, as first suggested by T. S. R. Boase, who was the first to compare All Saviour's murals with compositions by Christoffel van Sichem illustrating the Armenian Bible of 1666 (-1668). See his 'A Seventeenth-Century Typological Cycle of Paintings in the Armenian Cathedral at New Julfa,' in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 13.3-4 (1950): 323-327. A great part of van Sichem's oeuvre was based on well-known northern European artists, including Dürer, Lucas van Leyden, Henri Goltzius, and the Wierix Brothers, whose compositions he would only slightly alter and identify as his own. For the artists van Sichem copied, see Funck, *Le livre belge à gravures*, 394, and M. Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *Les estampes des Wierix, vols. I-III* (Brussels 1978-1983). In recent scholarship "Nadal's Bible" has been identified as the source for these wall paintings. In a paper presented in 2002 in London at the conference 'Iran and the World in the Safavid Age,' the present author identified Nadal as the source for New Julfa's Bethlehem Church; in Landau, 'European Religious Iconography in Safavid Iran,' 425-446. For the editions of Nadal's two works, see C. Somervogel. S. J., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Louvain 1960), vol. 5, 1517-1520. M. Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *Les estampes des Wierix*, vol. III (Brussels 1982), 491-496, esp. 491, points out that the *Bible de Natalis* is the title widely used by scholars for both the *Evangelicae* and Nadal's own work *Adnotationes*; the two works were often bound together. G. Bailey has made a passing reference to the influence of Nadal's compositions on the murals of All Saviour's Cathedral; see his *Counter Reformation Symbolism and Allegory in Mughal Painting*, n. 20, 188. See essays in this volume.
 36. Another instance of the adaptation of European printed compositions in the Armenian churches is represented by the images of martyrdoms illustrating *Ecclesiae militantis triumphus* (Rome 1583) and *Triumphus Iesu Christi crucifixi* (Antwerp 1608), printed and circulated by the missionaries, mostly the Jesuits.
 37. Xaç'atur Ĵulayec'i, *Patmut'iwn Parsic'* (Vaġaršapat 1905), 155f. Xaç'atur Ĵulayec'i, the eighteenth-century author, noted that the questions and answers voiced by the Persian king and the Armenian theologian were written down and collected in a book. The text was written in Armenian on one side of the page and in Persian on the other. Xaç'atur added that "this book is in our midst up to the present day," see idem, 156. This lengthy and intricate debate is documented in Y. Mrk'uz, *Girk' Patmut'ean Arareal I Norm Ĵulayu Srboy Amenap'rkč'i Gerahraš Vani Miaban Yovhannēs Čgnazgeac' Vardapetin Vičabanut'iwn aš Šah Slemann Parsic'* [The Book of History Made at the Marvelous Monastery of Holy All Saviour in New Julfa. Disputation of Monk Yovhannēs the Ascetic Vardapet, with Šah Suleyman of the Persians] (Calcutta 1797). As discussed in Landau, 'European Religious Iconography in Safavid Iran,' esp. 425-426.
 38. M. D. Coogan, ed., *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, 3rd ed., with the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books (Oxford 2001).
 39. As in the Qur'an, Ishba (Elizabeth) is not referred to by name. See M. Baqir Majlisi, *Hayāt al-qulūb*, vol. 1, (Tehran, 1373-1374 [1954]), 378-387; and for an English translation, see *Hayāt al-qulūb*, trans. S. A. Husain and S.H. Rizvi, vol. 1 (Qum 2003), 492-501.

40. Baqir Majlisi, *Hayāt al-qulūb*, vol. 1 (Tehran 1373-1374 [1954]), esp. 382-383; *Hayāt al-qulūb*, vol. 1 (Qum 2003), 496.
41. See Landau, *Farangī-sāzī at Isfahan*, 163-166; and for a full discussion of this literary production, see F. Richard, 'Catholicisme et Islam chiite au *Grand Siècle* autour de quelques documents concernant les missions catholiques au XVIIe s.,' *Euntes Docete*, 33.3 (1980): 339-403, wherein the Persian translations in the Bibliothèque Nationale are documented.
42. For an interpretation of how this festival was used in a political context, see J. Calmard, 'Shi'i Ritual and Power II: The Consolidation of Safavid Shi'ism and Popular Religion,' in Ch. Melville, ed., *Safavid Persia* (Cambridge 1996), 139-190; see also B. Rahimi, 'The Rebound Theater State: The Politics of the Safavid Camel Sacrifice Rituals, 1598-1695 C.E.,' *Iranian Studies*, 37.3 (2004): 451-478, wherein the author offers a rich description of the rituals involved in this festival on the basis of seventeenth-century travelers.
43. As described in Rahimi, 'The Rebound Theater State.'
44. Kaempfer documents Shah Sulayman's observance of *'īd-i qurbān*: "He [Sulayman] always observed the yearly festivals, and he was especially fond of the Festival of Abraham. He participated in this festival in public and often killed the camel himself." E. Kaempfer, *Am Hofe des persischen Großkönigs 1684-1685* (Tübingen 1977), 76.
45. A. de Rhodes, 'History of the Mission of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, Established in Persia by the Reverend Father Alexander of Rhodes,' trans. A. T. Wilson, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 3.4 (1925): 675-706, esp. 695.
46. As K. Babayan explains, 'According to the numerological abjad system of interpretations of the Qur'an, he predicted that the Mahdi would appear in sixty-five years (1730-1731),' see her *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs: Cultural Landscapes of Early Modern Iran* (Cambridge, Mass. 2002), 469, as based on Muhammad Baqir b. Muhammad Taqi, *Raj'at*, ed. Abu Zarr Bidar (Tehran 1988), 16f.
47. Ruling over a religiously and ethnically diverse kingdom, Sulayman may have desired to project the image of the Quranic Sulayman known to be the wise and just king of many different peoples.

3 Dutch Cemeteries in South India

Martin Krieger

The Dutch in South India

While the major focus of Dutch interest in Asia lay in the Indonesian archipelago, from the outset the VOC cast a close eye on South India as well. Traditional trading in this region took place between a comparatively large number of small ports scattered along the coasts. Notwithstanding the Portuguese conquest of Malacca in 1511 and the town's subsequent decline, trade between South India, notably Coromandel, and Southeast Asian ports like Malacca, Aceh, Arakan, Pegu, and Tenasserim remained the mainstay of local commodity exchange still throughout the seventeenth century. The most widely traded export commodities were cotton textiles, followed by rice, iron, steel, and tobacco. The main imports from Southeast Asia were spices, tin, elephants and ivory. The westward trade of the Coromandel ports was of lesser significance, but witnessed a substantial rise during the seventeenth century. Although Portuguese power along the Coromandel Coast was chiefly restricted to Nagapattinam, Mylapore (San Tomé), and a number of smaller communities loosely connected to Goa,¹ it remained unbroken from the sixteenth century on in the southern parts of the Indian west coast.²

From the onset of the Dutch enterprise in the East, the directors of the VOC were well aware that the spices from Southeast Asia, which were in high demand at home, could best be procured by barter against cotton textiles from South India. As early as 1604, a Dutch fleet reached Calicut to conclude a contract with the local Zamorin.³ The next year they sent

the yacht *Delft*, under Paulus van Soldt, from Aceh to Masulipatnam. In 1606, the same vessel anchored off Pulicat. These two prominent emporia of intra-Asiatic trade in Coromandel were the places that initially attracted the attention of the Dutch. Pulicat, where the Dutch established a factory in 1610, later became the VOC headquarters of the coast.⁴ Additional factories were established in Petapoli (Nizampatnam), Bimunipatnam, and elsewhere.

The situation in Malabar, with its eminent production of pepper, took longer to stabilize due to the strong presence of the Portuguese along that coast. By the 1630s the Dutch were in close contact with the territory of Kandy on Ceylon and with individual ports in Malabar and Kanara, while they simultaneously conducted annual blockades off Goa.⁵ However, the Dutch were able to strengthen their position in Malabar itself with its string of trading settlements only after ousting the Portuguese from Ceylon. Koilon was captured in 1660 and the heavily fortified Cochin three years later.⁶ The erection of smaller fortresses in Cannanore and Cranganore followed during the forthcoming years.⁷

During the subsequent century and a half, the VOC dominated European trading in Malabar and Coromandel. The Company also commanded a substantial share of intra-Asiatic trading in the Indian Ocean. From the latter half of the eighteenth century on, however, they faced increasing competition from the British. During the Napoleonic Wars, the British acquired the Dutch settlements and in 1825 integrated them into their own possessions.

The European Cemeteries in India

The Indian subcontinent boasts not only a unique Indian architectural heritage but also European colonial patrimony. During recent years, the material remains of European merchants, missionaries, and colonial ruling elites have increasingly attracted the attention of foreign tourists, historians, and the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI). European cemeteries in particular, dating from the onset of the sixteenth century onward, belong to the most significant architectural vestiges of European presence in South Asia. While sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Portuguese flat-lying gravestones from Goa or Cochin provide only basic information concerning the decoration and inscription of graves, Dutch funerary architecture is rich in sophisticated structures, decorations, and inscriptions.

The most relevant source for an investigation of death and burial culture in the Dutch trading settlements of colonial India are the innumerable surviving monuments themselves. They render insight not only into personal affection and of the attitude toward death of individuals, but also into collective social, national, and religious identities. Furthermore, they constitute a significant indicator for the vigor of political and mercantile groups and of conduits of cultural exchange.

The present essay focuses on Netherlandish funerary architecture in South India in a comparative perspective. The abundant material evidence surviving in Dutch burial grounds displays certain distinctions that lend themselves well to comparative study. An excellent example is provided by the striking differences between the graveyards of Malabar and Coromandel, especially the burial grounds or replaced ledger stones of Masulipatnam, Palakollu (today at the Victoria Jubilee Museum in Vijayavada), Bimunipatnam, Pulicat, Sadras,

Nagapattinam in Coromandel, and Cochin in Malabar. This study chiefly rests on my own fieldwork in South India and the excellent study *"In steen geschreven. Leven en sterven van VOC-dienaren op de kust van Coromandel in India"* by Marion Peters.⁸ Older materials, such as Alexander Rea's *"Monumental Remains of the Dutch East India Company in the Presidency of Madras"* from 1897, may be considered as well.⁹ From the early nineteenth century on, compendiums of South Indian tomb inscriptions have been published, bearing witness to increasing interest in the historic monuments of the area. These publications still contain useful material for our investigation, especially when it comes to monuments that have perished in the meantime.¹⁰

Death in Colonial South India

The European image of the Indian subcontinent is imbued with thoughts of death. Rudyard Kipling's verses from *"The Naulakha"* put into words an elusive insight into the colonial perception of death in India:

And the end of the fight is a tombstone white
with the name of the late deceased,
And the epitaph drear: "A Fool is here who
tried to hustle the East."¹¹

Even if we do not share Kipling's judgment concerning the supposed foolishness of Europeans east of Suez, his verses are nevertheless apposite to our study. Death was indeed omnipresent in colonial India. However, it is difficult if not impossible to ascertain exact data on life expectancy and death rates before the end of the eighteenth century. The figures gained from the Dutch monuments themselves provide no more than a coarse indicator for age at death, if only, because they display data

mainly only on male members of the colonial elites. The lower ranks, women and children are so seriously underrepresented that the statistics are skewed.

Due to the lack of parish books from seventeenth-century Dutch settlements, the most accurate data available against which to check these figures come from later periods, notably from English possessions. In fact, the data in the comprehensive parish books of St. Mary's Church in British Madras from the nineteenth century indeed closely resemble those from the Dutch seventeenth-century tombstones. The strong similarity between the two tables suggests that a common demographic trend might have existed in colonial Coromandel between the seventeenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century.

Little is known about funeral services in Dutch Coromandel, but there is no reason to believe that they were very different from the comparatively well-recorded funeral practices in Dutch Batavia. A funeral in Batavia followed a distinct procedure. Those of wealthy individuals tended to be conspicuously lavish, giving rise as early as 1658 to the issuing of a placard (*plakkaat*) by the Company authorities prohibiting the display of excessive luxury (*weelde*) during funerals. This measure achieved the opposite of its aim, however, since the penalty for violation – payment of a fine (*boete*) – only added an inconspicuous but perfectly apparent expenditure to the open display of luxury at a funeral.¹² The funeral procession mirrored the social hierarchy and was thus subject to competition among the mourners for a place up front, indicating social prominence. Quarrels on order and precedence were sufficiently frequent to bring the VOC in 1718 to impose a protocol on Company officials at funerals. Not until 1753 was a general funeral regulation issued.¹³

Immediately after a death, the body of the deceased was cleaned, dressed, and laid out in

an open coffin. A guard comprised of friends or relatives of the deceased formed a night watch. Letters announcing the death and the forthcoming funeral service (*doodbriefjes*) were printed and circulated by so-called *bidders*. The higher the social standing of the deceased, the larger the format of the *doodbriefje*. The funeral service itself started with a procession from the house of the deceased to the church or burial ground; at the head was the coffin and its bearers, followed by the *bidders* and the remaining mourners. In some instances an image eulogizing the deceased or displaying his coat of arms was carried in front of the procession. From 1743 on, at least in Batavia, it was compulsory to employ professional pallbearers from the garrison. It was not unknown for the corpses of members of the ruling elites to be carried on horse carriages. The service itself, which usually took place in the late afternoon and was illuminated by torches or candles, was followed by a reception that tended toward opulence. The only obviously democratic feature of the event was that all the guests, irrespective of rank, would smoke their pipes together in front of the house of the deceased.¹⁴

Stylistic Development and Transfers of Decoration

While the funeral itself was only of temporary significance, the creation of tomb monuments provided enduring testimony to the demise of a member of the colonial elite. The evolution of European funerary architecture on the subcontinent that started with the onset of Portuguese expansion in Asia embraced nearly half a millennium. Tremendous changes in architecture, decoration and choice of raw materials took place during this time, in a process that betrays both European and local Indian impact.¹⁵

Four stylistic trends of European funerary architecture in South India can be distinguished:

1. The Portuguese period (c. 1500-1650), mainly with ledger stones and intramural burials
2. The period of the northwest European trading-companies (c. 1650-1770), during which ledger stones were joined by early vertical monuments
3. The neo-classical period (c. 1770-1860)
4. The period of the Gothic Revival and modern styles (from c. 1860).

The different styles do not succeed each other in a strict chronology; they overlap each other in time.

The present investigation focuses on the second period. Material remains from those years suggest that the ledger stone was the dominant type of funerary monument in English and Dutch territories in South India prior to the 1780s. While the lying stone slab, with its distinct decoration, was the prevailing type of monument before the neo-classical period, vertical monuments too, in smaller numbers, can be traced back to the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. When a burial ground was leveled, as occurred in various locations during the Seven Years' War, only the ledger stones appear to have survived. This happened in the English "Guava Garden" of Madras and probably the Dutch Binnenkerkhof of Sadras as well. By the turn of the eighteenth century the pyramid, the obelisk and the mausoleum were featured in European cemeteries in South India next to the ledger stone.

The Malabar Tradition

Two artistic schools for the production of ledger stones developed within VOC territories in South India. The first, of which only a small number of examples survive, drew on the

Indo-Portuguese tradition. It brought forth intra-mural interments as well as rather simple ledger stones resembling Portuguese grave markers in Goa or Cochin. The products of this school are confined to the Malabar Coast like St. Francis Church in Cochin. With only a few exceptions, these stones are characterized by very coarse carving, without border decorations. The lettering is unsophisticated; in most cases the only decoration is a coat of arms.

The longest tradition of interring the dead inside churches was maintained by the Portuguese. Even tiny sixteenth-century communities like those of Pulicat, Tranquebar, and Devanampattinam established churches.¹⁶ However, interment *intra muros* had officially not been accepted by the Roman Catholic Church in Europe from earliest times. A ban forbidding the practice was issued as early as the year 563, at the Council of Braga. The fact that the prohibition had to be repeated in many ensuing edicts is a clear indication that it was frequently violated. The power of tradition, fortified by belief in the superior efficacy of a burial close to the altar and the holy relics they contained, proved to be more enduring than official church policy.¹⁷ Still in post-Reformation Europe the medieval ban on burials inside churches was repeated and renewed again and again, now even among Reformed and Lutheran churches.¹⁸ The large number of ledger stones inside European churches, especially in the Netherlands, bears witness to this fact. This development is also reflected by the situation on the subcontinent. Actually, it was not until the end of the eighteenth century that the ban was fully observed in Europe, in Reformed and Lutheran as well as Catholic churches.¹⁹

Classic examples of interment inside Catholic churches in South India are to be found in Goa and in the Church of St. Francis (initially dedicated to St. Anthony) in Cochin. This church had been erected by Franciscan friars in the early sixteenth century to serve

as a chapel for their community. In 1524 Vasco da Gama was buried here until his earthly remains found a final resting-place in Lisbon fourteen years later. Other interments were to follow. After the Dutch occupied the town in 1663, the Church of St. Anthony was converted into a Calvinist place of worship. Despite the change of denomination, the Dutch left the Portuguese ledgers on the church floor and buried the Calvinist members of their own social elite next to their Catholic predecessors. Despite the official condemnation of Catholicism, the Dutch nonetheless displayed respect toward the deceased on account of their high social status or on the fact that quite a large number of Netherlanders (also in South India) remained Catholics themselves. The building itself was well-maintained and was later given a new roof.²⁰ After the surrender of Cochin to the British in 1795, the church remained Dutch for nine more years until it became Anglican. The rededication to St. Francis probably did not take place until the second half of the nineteenth century. Around 1900 the Portuguese and Dutch tombstones were removed from the floor and fixed along the northern and southern side walls inside the building. Today, the building is maintained by the Church of South India (CSI).

A comparison between the Portuguese and Dutch ledgers in St. Francis supports the assumption that the Dutch in Malabar followed another artistic trend than those in Coromandel. It is apparent that they copied the coarse and simple style of the Portuguese, while the Indo-Dutch artistic production of Coromandel, as we shall see, brought about highly sophisticated and hybrid tombstones.

The Coromandel Tradition

A second school, which developed along the Coromandel Coast and spread throughout

Southeast Asia, is marked by highly sophisticated products with a recognizable look. This Dutch Coromandel school met the high standard of professionalism one would expect of Dutch craftsmen in the century between about 1650 and 1750.

The surviving evidence suggests that prior to the 1780s the predominant type of funerary monument in the Dutch possessions in South India were the ledger stone. As remarked above, this preference might have derived from Europe, where intramural interment and ledgers were widely accepted during the early modern period. While the Reformation, by removing relics from the church, had done away with religious reasons for wanting to be buried inside the church, motives of a worldly nature took their place. To be buried in church remained a sign of social distinction. As we see in numerous Dutch paintings and prints of the early modern period, there was an enormous number of burials inside churches.²¹

The surviving stone slabs in the churches of Amsterdam, Haarlem, Groningen, and other places bear witness to the wide acceptance of intramural burials in the Netherlands. Between 1410 and 1865, for example, about 10,000 people were buried inside the Nieuwe Kerk in Amsterdam, although only a small minority was commemorated by a gravestone.²² Despite renewed bans issued by the French occupiers in 1810, which were reiterated in 1829, intramural interments continued to be practiced, on a reduced scale, into the nineteenth century.²³ Most grave-stones inside Dutch churches do not bear any decoration, rendering only the name and dates of the deceased, the number of the grave, and abstract symbols rather than representational forms. Monuments displaying coats of arms or decorated with scrollwork are few, while border decorations are nearly always missing.

As was the case with Portuguese colonial expansion, the Dutch too brought the ledger

stone east, albeit in an entirely different local context and in different form. Instead of being installed in church floors, Dutch ledger stones in Coromandel, with very few exceptions, were situated in cemeteries, either on the ground, on low foundations or on tombs. Inscription plates resembling the horizontal ledgers could also be affixed to vertical monuments, as on the obelisk commemorating Adriana Catharina Pla and Adriana Appels on the Karikop of Nagapattinam from the first half of the eighteenth century. By the look of it, these gravestones seem to have been produced according to instructions given by Europeans, but executed by Indian craftsmen in traditional types of workmanship and choice of stone. The coats of arms on many ledger stones are framed in a way that gives rise to the supposition that they were derived from European models in which the heraldic weapon was draped in cloth, a motif that in India was converted into a flower ornament (see plates 3.1 and 3.2).

The practice of burying the dead outside the church is not the only distinguishing feature of Dutch funerals in India. The adornment of Dutch ledger stones and their elaborate inscriptions render them unique among European funerary sculpture abroad. In particular the border decorations of the Dutch ledgers, which have been studied extensively by Marion Peters, bear witness to an increasing professionalism in Netherlandish sculpture in South India between the mid-seventeenth and mid-eighteenth century. The leaf scrolls that feature on Dutch tombstones in Coromandel are not to be found on tombstones in the Netherlands themselves, although we do find numerous examples of nearly identical decorations in the Netherlands in other contexts – furniture, for example.²⁴ However, the widespread occurrence of these decorations in early modern Europe does not necessarily mean that they initially were European inventions.²⁵

One possible explanation might be that the models for decorating Netherlandish tombstones in Coromandel had been transferred from Europe to Asia in different ways. Furniture comes to mind, as well as other decorated objects. Pattern books or ornamental prints, which were common in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Netherlands, could also have served this purpose.²⁶ There is, however, another interesting possibility. Need we really assume that the distinctive Asian decorations we find in the Coromandel tombstones originated in Europe? From ancient times, sculpturing in India created a tremendously broad variety of decorations. Some of them come very close to motifs on the Dutch monuments, suggesting that Indo-Dutch stone carvers borrowed from ancient Indian sculpture as well as European sources.

This hypothesis finds support in the fact that from ancient times on massive transfers of decorative motifs took place throughout the Indian Ocean region. The Kaiyuan temple in Quanzhou, constructed during the seventh century, for example, provides a rare early illustration of the transfer of Indian decorations as far as to South China. Decorations on that building, which survives only in fragments, are distinctively Indian while bearing a strong resemblance as well to some seventeenth-century Dutch tombstones from Coromandel.²⁷ We may thus contend that the Dutch could have joined in on the ancient traditions of artistic transfer in the Indian Ocean that have existed since time immemorial and continue to this day. To cite one known example, the export of Dutch tombstones from Sadras to Batavia can be seen as an example of the traditional pattern of intra-Asian trade and artistic transfer across the Indian Ocean. These observations do not, however, tell us whether the border decorations on Coromandel tombstones are European or Indian. Our provisional conclusion is that they are the outcome of hybrid Indo-Dutch

craftsmanship in the colonial context of Coromandel.

Despite their Indian constituent, the border decorations on Dutch tombstones were not timeless. We can distinguish different styles and trace significant alterations over time. Locations where a succession of styles is clearly visible are the Buiten- and the Binnenkerkhof at Pulicat. The border decorations there from the mid-1640s to the 1670s are characterized by scale patterns. About a decade later, during the 1650s, scrollwork made up of leaves or, more rarely, flowers, make their entry, to remain in use until the 1690s. More sophisticated patterns that were in use from the 1670s through the 1720s are characterized by two or three parallel ribbons. The scrollwork from that period usually featured a broad middle ribbon, with edges made up of lines of squares (until 1720) or flowers (from 1710 on). A final stage of development was reached in the 1730s, when Rococo patterns were introduced. These included cherubs, symbolizing immortality,²⁸ amid the scrollwork or at the corners. Interestingly, the latter pattern was taken up by British sculptors and was still in use at the onset of the nineteenth century. We know this from a ledger stone in the Binnenkerkhof at Pulicat, produced after 1829 by a stonecarver from Madras named De Rozario. The cherubs on the edges sometimes correspond to cherubs decorating vertical funerary monuments. One undeniable case of this kind is the monument created for Anna Margaretha Möller, who died in 1737 at Pulicat, where we find both elements.

Another innovation of Dutch sculpting in Coromandel, alongside border decorations, was high-relief carving, a more sophisticated technique than low relief. The earliest examples, dating from the 1670s, are found in the Binnenkerkhof at Pulicat. During the 1690s high relief almost entirely ousted low relief in Netherlandish cemeteries between Nagapattinam and Pulicat.

Among the defining motifs of funerary culture in late medieval and early modern Europe were death symbols signifying the vanity of human flesh. Omnipresent “memento mori” depictions served as reminders that life was short and death inescapable. The viewer was enjoined to think about these truths and about himself.²⁹ Starting in the thirteenth century, tombs in Europe made extensive use of such symbols as the skull and bones, the hourglass, scythes, or sexton’s tools. These common symbols are found in prints and paintings as well as in sculpted monuments.³⁰

Such symbols of mortality have markedly little currency in Dutch South India. “Memento mori” symbolism features highly infrequently on Dutch ledger stones; examples from Sadras and Nagapattinam between the 1690s and the 1790s are extremely rare. Against this backdrop, the gate of the Dutch Binnenkerkhof at Pulicat, with its skull centered above the entrance and the skeletons on its sides, constitutes quite an extraordinary exception. The Dutch and Latin inscription from 1656 presents an attitude towards life and death that we can safely call reformed: “Beati Qui in Domino Moriuntur Quiescunt a Labore Suo [Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord and rest from their work]” (see plate 3.3).

Commissioning and Creating Monuments

Death generated business and constituted a source of income for churches, artisans, and undertakers. Stones had to be carved and transported, funerals had to be organized, and space for the deceased had to be procured within the burial grounds.

As early as the seventeenth century, most of the characteristic Dutch tombstones in colonial burial grounds were produced in India. The

seventeenth- and eighteenth-century stone slabs from the Indian east coast were usually carved from hard hornblende (Dutch: *arduinsteen*). This raw material – traditionally also used for Hindu sculptures – came down from the hills of the Eastern Ghats.³¹ Hornblende is found mainly on several hinterland hill tracts on the southeast coast, such as the Tiruchirapalli and Chingleput districts and the hills around Vizagapatnam.³² The relative proximity of these regions to the coast might have facilitated the transport of raw stone blocks to the European trading settlements.

Since the mid-seventeenth century, the Dutch trading settlement Sadras, south of today's Madras, very likely served as a major center both for carving gravestones and as an outlet for exporting them to other regions around the Indian Ocean. A number of villages surrounding the Dutch settlement obviously specialized in this business.³³ Tomb monuments were not the only stone artifacts produced to European taste in these villages. They also made portals, pediment sections, and other architectural elements for export up and down the Coromandel Coast, Ceylon, Batavia, and Malacca.³⁴

Border decorations of stone slabs from Sadras, Pulicat, Nagapattinam, and Masulipatnam are sometimes so similar as to seem virtually identical. The size of the stone slabs was often standardized, a circumstance that supports the hypothesis that they all came from a single source, perhaps Sadras. The most common format was 2.49–2.67 m x 1.24–1.35 m.³⁵ Semi-finished stone slabs, bearing only the border-decoration but without any inscription, were sometimes exported, as we know from two such slabs preserved in Masulipatnam. Stone slabs do not seem to have been transported from Sadras to the Malabar Coast, where other sorts of stone and decoration and other sizes of slabs were in use.³⁶ A number of South Indian stone slabs found their way to Dutch burial grounds

in Southeast Asia, notably Malacca and Batavia, as their identical border decorations show.³⁷

Afterlife

Cemeteries have always been subject to changes in expanse, structure and number of monuments. Walls and gates are altered and new monuments created, while others crumble at the same time. The dead are interred or, in smaller numbers, exhumed to be buried elsewhere. When investigating burial grounds of the past, we must set aside our current image of cemeteries as places of eternal peace and rest with manicured lawns and hedges. They were often populated, even desecrated, by squatters and hawkers. Animals took up domicile in cemeteries, hastening their destruction, sometimes long before they were permanently closed. The Indian climate, with its monsoon rainfalls, and the unrelenting pressure of demand for land, aggravated by scarcity of funds, had a similarly devastating impact on the monuments in the long run. The reasons for such decay before, and even more after Independence, also shed a revealing light on Indian national identity, self-images, and political priorities.

Decay, however, had already set in during early modern times. Written material on the maintenance of Dutch cemeteries prior to the nineteenth century is very limited, and offers merely a rough glimpse of the situation. By 1805, all British ecclesiastical premises and properties in South India had been placed under the authority of the government at Fort St. George, and the vestries of the individual churches were taken over. The Public and Military Work Departments were henceforth in charge of cemetery maintenance in British territories,³⁸ a shift that furthered the professionalism and efficiency in the administration of European cemeteries in British India.

A number of cemeteries belonging to competitors of times past, such as the Dutch, the Portuguese and the Danes, were gradually integrated into this system during the first half of the nineteenth century. In a period of emerging European nationalism, cemeteries were regarded more than ever as witnesses of a supposedly glorious colonial past. After the Napoleonic Wars, cemetery maintenance became subject to international treaties. One outcome of this development is that care for the Dutch monuments in Sadras and other places after it was surrendered in 1825 became the legal responsibility of the British authorities.³⁹ Only at that juncture were long-awaited repairs carried out, as were also put into practice at the Dutch cemetery in Nagapattinam (Karikop) in 1835.⁴⁰

It must be said that during the entire eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, considerations of antiquity or historical value played hardly any role in India in decisions about the maintenance of cemeteries. The main concern was current use. The lack of consideration for the historical value of monuments is clearly illustrated by the fortunes of the Dutch *Buitenkerkhof* in Pulicat. By 1794 large parts of the cemetery walls had collapsed, but the distractions of the Napoleonic Wars prevented their repair. In 1840, the prospects for the *Buitenkerkhof* were not very promising, as we see in the correspondence of the British Collector of the North Arcot District:

The Military Board perhaps are not aware of the wretched dilapidation of the tombs, around which it is intended to place this fence. In the whole inclosure I can only count eleven slabs lying scattered in different parts with scarcely a vestige of masonry attached to them. It has been a cemetery for years past of the Pariahs and poor people of the place, and no one is now ever interested there but the very poorest

class of the inhabitants. [...] The Archdeacon I believe, on a late visit, suggested the building of the wall, but it is not probable that the old overturned tomb stones, that have remained in that position for the last two hundred years, can be longer preserved by the arrangement.⁴¹

However, Collector Ogilvie proved to be wrong in the long run, for today the monuments can again be seen in proper upright position on the original site.

Only at the end of the nineteenth century did the public begin to appreciate the historical significance of the monuments. This increasing awareness was largely due to the operations of the Archaeological Survey of India, founded in 1861. The growing interest is reflected not just in the growing number of compendiums of inscriptions in Indian cemeteries, but even more in the emergence of cultural preservation as an issue for the ASI itself. Increasing concern about cultural patrimony was expressed not only in publications but more importantly in preservation efforts on the ground, even if these were limited to incidental campaigns to save outstanding monuments. For example, before the turn of the twentieth century the above-mentioned 29 Portuguese and 19 Dutch stone slabs were removed from the floor of the church of St. Francis in Cochin and fixed along the walls. This was done in order to protect the fading inscriptions.⁴² An investigation of the church shows that all the slabs have survived to the present day, although some of them are less legible than they were to Julian James Cotton when in the 1890s he compiled his "List of Inscriptions."⁴³

Pre-Independence British conservation campaigns were limited to a very few outstanding burial grounds. Otherwise, the British government pursued a policy of transferring European cemeteries to the Indian authorities from 1947, even when they knew that this put their fate

at risk. From the onset of Indian Independence, it was obvious that the large number of formerly British or European cemeteries spread across India – about 1,350 in all – could not be fully maintained by the new government. The endowments of the cemeteries were constantly shrinking, and the funding issued by the British Parliament and the Indian government was too meager for the intended aim.

Among the European cemeteries that were handed over to the Indian government, 46 were to be allowed, in a euphemistic phrase, “to revert to nature” after Independence. The results can be seen today. The European cemetery of Porto Novo, with several remarkable Dutch graves, for instance, has become a dump for waste and a public latrine. The government of India’s assurance of 1949 “that they will protect cemeteries from destruction and desecration in the same way as property belonging to the Government themselves”⁴⁴ proved to be largely futile.

The few cemeteries under the care of the ASI have fared better. Foremost among them

is Pulicat, with its well-preserved seventeenth-century “Binnenkerkhof”. It is a prime candidate for development as a site for the upcoming heritage tourism industry. Situated close to today’s Chennai (Madras), it is an ideal spot for short-term tourism. Preliminary studies have been carried out by the Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage, and the Royal Dutch Embassy has expressed willingness to support such projects. First, however, its infrastructure will have to be brought up to snuff.⁴⁵ In contrast to Pulicat, the former Dutch trading place Sadras has been the object of far more advanced archaeological research. During the 1990s, the ASI restored the outer walls and the storehouses inside the fort. The excavations that were carried out brought to light an impressive number of Dutch artifacts, such as Gouda smoking pipes and Delft blue pottery.⁴⁶ After a long period of neglect and disinterest, the vestiges of Dutch material culture in India are on the historical agenda again.

Notes

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 18. *Ibid.*, 64.
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 22. H. Schölvink, *Graven in de Nieuwe Kerk Amsterdam* (Amsterdam n.d.), 13.
 23. *Ibid.*, 19.
 24. See, for example, a Dutch shelf from c. 1635, preserved in the Frans Hals Museum in Haarlem.
 25. Rea, *Monumental Remains*, 44.
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 36. Compiled during my own field studies in 2006. See chapter IV.c.
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4 Coasts and Interiors of India

Early Modern Indo-Dutch Cross-Cultural Exchanges

Ranabir Chakravarti

Introduction

The Indian Ocean has emerged as an important unit of historical study in recent decades. India has become an exciting field for research on the history of pre-modern times as the image of the subcontinent as exclusively agrarian and steeped in insularity and isolation has been contested. A newer vision of the active non-agrarian sectors of the “traditional” economy has increasingly been illuminated, albeit seen rooted in an overwhelmingly agrarian milieu. Sustained scholarly efforts have provided considerable evidence for urbanization, crafts production, and trade in early India. Economic historians roughly from the middle of the 1980s have underscored the significance of the Indian Ocean in the trading activities and connection of India in relation to the previously established understanding of traditions of trade in the subcontinent itself. The long-standing notion that early Indians were adverse to seafaring because they wished to retain their ritual purity has been effectively refuted by the recognition that proclamations to this effect were available only in normative Brahmanical treatises and were at the most applicable to the priestly community. As a result, the previously dominant historiographical perspective that traditional India was landlocked has been readjusted.¹ Though the limitations of the efficacy of Brahmanical law books on seafaring were exposed long ago by R. K. Mookerji, many scholars, mostly European, projected the image that whenever the subcontinent participated in Indian Ocean

affairs the entire initiative came from the West. This Eurocentric perspective on the historiography of the Indian Ocean has been subjected to strong critiques in recent decades. While Pierre Chaunu denied any intrinsic importance to the Indian Ocean, the general consensus has been that the Indian Ocean is the oldest sea in history, as it has a history of nearly five millennia of seafaring, trade, and travel. It has also been demonstrated that maritime activities in the Indian Ocean go back to more remote antiquity than do those in the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean. Frank Broeze rightly argues that a long-range view would present Asia and not Europe as the leading maritime zone of the world. There is also little doubt that the Indian Ocean dominates the sea face of Asia.² The Indian Ocean, which embraces about 20 percent of the maritime space of the earth, is, however, certainly smaller than the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans: both the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans stretch from the North Pole to the South Pole in sharp contrast to the Indian Ocean which is the only relatively enclosed ocean in the world. Yet the zone of the Indian Ocean contains thirty-seven countries with a third of the world's population. No other maritime space has witnessed a longer tradition of human presence over five millennia. Moreover its relatively small size facilitates communications explaining why the Indian Ocean more than any other ocean has experienced the greatest variety of human contacts.³

The most significant feature of the ocean is of course the Indian subcontinent itself. With its

two coasts – dotted with numerous and historically documented ports – this land mass jut far out into the ocean. As the present essay deals with images of the subcontinent's maritime profile, the importance of the monsoon wind system and the location of its two seabords that are affected by it cannot be neglected. These coasts possess different sets of geographical characteristics. The western seaboard is more indented and broken than its eastern counterpart, allowing for the efflorescence of natural ports, which are located on numerous creeks, inlets, and backwater lagoons. The eastern seaboard, on the other hand, has several distinctive deltas, ranging from the Ganga in the north to the Tamraparni in the extreme south. In between these two deltas stand the deltas of the Mahanadi (Odisha), the Godavari, the Krishna (Andhra Pradesh), and the Kaveri (Tamil Nadu). These deltas were ideally conducive to supporting dense sedentary settlements (with their teeming agriculture and diverse craftsmen, especially textile manufacturers) and estuarine ports which were often linked up with the interior by fluvial routes. One has to keep in mind that prior to the nineteenth century and the days of the British Raj there were very few harbor structures in and around these port sites. The ports were rarely located directly on the open sea, like the present Mumbai or Chennai. Most ports were situated in deltas, or in estuaries, or in creeks and backwaters. These features were often portrayed in European paintings of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries that depict lively scenes of inland riverine ports; sometimes the port is shown lying in very close proximity to the confluence of the river with the sea, while large sailing ships stand in the roadstead.

The present essay seeks to examine Indo-Dutch cross-cultural exchanges, reflected in the images of the coasts and their interiors in the light of the Dutch and Indian material culture.

Needless to say, objects of Netherlandish art reached the subcontinent – both its coasts and interior – in the wake of the VOC's commercial ventures and engagements in India, which triggered multiple processes of cultural mediation. The more regular the voyages, the greater the knowledge of and experience with hitherto unknown or little-known lands, seas, peoples, products, and cultures. The production of accumulating knowledge manifested itself in terms of an abstract two-dimensional visual space in the making of maps in Europe in general and in the Low Countries in particular. One of most important instruments that enabled voyages from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean was indeed the European/Dutch expertise in detailed cartographic knowledge and representations of the world including maritime spaces. With information gained from voyages to the East, cartography gradually began to acquire academic and intellectual respectability; it attained the status of an empirical science, endowed as it was with specific information about wind direction, latitudinal and longitudinal coordinates, and sailing charts.

Maps and Globes

A leading center of map production was Antwerp, from where the production of maps based on the Flemish humanist Mercator's projection emerged. This represented a vast improvement on Ptolemy's geographical ideas. It was not long after that maps in the form of what is now known as atlas began to be produced in the Low Countries. Seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish paintings captured scenes of map production in these countries. If this was the beginning of atlas production, its heyday in early modern times saw the making of multi-volume atlases from the renowned establishment of Johannes Blaeu in Amsterdam.⁴ Not only were these maps

a direct result of the expanding world of the VOC that highlighted the worldview of the VOC, the publisher, in addition to giving accurate physical display of geographical information, also made conscious efforts to beautify topographical features with aesthetic considerations. The cover of the multi-volume Blaeu atlases often depicted divine light reaching out to the very peripheries of the known world. It contained an unambiguous message: commercial ventures and geographical knowledge went hand in hand, and both were given a distinctive visibility for European clientele. The atlases' production in the Netherlands clearly upheld and contributed to the image of Europe as an agent of civilization which was carried to distant corners of the globe by European enterprises. These atlases were often manufactured in very high quality paper and bound in costly materials. They obviously catered to the need and taste of moneyed connoisseurs who moreover derived their wealth largely from the expansive maritime trade of the VOC. Closely associated with the production of maps in the Netherlands was the manufacture of globes, which not only represented the earth as a visible spheroid, but globes were also major gift items, exotica for elites, especially in non-European societies.⁵

It is well documented that objects of art, especially prints reproducing paintings, maps, and globes, were staples of the European/Dutch presents to the imperial Mogul and other princely courts, where they were given as diplomatic niceties. Initially viewed as exotic curiosities by the Moguls, the globe, the map, and the hourglass entered soon into Mogul imperial iconography and the visualization of the space of the Mogul realm.⁶ In Mogul painting the globe is invariably depicted and associated only with the Mogul emperor. The emperor either stands on the globe or lightly holds it in his hand. This form of representation offers an exact visual correspondence to the epithets of

Mogul rulers including Jahangir (one who has seized the world), Shah Jahan (the world-ruler) and Alamgir (one who has captured the world). In one Mogul painting, Jahangir is portrayed seated in full regalia in his court. A globe is seen close to his feet, which rest lightly on it. Thus the globe is represented as an imperial footstool. No less significant and striking is a keyhole in the depiction of the globe: the crucial key hangs from the sash around the waist of the Mogul emperor. The scene clearly intends to convey a visual message that the very key of the world (*jahan*) not only belonged to the Moguls, but that it was also attached physically to the Mogul emperor.

While the terrestrial globe reached the Mogul court undoubtedly as an European exotic gift item, it was thus skillfully turned and absorbed into the political iconography of the Mogul ruler.

At the same time these sorts of objects were introduced into and conceptualized by Mogul iconography, the Dutch in India and in Europe developed a steady demand for Indian art objects, especially miniature paintings. A large variety and number of Indian paintings and artifacts satisfied the urge to fill up *Kunstkamers* in the homes of many elites in Europe.⁷ Of late it has been recognized that Amsterdam emerged as the foremost art market for Indian paintings and other artifacts in Europe. A number of major collections of Indian miniature paintings reached the Netherlands. A case in point is the celebrated collection of Indian miniatures purchased by Nicolas Witsen, a very important VOC official in the Deccan and later the burgomaster of Amsterdam.⁸

Architecture and Urban Planning

The subcontinent's northern part is mostly land-locked; it has two major outlets to the

sea. One is coastal Gujarat, where stood Surat on the river Tapti. Surat was the greatest port of the Mogul Empire, known for its far-flung linkages with both Red Sea and Persian Gulf areas, Sri Lanka and maritime Southeast Asia. The other opening lay to the east: the Ganga delta, the largest delta of the world. In the Ganga delta there were a succession of important ports: Chittagong, Satgaon, Hughli/Chunchura (Chinsura), and finally Calcutta (Kolkata). The many branches and tributaries of the Ganga immensely facilitated movements into the interior of the land-locked area, while the riverine network helped easy access to the Bay of Bengal. For the Dutch this situation was particularly important, because their principal Asian seat was Batavia (to be reached only by sea from India), because they had sustained interests in the Coromandel Coast, and because they obtained growing mastery over Sri Lanka at the expense of the Portuguese.

The Malabar Coast derived its importance from the establishment of European trading posts. First came the Portuguese, who arrived at the northern Malabar port of Calicut in 1498. From the seventeenth century the southernmost part of Kerala, with its ports of Coilum and Cochin, began to be of interest to the VOC. The proximity of this area to the southernmost tip of the peninsula and to the adjacent Coromandel Coast led to Dutch attention to the ports of Cochin and Coilum, which they conquered from the Portuguese. The premier product of this area was the famous black pepper of Kerala, rightly labeled as "black gold." Because of the impact of the extensive sea trade in pepper, the kingdom of Travancore changed its trade policies to establish a state-controlled monopoly that forced European companies, including the VOC, to pay the state-administered price of the pepper.

Negotiations between the Dutch and the Travancore rulers are reflected in the

architecture of the royal palace complex. The present palace, located in Trivandrum and immediately adjacent to the famous temple of Padmanabhasvami, stands on an axis which runs along the temple and the principal straight street in the old city. In fact the temple and the palace form the very hub of the traditional town, which grew around these two structures. The palace is marked by simplicity, gracefulness, and elegance, possessing typical Keralan wood carving, sloping roof tiles, and deeply shaded balconies, which are well suited to its coastal climate. Martandavarma's – the ruler of Travancore from 1729 to 1758 – many political, diplomatic and commercial tussles with the Dutch notwithstanding, the king built another structure within the palace precincts, but outside the royal residential area. This small structure stands independently and is square in plan, approachable on all four sides by flights of stairs which lent to its ground plan a cruciform shape. The structure closely resembles a bungalow-like tiled cottage. It is distinctly different from the usual forms of Keralan architecture, since it was meant for putting up European guests, especially the VOC officials who regularly visited the royal court when they sought to gain commercial advantages. The ruler intended to create a residence for the VOC people with an ambience and visual familiarity acceptable to his European guests. This architectural policy of Martandavarma closely corresponds to an even earlier palace located near Kanyakumari, the tip of the peninsula. Built in the 1730s this palace is more modest than the present one in Trivandrum. Yet a particular part of the palace is marked by a pillared porch, covered balcony, and rooms with large windows. This is the part of the palace where the ruler is said to have entertained important European guests and took particular care to provide a typical European ambience for important men of the

various foreign Companies. This architectural innovation seems to have been a result of the Kerala ruler's sustained negotiations with the VOC regarding maritime trade, especially in pepper. One of the significant features of the otherwise austere palace decorations is the presence of huge mirrors which were certainly given by various European trading companies with a view to keeping the Travancore ruler in good humor. The mirrors were important gifts of the VOC and at the same time lavish household objects in Dutch colonial households throughout the Indian Ocean.⁹

Dutch architecture was familiar to indigenous rulers from different environments. One example is the impressive Dutch factory building in Surat (fig. 4.1).¹⁰ Buildings like the factory have a functional character and are therefore difficult to locate in architectural styles, however. On the other hand, Dutch cemeteries reflect exchanges in architectural traditions between Dutch and Indian artists.

European memorials may reveal local architectural elements, forming hybrids made from combinations of European and Mogul models.¹¹ Dutch and Indian cross-cultural exchanges can also be observed in colonial urban planning. This is preserved particularly in the plan of Pondicherry. The pictorial delineations of the coastal settlement in South India figuring in the late seventeenth century can be understood as abstract designs of space in visual terms. Pondicherry (Puducherry), to the south of Chennai on the eastern seaboard of India, is nowadays remembered mostly as a French colony and retains a distinctly French cultural hue even today. Pondicherry is noted for its grid-pattern city layout with parallel streets dividing the city, especially the "white town," into a number of blocks. This distinctive city layout is usually attributed to the impact of the long-lasting French occupation. However the latest research by Jean Deloche and more recently by Jayaseela Stephen reveal that such

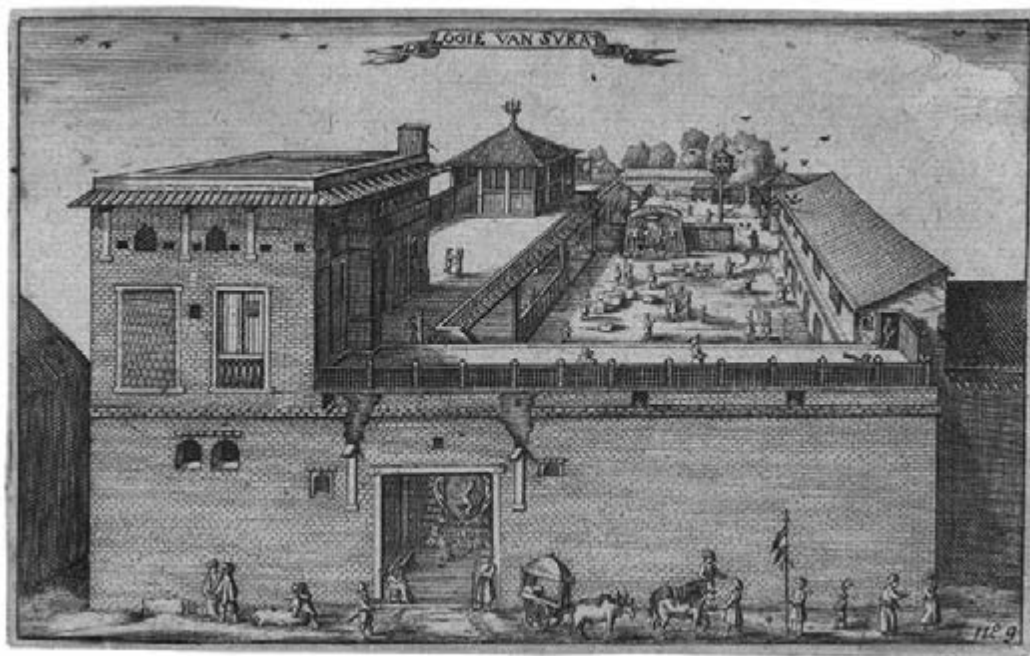


Fig. 4.1: View of the Lodge at Surat (*Gezicht op de logie van Suratte*), 1629. Print by Adriaen Matham.

a grid-iron urban layout was actually designed by the Dutch in the late seventeenth century.¹² These subjects require a little elaboration. The Europeanized name “Pondicherry” is derived from the Tamil term *puthucherry*, meaning “a new settlement.” The French association with this coastal settlement goes back to the time of François Martin, the agent of the French East India Company, who on 29 June 1673 procured a lease (*cowle*) of land from Sher Khan Lodi, a governor under the Bijapur Sultanate, and founded Pondicherry. Though the Dutch initially had little or no association with this French coastal settlement, they were not far away from it either, since their presence is well known in Negapatam on the Kaveri delta. After two decades elapsed since the French procurement of Pondicherry, on 30 August 1693 the Dutch laid siege to the French settlement and eventually captured it on 7 September. The Dutch occupation continued for six years, till 13 September 1699, when the Dutch handed it back to the French by dint of the Treaty of Ryswick.

The first twenty years of Pondicherry under the French did not witness a major break in the settlement pattern from the past practices, as contemporaneous maps of the settlement demonstrate. The Dutch, after occupying the place, ventured to develop the site with a new and different urban orientation. A comparison of the maps of the Dutch siege (August–September 1693), the situation plan of Pondicherry in 1693 and the plan of town and the fortress by Jacob Verbergmoes (20 November 1694) indicate a tell-tale visible account of the changing urban layout of Pondicherry under the VOC’s occupation. The new town was situated mostly in the northern tract, with irregular settlements; moreover, it embraced the southern part, beyond the Uppar River. The innovations took the shape of large rectangular blocks of houses separated by straight streets that

met one another at right angles and gave the settlement, for the first time, a clear grid-iron form and appearance. The northern part of the town was so designed that separate quarters could be easily earmarked for different castes, including the *brahmanas* or the highest caste, according to the strict caste hierarchy. If there were separate quarters for diverse artisanal groups (including textile workers, oil pressers etc.), the lowest of all castes, the pariah (outcaste), was segregated to a separate area of the new town. Later when the French re-occupied the settlement, they continued the Dutch plan of the city. In subsequent times there emerged the Ville Blanche (White Town), distinctly different from the Ville Noire (Black Town) in Pondicherry. Two points may be noted from the above discussion. First, the Dutch contributed to the planning and designing of a city in a coastal tract by introducing the typical European grid-iron pattern of urban layout. With this was combined the indigenous concept of the hierarchized space for different castes, following the principles of ritual purity and pollution in orthodox Hindu tradition. The second point is the importance of drawings, in the form of colored maps and designs of town planning by the Dutch, which give us new insights to the making of this celebrated coastal site.

Paintings

Many VOC settlements developed into objects of cross-cultural visual imagination. Especially Surat, the principal gateway of the European trading companies, fascinated contemporary travelers and artists. Ashin Das Gupta has ably demonstrated how Surat drew upon its enormous reach, both its hinterland and its foreland. This premier Gujarati port commanded a vast hinterland that went as

far inland as Agra through the eastern part of Rajasthan and Gwalior, thus reaching the Ganga-Yamuna basin, the heartland of north India. As long as the Mogul central authority remained unchallengeable (until 1707), the overland routes linking up the coast with the hinterland contributed to the efflorescence of Surat. Surat's overseas trading linkages spanned to Persian Gulf ports, Mocha in the Red Sea, and Malacca and Aceh in maritime Southeast Asia. The Dutch had a major commercial presence at Surat, maintained a factory there, but had a minimal military outfit in the Gujarati port.

A Dutch painting of Surat¹³ captures the essential features of this riverine port city. While in the background the well-fortified Dutch factory with a clearly noticeable Dutch flag is visible, the river is busy with its ubiquitous Indian river boats. The foreground shows a pair of date palm trees, regularly seen in this coastal stretch. We see two Dutch officials walking, finely attired and shaded by an umbrella over their heads – all emblematic of an elite status. The small retinue of Dutch officials and their native companions are about to meet a local vendor (peddler) who approaches them from the opposite direction on the unpaved road leading to the river front. On the left the artist faithfully draws three cattle, two grazing and the third lazily seated.

Similarly, in a Dutch painting of Ahmedabad the artist highlights the river Sabarmati on which stands Ahmedabad. The name of Ahmedabad, spelled here as "Amadabath," is seen at the top of the composition. Presented as a typical European landscape, the image depicts the fortified city area, possibly showing the Dutch settlement, in the background. A close look at the background shows the fortification walls behind which stood many houses, several being double-storied. Two towers are also visible, as are a pair of domed structures

which could have been churches. A sprawling field separates the walled settlement and the river bank. Typical of the scene at an Indian river-bank, the artist depicts three figures of cattle, two grazing and the third lazily seated. On the river plies a small country boat with a sail. This is a riverine settlement, but definitely not a major port like Surat. That the river was rather shallow is wonderfully captured by the artist who portrayed two persons (one with a load on his or her head) crossing the stream on foot. The other bank of the river, which is here the foreground of the image, shows the brisk activities of a number of washermen who not only were cleaning clothes in the river water, but were hanging the washed clothes to dry out. This is a common scene in and around many traditional urban centers in India. The foreground, the principal focus of the artist, depicts the river bank with a typical unpaved country road. On the left, a merchant on the back of a camel comes with a parasol over his head. He has an attendant who walks beside the second camel which carries some commodities. They have gone past three date palm/palm trees through which is visible a part of the river and a small boat. At the bend of the country road a man with a tall pointed lance in his hand walks behind three cows. Another turbaned man is seen in a relaxing and reclining pose close to a largish tree. In the right-hand corner are also depicted three men carrying basket-like objects on their heads; they are possibly hawkers. Into the far-right corner the artist wonderfully captures the scene of six people washing and drying clothes by the bank of the river. Both paintings serve as examples of European interpretations of Indian coastal settlements, cities, and environments which are clearly targeting European audiences in order to meet the European demand for images of the East.

The Dutch embassies to the Mogul court were equally documented by Indian artists,

who depict European culture through Indian eyes. The VOC had to continuously engage in negotiations with the Mogul rulers to gain advantageous terms and conditions of their business ventures in India. Several Mogul court paintings capture the full glory of the court of the Mogul emperors, who are shown with embassies, rulers, and representatives from other realms, including Safavid Persia, the Ottoman Empire, and other European nations. These paintings may or may not depict actual visits by “foreign” dignitaries, but in any case try to portray important political events and moments that actually took place or were imagined to have happened. Though Mogul paintings did not categorically depict a VOC envoy, there is documentary proof, especially in the voluminous VOC papers, of how the VOC tried to placate the Mogul emperors. In fact, doing business and doing diplomacy with Indian political powers, especially the Moguls, were inseparable VOC activities. VOC missions invariably carried enormous presents and gifts to the Mogul rulers, as they did elsewhere. There is at least one remarkable painting, recording such a VOC mission to Aurangzeb in 1689. The Dutch ambassador Johannes Bacherus (1642-1693) tried to renew the trading privileges that the VOC enjoyed in Golconda before the fall of the Sultanate in 1687. Bacherus wanted to trace Aurangzeb who was traveling with his army in the Deccan. Bacherus got hold of the ruler in a valley in the north-western Deccan. He had his privileges confirmed by Aurangzeb who honored the ambassador with the title of “Gulzar Khan” (Flourishing Khan). To document this success and his status to the VOC, and also to his family and friends, Bacherus commissioned a painting by a local Golconda painter, who was seeking new patrons after the fall of the Golconda sultanate. This large Indian painting, now kept in the Tropical Museum of Amsterdam, depicts the camp of the VOC

envoy, after he had met the Mogul emperor. In the center of the painting is the portrait of the ambassador that the Golconda artist carried out in the manner of the familiar ruler portraits. The VOC camp otherwise appears full of pomp and paraphernalia; this is particularly seen in the personal tent of the VOC envoy, who himself is represented in a majestic manner, almost holding a court of his own. Furthermore, the artist set the ambassador in a procession that assembled of the signs of status that were typical of the Mogul courts.¹⁴

Two decades later (1710) the VOC chief at Surat, Johan Josua Ketelaar, again had to travel to the Mogul court. Ketelaar was eager to present himself at the Mogul capital in the wake of the death of the last great Mogul emperor, Aurangzeb (1707) and to please his successor with the customary gifts of precious metals and other exotic materials. The whole exercise was done with a view to acquiring a new *farman* or an imperial order to ensure favorable conditions for the trading company. What is remarkable is that Ketelaar took a different route to reach Agra and passed through the city of Udaipur in westernmost Rajasthan.¹⁵ The Dutch embassy was duly received by the Udaipur king Raja Sangram Singh (1710-1734); there followed a remarkable cultural dialogue between the Dutch and the princely ruler of Udaipur. A literary account comes entirely from the VOC records, while the memory of the visit was visualized in the court paintings in Udaipur. There are two large paintings showing the reception of the Dutch embassy by Raja Sangram Singh (now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London). Prior to this, the typical Rajastani painting tradition was largely connected with manuscript paintings of religious and mythological texts, especially in the far western fringe of Rajasthan, and court painting in the Mogul style only slowly percolated into the local painting tradition. The two paintings themselves speak

of a significant shift in Rajastani visual culture in that they capture important political events that occurred at the Udaipur court, recording the presence of *farangis* or foreigners. It appears therefore that the Mogul tradition of retaining visual memories of important court events and court culture reached the Udaipur court, albeit late. Since the composition of the painting is large, the painter deviated from the practice of the Mogul art where the scene is presented in the relatively circumscribed space of a miniature. The support of the painting is cloth, on which paper is laid, to supply a surface for the painting, which is done in the technique of gouache, like that of traditional miniatures.

The first painting captures the meeting between the Dutch party and the Udaipur raja in the Amar Vilas palace, so named after Sangram Singh's immediate predecessor, Amar Singh (1698-1710), during whose reign Udaipur perhaps first experienced contacts with the Dutch (see plate 4.1). The rigid solemnity of the court is ably portrayed by the artist. Three Europeans, probably representing Ketelaar himself and his two companions, are visible in the middle along with the Udaipur king who is understandably given the perfect central position in the composition of the pillared court room (darbar hall). Sangram Singh is duly attended by his courtiers who flank him on both sides. While the Indian figures are shown invariably in profile, the Europeans are depicted in three-quarters. This clearly suggests the artist's familiarity with the visual tradition of showing European figures in three-quarters, a style distinctly different from showing Indian personalities. The second painting relates to the game of *chaugan* (polo) to which the Dutch party was invited by the king. It is a scene packed with people, including the players and an elite group of spectators. The polo ground is dominated by a high and canopied pavilion where are seated the local ruler and the Dutch party. No less significant is

the fact that the palace built by Sangram Singh himself in 1723 (named Shiv Palace) contained several images of Dutchmen. These were mostly located in the personal apartments of the ruler, called Chini Mahal on account of the Chinese origin of the majority of its decorative styles. Topsfield suggests that the adjoining Dutch decorations were supplied by the Dutch, if not by Ketelaar himself to the Udaipur king as a mark of his friendship.¹⁶ A peculiar feature of the decoration is the presence of erotic motifs which consist of Dutchmen. One such figure of a Dutchman, now in the British Museum, shows him standing with arms akimbo. At top left is written in Hindi *farangiri sabi* (this is a picture of a *farangi*). Another Dutchman appears in the reverse of a portrait of Sangram Singh in procession (now in the National Gallery, Victoria). The Dutchman is shown in three-quarters, in typical Dutch attire including the wig and the hat, holding a slim sword in his left hand, standing under a tree in a style resembling chinoiserie with a small dog at his feet. This type of *mélange* can be explained by the artist's method of composition, which consists of mixing together a French fashion print and the image of Dutch VOC employees present in India.¹⁷

Another example (1720-1725, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London) depicts a Dutchman riding a fantastic and composite camel. The camel's limbs are composed of figures of different animals and human beings, a common motif in contemporary painting. The Dutchman in typical attire is seated on a massive box-like *howdah*. He is shown with a nimbus, something quite exceptional. No less striking is the pair of wings which emerge out his shoulders. The dynamic movement of the camel and its rider is captured by the composition of the four legs of the camel and the flying twin ends of the sash of its rider. What is astonishing is the delineation of the

Dutchman in a kneeling position, a pose which is typically associated with the Indian style of seating in the court.

Indian Landscapes in Dutch Landscape Painting

The last examples focus on the introduction of Indian landscapes into Dutch painting. The Dutch had a major commercial presence in Chinsura, which was vital for maintaining linkages with the Coromandel Coast, Sri Lanka, and Batavia. The inland riverine communication network facilitated connections with interior areas as far north as Rajmahal and Patna in Bihar. The Dutch activities at Hughli (Chinsura), Rajmahal, and Patna are best recorded in the voluminous VOC official papers.¹⁸

No less interesting for our present purpose are the views of Hughli (Chinsura) and Patna in a few Dutch/European paintings of the seventeenth century. Of these Dutch settlements, Chinsura was most important. Hendrik van Schuylenburgh, an artist in the service of the VOC who visited various parts of Asia, left behind a famous painting of the Dutch factory at Hughli (see plate 4.2).¹⁹ Painted in 1665, the image shows a very large and enclosed quadrangular area adjacent to the river Ganga. Resembling a European topographic view, the painting has the Dutch factory dominating the composition. The factory has an impressive gateway with people shown moving in and out. Outside the gate are also seen a couple of large elephants, a horse and several men, who give the impression that they are representative of elites. The entrance takes the visitor to a large rectangular open courtyard flanked on both the sides by two structures which appear to have been the warehouses.

This impression gains ground as the painting depicts many indigenous people, with their

upper torsos bare, carrying loads of commodities. Two turbaned figures, dressed in dhoti and *kurta*-like long-sleeved upper garments, appear to have been their supervisors. At the end of the courtyard stands an impressive double-storied structure that has a pair of elegant staircases. There are also two pairs of columns decorating the ground floor of this building, which is possibly the office of the Dutch governor. On the right-hand side is also visible an elegant garden, divided into four neat squares with well-paved paths. Each of these squares is further subdivided into sixteen squares, once again betraying the typical European predilection for the symmetrical arrangement of a garden space. A number of gardeners, all forming the indigenous labor force and wearing dhoti – their distinctive attire, leaving the upper torso bare – are visible. The artist's familiarity with the subject and the topography of Bengal is evident from his depictions of the neatly arranged rows of coconut trees, so common in this region. In fact coconut trees figure prominently on the bank of the river and also in the horizon, suggesting that such trees were to be found in abundance. Behind the enclosure wall one sees a square tank or pond with a water-lifting device. A horse is also being bathed in the tank. The backdrop is dominated by a long and meandering procession of men, all attired in elegant white indigenous dresses, moving ahead in pairs. The white dress and the white turban clearly suggest that these were indigenous people in the employment of the VOC. The Dutch flag flying aloft is unmistakable. The long snaking procession of men is punctuated in the middle by a palanquin carried by its bearers. It is likely that a very highly placed VOC official, if not the Dutch governor himself, is being carried in the palanquin, and therefore the scene seems to capture the official entry of the VOC official to the factory. To the right of the long procession the artist depicts an open meadow where stood

a few thatched huts or cottages, so typical of rural dwelling houses in this part of eastern India. A large number of men has thronged in the meadow where a few cattle, a bullock-driven wagon, an elephant, and four trotting horses also appear. A large number of people, most probably ordinary Indian employees of the VOC, are seen moving (some running, one particular figure is riding on a horse) toward the procession, possibly to ceremonially greet and receive an important VOC personage. To the further right of the meadow are located two tents within temporary enclosures. The ropes used to tie tent ends to poles that are driven to the ground may also be seen. The artist faithfully depicts a graveyard with at least three visible graves and several coconut trees arranged in neat lines. This is certainly the European cemetery, adjacent to the VOC factory, but located outside the factory precincts. Dutch cemeteries in India house specimens of European funerary architecture, which to some extent also accommodated some elements of Mogul architecture.²⁰ In sharp contrast to the depiction of the Dutch cemetery in the painting, the artist here also presents the image of a funeral pyre, fully in flames, surrounded by indigenous mourners and also by Europeans who were looking at a mortuary ritual and practice so different from theirs.

The backdrop of this landscape is kept hazy to suggest the lush green horizon amid towering coconut trees dotting the horizon. On the left-hand side a pleasant riverscape is seen. Four Dutch vessels, clearly identifiable since they carry the Dutch flag, and a typical Bengal riverine craft with a sail dominate the scene. An arched gateway in the enclosure wall of the factory leads to a shaded avenue that reaches the river bank. On the river bank, a little away from the site of the Dutch factory, are shown a few thatched roof huts, one of them with a lush garden. The Dutch artist has thus admirably

captured the verdant countryside along the banks of Ganga, a quintessential feature of the lower Ganga valley. Close to the bank of the river one notices a scene of a cremation; a funeral pyre is set aflame amid evidently indigenous mourners. Several Dutchmen also appear in this crowd of mourners, but they obviously gathered as curious witnesses to a “strange” and “other” kind of the disposal of the dead.

Chinsura figures in two other Dutch drawings of the same period. The first of these two, once again, is a riverscape. The scene is that of the flowing Ganga on which sail vessels of different types (see plate 4.3).²¹ Among the ubiquitous country boats, one notices a vessel with an English flag and a bigger ship with a clearly discernible Dutch flag. The artist drew the European buildings on the farther bank of the river; the nearer bank of the river forms the foreground where an Indian employee holds a parasol over a European/Dutch man. The Dutch/European man is easily distinguishable by his elegant European dress and the hat; he is accompanied by a lady in a fashionable dress and possibly a child also. The lady wears a typical long gown and delicately holds a fan in her right hand. Her gaze follows that of the man accompanying her who looks at a distant object through a binocular-like apparatus. It is likely to have been a scene of a fashionable Dutch family enjoying a stroll on the riverbank. The typical European structures dominate the scene of the background and the far bank of the river. In fact, the far bank has a strand. Amid European buildings behind the boundary wall, standing between the bank and the houses, coexist two elegant flights of steps descending into the river. These appear to have been used for embarkation and disembarkation. These stand in sharp contrast to the typical bathing *ghats* so common to traditional Indian riverine cities. In fact our image shows two such bathing

ghats to the left of the two flights of steps mentioned above. No less interesting are the figures of three swimmers close to the *ghats*. If we chose to follow our gaze from the left to the right, we first encounter a typical rural hut along with shady trees and coconut trees in the hazy horizon. Next stands a large, two-storied house with a colonnaded balcony/terrace. There once again are arranged a number of trees. This group is followed by two elegant single-storied long buildings next to which one encounters a grand pillared structure resembling a open hall. It is evidently a major focus of the composition. But even more startling is the tall tower standing next to the pillared structure. The tall tower is topped by a weathercock, which seems steeped in European architectural tradition. In front of these European structures a row of conifer trees is shown, which is hardly native to the hot, humid, and moist climate of Bengal.

The third painting of Hughli (Chinsura) shows a few European/Dutch men and women in typical formal European dresses (especially the hats), talking a leisurely walk in front of a massive fortified structure.²² The structure is known as Fort Gustavus, a fort built by the VOC at Chinsura, but now completely lost. The long driveway to the entrance of the fort is adorned with an elegant row of shady trees. Behind the fort can be seen the steep superstructure of a church atop which flutters a flag. On both sides of the fort stood two-storied European houses, markedly distinct from the typical rural thatched huts in Bengal (from this is derived the English word “bungalow,” meaning “a thatched roof-shaded house”). One such hut is partly visible in the left-hand corner of the present drawing. By showing the customary use of the parasol above the heads of Europeans the artist intends to underline their dignified and exclusive status vis-à-vis the native population.

An early-eighteenth-century painting of the Dutch factory at Patna, made by an English

artist, vividly captures the location of the factory on the banks of the Ganga on top of an impressive embankment. The Dutch factory at Patna, along with the Dutch settlement at Rajmahal, was crucial for the procurement of textiles, saltpeter, and opium, which were then carried down the river to Hughli (Chinsura) and transported to distant overseas markets, including Batavia. In contrast to the riverscape at Chinsura, the scene at Patna shows no European/Dutch vessels, but depicts instead indigenous riverine boats powered by oars and an occasional sail. A larger ship with double masts and several sails does appear on the river here, but it is not clear whether it was a Dutch/European ship. The large European building of the Dutch factory is however clearly visible in our image. The Dutch factory building is still in situ and has survived as the Patna College of the present times.

Communication and Mediation

Though the Dutch presence was far more noticeable on the coast than in inland areas including the land-locked Ganga valley, the Dutch had to maintain an effective presence at Agra. That is why a Dutch Lodge (*Logie*) stood at Agra, and this figures in another contemporary Dutch painting.²³ The Dutch lodge at Agra is far less impressive than the imposing VOC factory building at Surat and perhaps implies the symbolic presence of the Dutch at the nerve center of Mogul power far away from Surat, the *Bandar-i-mubarak* of the Moguls. The Dutch however were not only present in architecture and in the artistic reception by Dutch and Mogul artists. Language plays a role here as well when Dutch documents were translated and recorded in inscriptions. For example, Negapatam figures as a major Dutch settlement on the Coromandel Coast in two inscribed plates,

dated respectively in 1658 and 1676. The first one was written in Telugu and the second in Tamil and both the inscriptions also had official Dutch versions kept in Batavia.²⁴

Besides the political events and administrative measures recorded in the two inscriptions, the epigraphs present to us an interesting aspect of cultural mediation in the form of the use and adaptation of several European terms in two vernacular languages of South India. The regular applications of terms like *company*, *captain*, *factory*, *admiral* are cases in point here. There must have been several bi-lingual or multi-lingual people present who could skillfully handle Tamil, Telugu, Dutch, and possibly Indonesian/Javanese languages. They figure in the Dutch official vocabulary as *topas*, corresponding to what the French would term as *dubash*; both the terms were possibly derived from Sanskrit *dvibhashi*, meaning an interpreter and/or a bilingual person (*dvi* = two; *bhashi* = speaker of language). In 1658, the date of the first grant, the Dutch first ousted the Portuguese from Jaffnapatam in the northernmost corner of Sri Lanka and then followed it up by capturing Negapatam. Both the victories belonged to the Dutch admiral Rijckloff van Goens (Volanda Rikula in Telugu and maharasa Rikkoloppu vangunsu avargal in the Tamil grant). Negapatam at that time belonged to Vijaya Raghava, the Nayaka of Tanjore who allowed a number of fiscal remissions to the Dutch Company which was actually represented by Chinnanna setti alias Mallaiya, a cloth merchant of Pulicat. The grant was renewed by Vijaya Raghava three years later, in 1661-1662, with additional privileges of setting up a mint for coinage of gold, silver, and copper coins by the Company. Twelve years later (1673) a Madurai ruler invaded Tanjore and ousted Vijaya Raghava. This was followed by an invasion of Tanjore by Ekoji who acted under the command of the Sultan of Bijapur. In these

troubled political developments the Dutch, still represented by Admiral van Goens, entered into negotiations with the ruler of Tanjore. Later the VOC also entered into an agreement with Ekoji. All these find mention in the second grant which lays down nine long clauses (in 89 lines). The VOC agreed to pay to Ekoji maharaja a total tribute of 6,300 pons (local currency) against enjoying a number of economic and politico-administrative privileges.

Furthermore, Dutch maritime traditions and images left an impact on the indigenous sculptural tradition. Jean Deloche's masterly documentation of the decorative motifs on the terracotta temples of Bengal during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries deserves a special mention here.²⁵ Many examples of indigenous riverine crafts plying on the Bengal rivers may be found as elements decorating the exterior of temples, where they were intimately associated with the tales and legends in vernacular texts (especially the *Mangalakavyas*) which often narrated – perhaps in a stereotypical manner – the journeys of merchants' fleets along rivers and across seas. In these depictions local artists demonstrated the familiarity with the indigenous boats and vessels. These artists were also aware of the much bigger size of European vessels, which are shown with the multiple decks and sails that were considered to be their distinctive features. But the images were the artists' impression, and do not accurately portray the structure and size of the European ships that one finds in European seascapes. The most distinctive mark of European ships in the terracotta art of Bengal temples is the depiction of cannons. That the European presence in Bengal delta was as much associated with maritime trade as with violence on the sea and armed encounters²⁶ on the Indian Ocean did not escape the attention and impression of the indigenous sculptors. While the introduction of the seascape in the indigenous

visual tradition was inspired by the elements of European paintings, indigenous artists demonstrated their ability to adapt elements of style and content to convey the message, however imperfectly, that European maritime trade in the Bengal delta went hand in hand with the policy of armed trade, put to practice by these European joint stock companies.

Conclusion

Many varieties of what in this volume is called transcultural remediation may be discerned in the context of VOC activities on the Indian subcontinent, where cultural contents were reproduced again and again in different media.²⁷ Dutch artists borrowed Indian elements and

integrated them into a “Dutch” landscape tradition, thus creating new types of imagery, such as the depictions of Hughli (Chinsura). At the same time Golconda painters produced Mogul portraits for a European market, because company merchants had developed and mediated taste for exotic images. For VOC officials, like Bacherus, indigenous art fulfilled commemorative and decorative functions, and it became an important means of self-fashioning and self-expression in a colonial society as well as in the home country. Similar remediation processes took place in temple decoration where indigenous artists adapted European motives in sculpture and terracotta production. Unfortunately, however, indigenous agency (producers and recipients) is barely traceable.

Notes

1. R. K. Mookerji, *Indian Shipping* (Bombay 1912). P. Chaunu, *European Expansion in the Later Middle Ages* (Amsterdam and New York 1979).
2. F. Broeze, ed., *Brides of the Sea* (Honolulu 1989), 8.
3. C. Verlinden, ‘The Indian Ocean: Ancient Period and the Middle Ages,’ in S. Chandra, ed., *The Indian Ocean: Explorations in History, Commerce and Politics* (New Delhi 1987), 27.
4. The Johannes Blaeu establishment was a major landmark in Amsterdam till the late nineteenth century. See the facsimile edition and work by B. Aikema, P. van der Krogt, and E. de Groot, *The Atlas Blaeu – Van der Hem of the Austrian National Library: An Illustrated and Annotated Catalogue*, 6 vols. (Houten 1996–2008).
5. The gift was an essential and indispensable aspect of negotiations of the VOC (and other European companies) with major political powers in Asia who needed to be impressed upon with the extravagance and the exotic nature of European gifts. See the contribution by Cynthia Viallé in this volume.
6. A. K. Das, *Mughal Painting during Jahangir’s Time* (Calcutta 1978); C. M. Beach, *The Imperial Image: Paintings for the Mughal Court* (Washington, D.C. 1981); A. Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters: Indian Miniatures from the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Paris 1996); A. K. Das, ed., *Mughal Masters: Further Studies* (Mumbai 1998); E. Koch, *Mughal Art and Imperial Ideology* (New Delhi 2001); S. P. Verma, *Interpreting Mughal Painting* (New Delhi 2009); S. Ramaswami, ‘Conceit of the Globe in Mughal Visual Practices,’ *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 49 (2007): 751–782. The topic was revisited by Ranabir Chakravarti, ‘Lords of Space and Time: Mughal Paintings and the European Elements,’ unpublished paper presented to the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study, 10 December 2009. Chakravarti draws parallels to the Kushan (of Central Asian origin) visual practices of dynastic sanctuaries and practice of royal portraiture with clear halo/nimbus the ruler’s head in the Indian subcontinent and the Indo-Iranian borderland.

7. D. F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe* (Chicago 1994).
8. P. Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'Het Witsenalbum: Zeventiende-eeuwse Indiase Portretten op Bestelling,' *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, 44 (1996): 167-254.
9. See the contribution by M. North 'Art and Material Culture in the Cape Colony and Batavia in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries' in this volume.
10. See www.atlasofmutualheritage.nl/detail.aspx?page=dafb&lang=en&id=2001 for 1629 print from engraving.
11. A. Drost, 'Changing Cultural Contents: The Incorporation of Mughal Architectural Elements in European Memorials in India in the Seventeenth Century,' in M. North, ed., *Artistic and Cultural Exchanges between Europe and Asia, 1400-1900* (Farnham 2010), 73-88; idem, *Tod und Erinnerung in der kolonialen Gesellschaft* (Jena 2011).
12. J. Deloche, *Origins of Urban Development of Pondicherry According to the Seventeenth Century Dutch Plans* (Pondicherry 2004); S. Jayaseela Stephen, 'Mapping the Landscape of Pondicherry in the Seventeenth Century,' in L. Subramanian, ed., *Ports, Towns and Cities: A Historical Tour of the Indian Littoral* (Mumbai 2009), 95-109, esp. maps 2-5 on pp. 98-99. It is unfortunate that Stephen chose to remain completely silent about and to ignore Deloche's seminal work that preceded his by at least five years.
13. See www.atlasofmutualheritage.nl/detail.aspx?page=dafb&lang=en&id=5287 for this 1672 print from engraving (accessed 18. November 2009).
14. P. Lunsingh-Scheurleer and G. Kruitzer, 'Camping with the Mughal Emperor: A Goldconda Artist Portrays a Dutch Ambassador in 1689,' *Art of Asia*, 35.3 (1966): 48-60.
15. A. Topsfield, 'Ketelaar's Embassy and the Farangi Theme in the Art of Udaipur,' *Oriental Art*, 30.4 (1984-1985): 350-367. We have heavily drawn upon his essay for this present paper.
16. Topsfield, 'Ketelaar's Embassy and the Farangi Theme,' 350-367.
17. A. Topsfield, *Paintings from Rajasthan in the National Gallery of Victoria* (Melbourne 1980).
18. O. Prakash, *The Dutch East India Company and the Economy of Bengal, 1630-1720* (Princeton 1985).
19. See www.atlasofmutualheritage.nl/detail.aspx?page=dafb&lang=en&id=1929 for the painting by Schuylenburgh. This image is also reproduced by F. Hassan, 'Mughal Port Cities of Surat and Hughli,' in Subramanian, *Ports, Towns, Cities*, 78-93, esp. 88-89.
20. See the contribution of M. Krieger, 'Dutch Cemeteries in South India' in this volume; and Drost, *Tod und Erinnerung in der kolonialen Gesellschaft*.
21. See www.atlasofmutualheritage.nl for the pen and brush drawing (1772-75) of Chinsura and Hughli (accessed 18. November 2009).
22. See www.atlasofmutualheritage.nl/detail.aspx?page=dafb&lang=en&id=2586 for the 1770 image of Fort Gustavus (accessed 18. November 2009).
23. See www.atlasofmutualheritage.nl/detail.aspx?page=dafb&lang=nl&id=221 for the colored drawing of 1700 (accessed 18. November 2009).
24. We heavily draw here from K. A. Nilakanta Sastri's masterly study and treatment of these two inscriptions. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 'Two Negapatam Grants from the Batavia Museum,' in idem, *South India and Southeast Asia* (Mysore 1980), 197-212. Negapatam, located at the Kaveri delta, first came into prominence under the Chola dynasty (especially from 985 to 1150, if not later). Its maritime connections with Kadaram (Kedah in the Malay Peninsula) and Srivijaya (Palembang in Sumatra) were well known in the Chola period. See for the long history of Nagapattanam (particularly for the pre-1500 phase) K. R. Hall, *Trade and Statecraft during the Cholas* (New Delhi 1980); R. Chamapakalakshmi, *Trade, Ideology, Urbanization in South India c. 300 BC-AD 1300* (New Delhi 1996); K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, *The Cholas* (Madras 1955); T. Sen, *Buddhism, Diplomacy and Trade: The Realignment of Sino-Indian Relations 600-1400* (New Delhi 2004).
25. J. Deloche, 'Boats and Ships in Bengal Terracotta Art,' *Bulletin de l'ecole française d'Extrême-Orient*, 78 (1991): 1-49.

26. The adversarial and conflictual positions among the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, and the English in Asia and South Asia are too numerous and too well known to require an elaborate discussion here. Not only were these naval battles fought on the issues of controlling/capturing important ports in the subcontinent and other regions of the Indian Ocean and the issue of monopoly control over spice trade, several hostile engagements on the sea among the European powers took place in the Indian Ocean as spillover from intense politico-military rivalries in Europe and in the Atlantic. The Anglo-Dutch wars in Asia are a classic instance.
27. See the essay by A. Erll, 'Circulation Art and Material Culture: A Model of Transcultural Mediation' in this volume. A. Erll, 'Remembering across Time, Space, and Cultures: Premediation, Remediation and the 'Indian Mutiny,' in idem and A. Rigney, eds., *Mediation, Remediation, and the Dynamics of Cultural Memory* (Berlin and New York 2009), 109-138.

5 Art and Material Culture in the Cape Colony and Batavia

in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

Michael North

Introduction

This paper elucidates the role that objects of art played in the households of the Cape Colony and Batavia. In the history of the Dutch East India Company (VOC), the Cape and Batavia fulfilled different but interconnected functions. In taking over Batavia – the name, with its reference to the home country, was invented in 1619 to replace the name of the existing town, Jacatra – the VOC gained a long-awaited foothold for its trade in Asian spices. The harbor was easily accessible and protected from the monsoons, providing a relatively safe place for Dutch ships and Chinese junks to meet. With its location between the rival sultanates of Bantam and Mataram, Jacatra was familiar territory to the Dutch. In the preceding years, Dutch ships on their way to the Moluccas had called there for provisions, and the place had become home to Asian and European merchants as well as slaves and soldiers. When agents of the English East India Company gained land and privileges there in 1618, Jan Pietersz. Coen reacted by taking increasing control over the city.¹

Although Batavia remained under administrative supervision of the VOC directors (the Heren XVII) in the Netherlands, it was not long before it turned into a major power base on its own. As seat of the Governor-General, it became the headquarters of the VOC in Asia, with responsibility for all Company installations and

operations in that vast part of the world. This included the Cape Colony, which served as a stopover on the long journey from Holland to the East Indies. When in 1652 a group of Dutchmen under Jan van Riebeeck established a small settlement there, they thought of it as a trading post where provisions – food, firewood, water, and such – could be acquired from the *Khoikhoi* in exchange for European commodities. In the short term this proved to be an illusion, leaving the Company no other choice but to establish a colony for the production of such necessities as grain, vegetables, meat, and wine.² This background makes it clear why the societies of Batavia and the Cape developed along different lines.

The ethnic communities settled in Batavia in 1679, according to a population estimate, are shown in Table 1.³

Table 1: Ethnic composition of Batavia in 1679.

Ethnicity	Numbers	percent
Dutchmen	2,227	6.93
Mestizos/Bastards	760	2.36
Chinese	3,220	10.02
Mardijkers	5,348	16.64
Javanese	1,391	4.33
Malay	1,049	3.26
Balinese	1,364	4.24
Slaves	16,695	51.9
Total	32,142	100.00

The Dutch contingent consisted of Company servants and so-called freeburghers, who were often former Company personnel. The men in this population either cohabited with indigenous concubines or else took Asian wives. Although toward the end of the seventeenth century the upper echelons of Dutch society succeeded in marrying European women, in the long run the number of available Dutch women decreased with the general decline in numbers of Europeans who traveled to Asia. As a consequence, the frequency of marriages between Dutch men and Asian or Eurasian women rose,⁴ leading in turn in the course of the eighteenth century to a vast increase in the number of *mestizos* of Eurasian or Indoasian parentage (see plate 5.1). The Chinese, who outnumbered the Europeans, fell into several categories. There were merchants who had settled in Jacatra before the Dutch came. Then there were Chinese craftsmen who were brought to Batavia to satisfy local demand for their skills. Furthermore, Chinese landowners played a crucial role in sugar production. The big group of *Mardijkers* were Europeanized Christian ex-slaves of Bengal or Tamil origin. Most of them had been freed by the Portuguese; they bore Portuguese names and spoke that language. Others had been given Dutch names on the occasion of their baptism. *Mardijkers* tended to intermarry with Eurasians. An important component of Batavian society was formed by free Asian groups such as the *Bandanese* or the *Balinese*, who served as auxiliary troops in Dutch military campaigns. The Malay formed a closed group of Muslim traders and shipowners. They were related to the “*Moren*” (*Moors*), a term applied to Muslims, often of Tamil origin, who had immigrated from southern India. Members of all these groups owned land in the hinterland of Batavia, with the Dutch and a few Chinese occupying the big manors. The Dutch and the Chinese – but

also *Mardijkers* and traders from the free Asian population – competed with each other in the slave trade, bringing slaves from the Indian Ocean and the Indonesian archipelago to the slave market of Batavia. Only a small number of slaves was owned by the VOC. Most were privately owned. It is well to realize that they formed a majority of the population of Batavia.⁵

The Cape Colony’s main objective was to attract settlers. Otherwise it would not have been possible to provide VOC ships on their east- and westbound voyages with sufficient provisions. Some of those who came to stay were men who had previously served the VOC as sailors, soldiers, or artisans. They would stay on as freeburghers in Cape Town or practice agriculture as smallholders in the Liesbeek Valley behind Table Mountain. Others came as immigrants from Europe. One such group were the Huguenot refugees who fled persecution in France in 1688 and were granted ownership to farmlands in the southwest Cape. These holdings were laid out on land appropriated by the Dutch from indigenous tribes such as the *Khoisan*. As early as the 1670s, plots further inland were being distributed, as on the Eerste River, where in 1679 the town of Stellenbosch was founded. More land assignment followed. For two or three generations the farmers in the southwest Cape, working with slaves and hired *Khoisan* labor, grew wheat and produced wine. As the century drew to a close, enterprising settlers moved across the mountains in order to take up sheep and cattle breeding. Their ranches became indispensable for satisfying the demands of a growing Cape Town population and provisioning the ships of the VOC.⁶

During the eighteenth century the Cape Colony saw continuous immigration and an increase in population.⁷ As in Europe, discriminatory practices came into being, with the upper strata of the VOC establishment passing sumptuary laws to distinguish themselves from

those lower down the social scale. Nonetheless, it remained possible for humble immigrants from Germany, Scandinavia, and Poland to improve their social standing within a single generation. We encounter retired VOC soldiers working as successful craftsman or as wealthy monopolists in the alcohol trade.⁸ The growing population of Cape Town and its physical demands stimulated the growth of agriculture in the hinterlands. To this day, the interior is dotted with gabled farmhouses of the so-called Cape Dutch style. Apart from VOC servants and freeburghers, the multi-ethnic society of the Cape was composed mainly of “bastards” – descendants of liaisons between the Cape Colony Dutch and indigenous Africans – free blacks and slaves. While the “bastards” lived on the frontiers of the Cape Colony and were often ensnared by the farmers, the free blacks lived mainly in Cape Town, where they worked as fishermen, small traders, and sometimes as artisans. The designation “free black” did not refer to skin color. They were emancipated slaves or ex-convicts sent from Batavia to the Cape. Their origins on the Indian Ocean are indicated by the names they bore, like Rosetta van Bengalen (see below). Even the Chinese at the Cape, most of whom were ex-convicts, fell in this category. To judge by their probate inventories, the free blacks managed to earn a modest income. With luck, a free black woman would marry a Company servant or a freeburgher and thus acquire a more desirable life style. This possibility was entirely beyond the reach of the tens of thousands of slaves who worked on farms or urban households. Unlike Batavia, where the offspring of a marriage between a Dutch man and an indigenous woman could be legalized, in the Cape no such *mestizo* status was recognized.⁹

The Napoleonic Wars brought about a permanent change in the status of the Cape Colony. In 1795, following the fall of the United

Provinces and the occupation of the mother country by France, the British took armed possession of all Dutch colonies abroad, including the Cape. Although in 1803 Britain returned the Cape to the Dutch, it recaptured it during renewed warfare with France in 1806. In 1816 the British relinquished control over Indonesia, but the Cape was never returned to Holland. It was integrated into South Africa as part of the British colonial empire. The change in regime did not entail a complete remodeling of Cape society. The British accepted the existing Dutch legal system, which was based on Roman law. Moreover, they left intact the political power of the big landowners and thus prevailing social relations. For the landowners, the integration of Cape Colony into the British Empire opened new markets for their agrarian production. Only in the 1820s, when the British brought 4,000 new settlers to the Cape, did English nationalism make its entry into society, as the newcomers gave expression to feelings of superiority.¹⁰

Sources

The major source for the possession of art objects and material goods in colonial households at the Cape and in Batavia are so-called probate inventories, registrations of the movable goods left behind by a deceased person. They were kept by the Orphan Chamber (*weeskamer*) at the Cape of Good Hope and are nowadays in the Cape Archives. Furthermore, thanks to a comprehensive transcription project (TEPC), the materials are now also available in an electronic database.¹¹ Several probate inventories from the *weeskamer* in Batavia can be studied in copies deposited in various Dutch archives. The majority, however, were drawn up for other courts, the estate chamber (*boedelkamer*) and the aldermen's court (*schepbank*). These documents are preserved

in the National Archive (Arsip Nasional) in Jakarta, where only some of them are accessible.

Unfortunately, the surviving inventories are not as precise as those from the Golden Age of the Dutch Republic itself. They seldom specify the subjects of paintings and are mostly silent with respect to attributions. Due to their inferior state of conservation, poorer rate of survival, and differing modes of keeping the inventories, the Cape and Batavia inventories do not lend themselves as well as Dutch inventories to quantitative and statistical analysis. Nevertheless, they do provide qualitative and quantitative evidence on the art objects collected and owned in colonial households.

Qualitative Evidence

We have a fair number of examples of bequests by VOC employees in Batavia and Cape Town to family, friends, and institutions. In 1647 the court master of the Governor-General, Jan Cornelisz van Heck, left to his heirs three portraits of members of the House of Orange, four allegories of the four seasons, and three landscapes.¹² But already in the 1620s Gillis Vinant, a merchant and citizen of Batavia, had built an impressive collection of paintings and art objects that were auctioned together with his estate after his death in 1627. The objects and their hammer price are specified as follows:

1	small rectangular painting	11 realen
2	landscapes with ebony frame	26½
2	rectangular paintings	12½
2	Chinese paintings	9
1	big rectangular painting	5
1	ditto smaller	10
2	landscapes framed	10
1	ditto [landscape] without frame	26½

1	big ditto [landscape] without frame	25
1	ditto [landscape]	41
1	ditto [landscape] smaller	12½
1	ditto [landscape] a bit bigger	14
1	ditto [landscape] framed	16
1	ditto [landscape] framed	12
2	Chinese paintings	7
1	big Dutch painting framed	30½
1	ditto	10
3	Chinese paintings on paper	3¼
2	small paintings in ebony frame	17½
1	big painting, most of it spoiled	6
4	porcelain figures or dolls	4
12	sibyls in rectangular frame	11½
7	planets, two of them without frame	24½
4	alabaster goddesses	18
1	alabaster figure	4
1	old piece of tapestry	9
2	silver plaquettes in ebony frame	20
5	silver plaquettes in ebony frame [and]	
2	heads (<i>tronien</i>) on [stained] glass	25 ¹³

The success of the auction suggests the existence of a lively secondary art market by that early date. To go by their names, all the buyers were of Dutch origin. Most of the paintings and *objets d'art* were bought by the *diaconeesche* (wife of a deacon), Appolonia Danckaerts. At the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century the number of bequeathed estates rose significantly. Numerous paintings are recorded, although they were often specified only with respect to the size or quality of the frames. This is true of the estate of the officer and member of the Council of the Indies (Raad van Indië) Isaac de l'Ostal de Saint-Martin. Governor Joannes Camphuys

bequeathed in his testament of 1695 numerous portraits to his friends and relatives in Batavia, while four volumes with Chinese, Japanese, and “Moorish” (Southeast Asian) drawings went to Pieter van Dam, syndic of the Amsterdam chamber of the VOC.

From the plenitude of inventories, I shall confine myself to those of three large collections, those of Willem van Outhoorn, Nicolaas van Landschoot, and Baron Gustaaf Willem van Imhoff. Willem van Outhoorn grew up in the Dutch factory of Amboina on the Moluccas and later studied law in the Netherlands. He returned to Asia and became member, vice-president, and president of the court of justice in Batavia before serving as Governor-General from 1691 to 1704. After his retirement he lived on his manor outside Batavia. Upon his death in 1720 he owned 36 portraits of his own family and other famous Dutch families, such as the Valckenier and Backer (or Trip) families, and the House of Orange (William and Mary). Of the remaining 52 paintings, Outhoorn left two views of Amsterdam, a large battle scene and three classical histories to the VOC for the assembly hall of the Council of the Indies in Batavia. The subjects of the history paintings – “Marcus Curtius or Parsimony,” “Gaius Fabricius or Steadfastness (Constantia),” “Scipio Africanus or Abstinence” – are revealing of Outhoorn’s intentions. These are the very subjects that we find on the walls of Dutch city halls, examples of model behavior and good government on the part of famous Batavian and Roman leaders. For example, among the paintings in the Burgomasters’ council room of the Amsterdam town hall are Govert Flinck’s *The Incorruptibility of Marcus Curius Dentatus* and *Gaius Fabritius Luscinius Refusing a Bribe* by Ferdinand Bol.¹⁴

Nicolaas van Landschoot also served at the court of justice at Batavia; when he died in 1762,

his collection included 27 family portraits and 59 other paintings. The most important of the three collections was that of Governor-General Baron Gustaaf Willem van Imhoff (1705-1750). He owned about 130 paintings that he displayed in the Governor-General’s rooms in Kasteel Batavia and in his country houses. Unlike his impressive collection of coins and medals and his library, the paintings are only roughly specified in his probate inventory. Several of those mentioned, such as the 25 portraits of Governors-General, actually belonged to the VOC. Seventeen family portraits in the Kasteel and a big portrait of himself he bequeathed to his successor as Governor-General, Jacob Mossel. The other rooms in Batavia and the country houses were decorated with six landscapes, two flower pieces, eleven English paintings framed and behind glass, Chinese paintings, prints, and framed maps, in addition to some paintings of unspecified nature. Van Imhoff owned a big map with pictures of different Dutch cities as well as prints of the Dutch factory in China, various locations in Java, and 23 English prints, with a magnifying glass to study them. The lavish furnishings were rounded out by numerous curtains and lanterns, coats of arms, and sculpture, such as twelve marble busts of the Roman emperors.¹⁵

Unfortunately, neither the subjects nor the painters are specified. This holds as well not only for most of the recorded Asian collections, but also for the great majority of European households. Only in the Dutch Republic during the seventeenth century do we find more attributions to painters. That is because estates in that period were inspected by masters of the local guild of St. Luke. The only recorded exception in Batavia is in the testament of Geertruyda van Pollinckhoven, widow of the “first chief merchant” (*overkoopman*) Gerardus Klinck, who in 1709 bequeathed to her Amsterdam relatives a

landscape by Ruysdael and a portrait of an old man by Rembrandt.¹⁶

In the Cape the quantitative evidence is much stronger, especially in the early eighteenth century. An early example is formed by the “7 Schilderijen, vertonenden de 7 sebillen” (seven paintings depicting the seven sibyls), although most likely a series of engravings by Crispijn van de Passe), left behind by Godfried Meijhuijsen in 1697.¹⁷

The first known inventory to provide details about paintings dates from 1707. The former junior merchant and cashier (*onderkoopman en kassier*) of the Company, Hendricus Munkerus, and his wife Elsje van Suurwaarden had decorated their house with landscapes and genre paintings, especially peasant drolleries:

1	painting, depicting a peasant fair	2 rijksdaal-
		ders
1	drunken peasant and peasant wife	1
1	landscape	4
1	landscape	4
1	portrait of a young man, 1 daughter's portrait, being the brother and sister of Mrs. Munkerus, together	3
1	peasant schoolmaster	2
1	peasant [school]mistress	2
2	seascapes	4
2	Italian harbors	4
2	landscapes	6
3	peasant fairs, old	6
5	spoiled paintings of Cape art	2½

Especially the latter differentiation is revealing, implying that the other paintings mentioned were of Dutch origin or at least imported from Holland. The prints are specified as follows:

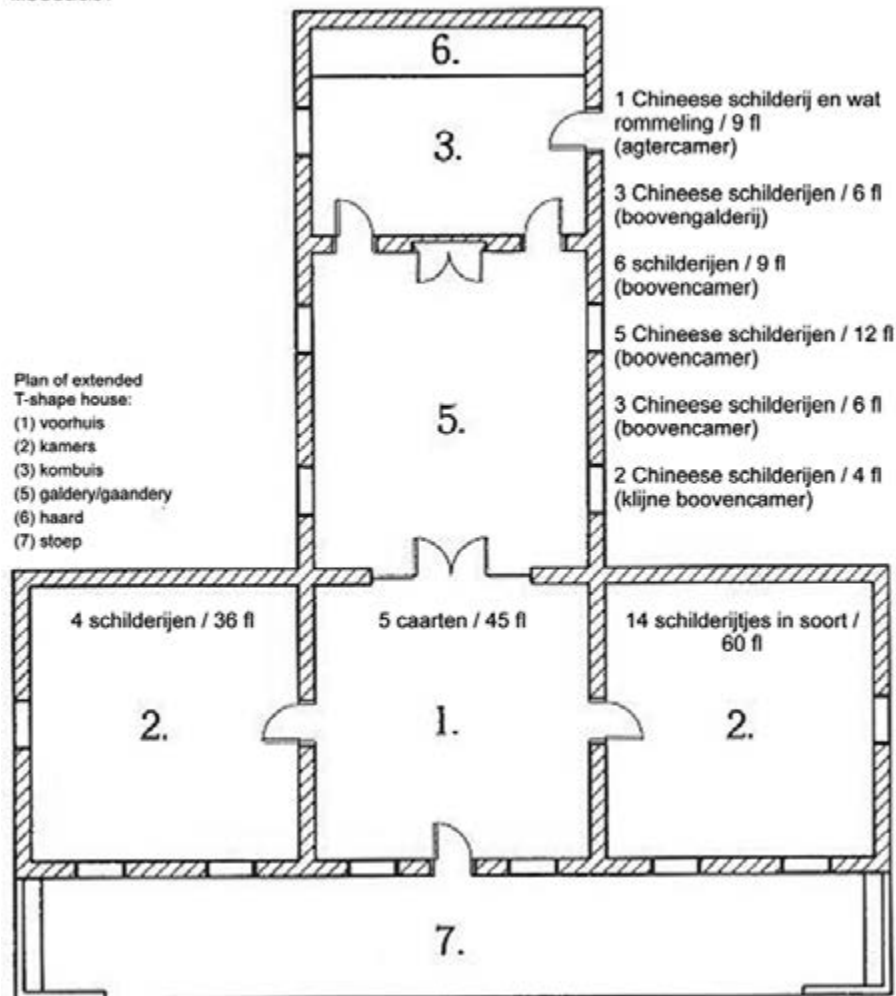
11	colored prints (<i>printschilderij-tiens</i>)	1³/₈
9	portrait prints on paper framed	1
3	framed papers	0³/₈
12	papers framed	1½
2	painting portraits framed	
2	paper pictures framed together	1½¹⁸

Other inventories, such as those of Joris van Stralen and Jacob van Doornick from 1701, differentiate between little pictures (*schilderijtjes*), prints on paper (*papiere prentjes*), small prints on paper (*kleine papiere prentjes*), Indian prints (*Bengaalse prenten*), while distinguishing between them further with respect to the quality or color of the frame.¹⁹ Similar criteria appear in entries such as “3 ordinary paintings being landscapes with poor frames” (“3 gemeene schilderijen zijnde landschappen met geringe lijste”) or when numerous family portraits were recorded.²⁰

In the years to follow, there is a steady increase in Chinese export art in the households and inventories on the Cape. *Chinese schilderijen, schilderijtjes, prenten* and *beeldjes* are frequently mentioned. The China pictures were imported from Canton, where the intensification of trade gave rise to an export industry. These newly fashionable objects were collected not only in colonial households but also by connoisseurs in the Dutch Republic and in England. It is not always clear from the entries whether an item was a painting or a print. Apart from the export paintings of harbor scenes, we also find, both in Cape Town and Batavia, painted hanging scrolls on silk and above all colored woodcuts from Suzhou.²¹ Interestingly, in Batavia Chinese paintings were already present in rich inventories of the 1620s; as time went on, they began to appear in more modest Chinese households.²²

Thomas de Wit, 28 Junij 1752

MOOC8/8.34



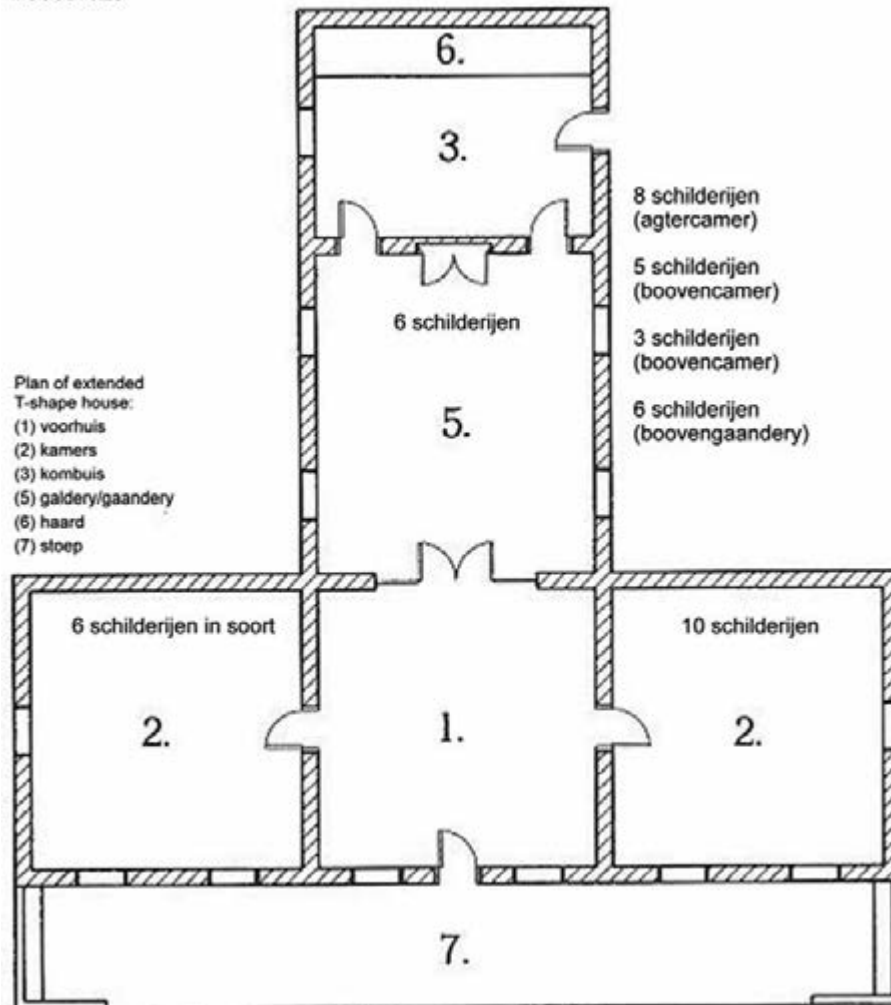
In addition to paintings, we also find *Chineese beeldjes* – white- or color-glazed porcelain figurines – in many Cape and Batavian inventories.²³ These might have been figures of gods and goddesses, but they also might have been animals. Figurines of this kind were on board the *Oosterland* when it sunk in the Tafelbay in 1697.²⁴ In several Cape inventories these *beeldjes* are described as lions (*leeuwtjes*), a typical Buddhist symbol. They had become cheap decorative objects in Cape households.

Quantitative Evidence

The mid-eighteenth century saw a rise in the number of paintings and prints in the households of Cape Town burghers. As in the Dutch Republic, it was not rare to find more than 20 pictures in an inventory.²⁵ The expansion of houses and changes in the function of rooms stimulated the emergence of new fashions in home decoration. During the eighteenth century rooms ceased to be multifunctional; increasingly, rooms were dedicated to a single purpose.²⁶ In the course of

Catharina Frank, 21 Meij 1787

MOOC8/19.28

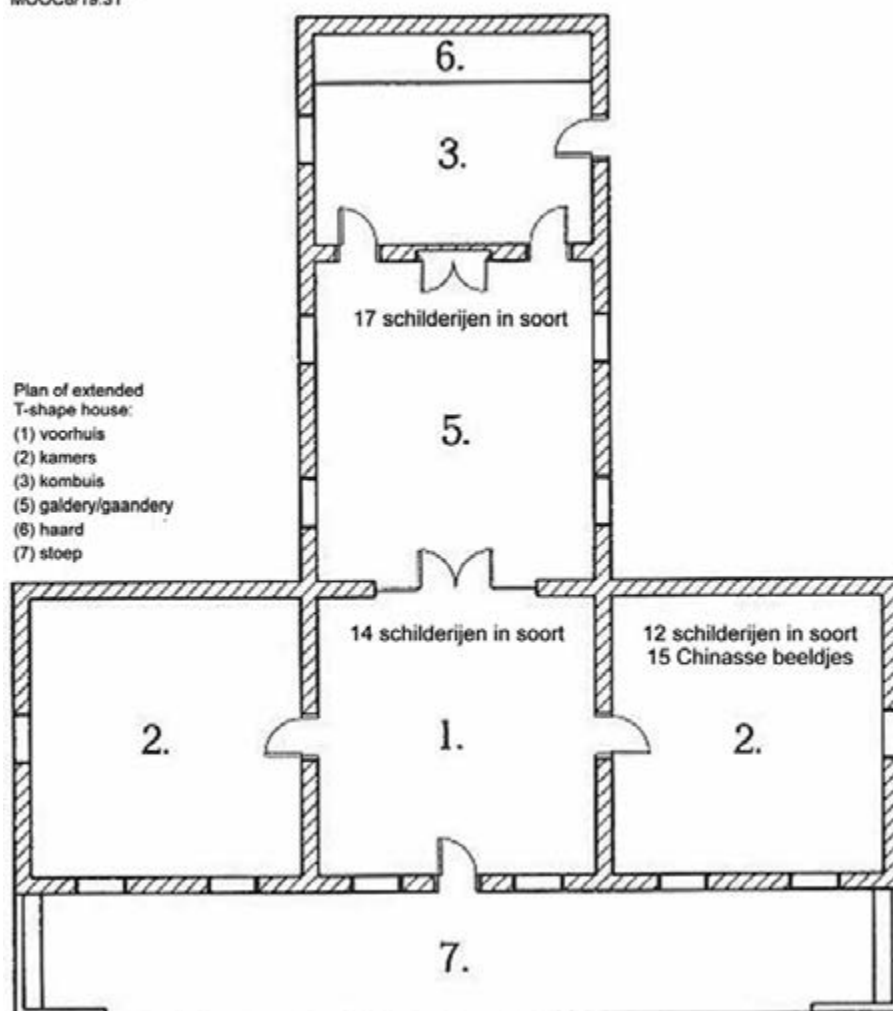


this process the front room on the right (*voor-camer ter rechterhand*) became privileged as the principal reception room. This is confirmed by the way in which paintings were hung. The family portraits, as well as the largest and most costly paintings in the house, are now found in that room. Furthermore, it was in the *voorcamer* that the porcelain and other precious objects of material culture were lavishly displayed. Cheaper art objects – for example, Chinese paintings and prints – decorated the less representative rooms, especially the new upper rooms. A few examples

will illustrate this development, beginning with Thomas de Wit, a captain in the militia cavalry.²⁷ De Wit came from New York and had worked himself up from a servant to the rank of captain. He was helped along the way by his marriage to the daughter of a militia cavalryman.²⁸

At the end of the century the number of paintings in Cape households rose still higher. For example, in 1787 Catharina Frank, widow of the second chief surgeon of the government, Hendrik van Amstel, owned 44 paintings, displayed in seven rooms.²⁹

David Reijndertz, 11 Junij 1787
MOOC8/19.31



In the same year the surgeon at the Company hospital, David Reijndertz, left behind 43 paintings and fifteen Chinese figurines.³⁰ In these years the gallery and the family room as well as the *voorcamer* were increasingly decorated with paintings.

Social Context

Information concerning the social ramifications of collecting art and embellishing houses with

art objects comes from a variety of sources. What follows is a reconstruction of the prevailing social context within which a number of Cape inhabitants collected and displayed works of art.

Only one of three Cape Town inventories contains paintings. The majority of households were not embellished with paintings or prints. This is especially noticeable in rural areas. In mid-eighteenth-century Stellenbosch, for example, hardly any farmhouses had art on the walls.³¹ When the inhabitants started to embellish their homes, the first object they acquired

would be a mirror, followed by curtains or a bird cage, sometimes of Chinese origin. Only when the basic needs of embellishment were fulfilled did farmers – and this applies as well to the lower middle classes in the city – go on to decorate their houses with paintings, prints, maps, and statuettes.

Paintings and prints were not expensive: according to the estimates in the inventories, confirmed by the results of estate sales, the prices of normal-sized paintings (*schilderijen*) range from 2½ to 25 guilders. The majority lay between 6 and 8 guilders. Small paintings (*schilderijtjes*) were worth between 15 stuivers (three-quarters of a guilder) to 2 guilders. Even cheaper were prints (*print schilderijtjes, papiere schilderijtjes, printjes*), which varied from 4 stuivers to 1 guilder.³² Since these art objects were available for such low prices, it was not financial constraint that kept most people from buying them. Households with no paintings at all might nonetheless have expensive furniture, mirrors, and of course silverware. It is a significant fact that when rural areas became more prosperous, this was reflected not in an enrichment of material culture or a marked increase in art objects. As Susan Newton-King and Laura Mitchell have shown, Cape stock farmers preferred to keep their wealth in animals and spent any surplus on agricultural implements before household goods and embellishments.³³ In the southwest Cape farmers showed their growing prosperity by building whitewashed gabled houses or adding whitewashed gables to their existing homes.³⁴ Although we now have evidence that paintings were not completely absent from farms in Stellenbosch, Drakenstein, Paarl, etc., the numbers remain small compared to Cape Town. Certain prior conditions of fashion and taste, as well as a certain urge for refinement, had to be met before a householder would decorate his walls with objects of art. This theory would explain why paintings are found above

all in the households of the emerging middle classes. That was the social position of such art owners as the former burgher commissioner (*oudburgercommissaris*) George Schoester (1754),³⁵ the town councillor Paulus Artois (1756), Johanna Siekermans, widow of the president of the Orphan Chamber (*weesmeester*) Jacob van Renen (1756), Anna Margaretha Smuts, widow of chief surgeon Johannes van Sitters (1755), or the captain of the burgher militia mentioned above, Thomas de Wit (1752). They were well-to-do, most of them possessing several houses, but they did not belong to the upper echelon of Cape society. As Robert Ross has demonstrated,³⁶ it was this upper middle class – nowadays increasingly named middling-sort – that on its path to status and respectability contributed the most to the spread of new fashions and modes of domestic interiors. At the end of the century expenditures on art by this class of society, as we have seen in the households of Catharina Frank and David Reijndertsz.,³⁷ rose to even greater heights.

During the second half of the eighteenth century the taste for paintings trickled down into the lower middle class of the Cape. In 1786 we encounter a Company soldier, George Hendrik Godlieb Bergman, who had decorated his modest rooms with 30 miscellaneous paintings (*in zoort*), four paintings with brown frames, twelve small paintings, nine Chinese paintings in upright format (*Chinaase staande schilderyen*), and five Chinese statuettes.³⁸ In the same year the burgher and messenger (*bode*) of the Orphan Chamber, Johan Leonard Waldpot, who like Bergman lived quite frugally, nevertheless possessed 36 paintings and four *schilderijtjes*.³⁹

The same situation prevailed in Batavia, although there the evidence is still scarce. In 1780 the burgher Johannes Nicolaas Cestbier left behind seven *schilderijtjes* and 34 *schilderijen*, among them six paintings on glass (*ses schilderijen op glas*). Even in the modest household of Salomon Pieters and Johann

Elisabeth Piot (1792), 22 cheap paintings and a portrait are registered.⁴⁰

One class that had nearly no paintings in their households were the free blacks. Presumably, this was because they could not afford appurtenances that were not closely linked to their work in agriculture or at a craft. There are a few exceptions to the rule. In 1697 the *vrije swaart* Klaas Gerritz van Bengalen bequeathed one *schilderijtje*, worth thirteen guilders. In 1764 Rosetta van Bengalen, widow of Jan Jansz van Ceijlon, had decorated the *caamer ter regterhand* with eight paintings and the *voorhuijs* with five *schilderijtjes*, thus respecting the hierarchy of rooms.⁴¹ If former slave women married husbands who were in Company service, they tended to take on the furnishing and decoration habits of their new milieu. Thus Ansla (Angela) van Bengalen, widow of the well-to-do burgher Arnold Willemsz Basson, had six *printjes* and a portrait of her late husband in her house (1720).⁴² Gisella van de Caab, widow of Jan Stavorinus, had decorated her rooms with two *sineese beeltjes* and five *schilderijtjes* as well as three *oude* and six *papiere schilderijtjes* (1727).

In later years we find *schilderijtjes* and *schilderijen* in the household of Susanna van Caab, widow of Jan Philipp Reimers; and in 1787, the *vrijswartin* Eijda van Punto-Gale, widow of Hendrick Pietersen, left ten paintings in the *camer ter regterhand* in her will.⁴³ By way of contrast to these few references concerning free blacks, the evidence on art ownership by members of Batavian society at large is far vaster. Although many Chinese and Moorish people were inclined to satisfy their personal embellishment needs (that is, jewelry) before buying art, we nonetheless find frequent mention of paintings in Chinese households. Some are explicitly described as Chinese paintings, but most are listed simply as *schilderijen*. A few

examples (as shown in Table 2) will suffice to provide a general impression.

Paintings of Chinese and Western origin gained increasing significance in Chinese households where they were displayed together with expensive bird cages, mirrors, clocks (especially decorated Frisian clocks) and lamps (see plates 5.2 and 5.3). They reflect thus an intensified cultural exchange between different ethnic groups and households. This is a very different situation than in the Cape, where the modest household of a Chinese woman named This-gingno, who had no wall decoration apart from curtains, can be regarded as typical.⁴⁴

Especially interesting are the paintings in the estates of members of other ethnic groups. In 1792 a bankrupt Muslim ("insolvent overledene Moor") died owning six paintings in a decorative golden frame.⁴⁵ Two years later a fellow religionist of his left one painting behind, while another owned, apart from a "small round Dutch table" ("kleyne ronde nederlandse tafel") worth three rijksdaalders (Rd.) one big painting, thirteen prints, two broken mirrors and four broken *blakkers* (flat candlesticks) estimated at 6 Rd. 24. The free Buginese woman Saliera decorated her room in 1788 with four mirrors and two *blakkers* only, but one year later the Moor Bamba Sa Assan Miera left five paintings as well as a standing clock ("stand hoorlogie") behind. This was not an exception; the free Macassar Abdul Ilalik had four paintings when he died in 1790, in addition to building materials, mirrors, and a Frisian clock ("frieze klok"). As a last example may serve the free Balinese Kaliep Oemar, who died in 1813. His modest household contained the cheapest kind of *blakker*, made of wood, but it also included three paintings and a hanging closet with local books ("hang kastje met inlandsche boeken").

Table 2: Sample of Chinese inventories in Batavia with works of art.

Year	Deceased person	Art objects owned	Hammer price	Arsip Nasional
1779	Be Loeykong, Chinese captain of Ambon	1 painting	0.3 Rd.	Schepenbank 635
1789	Nie Bokseeng	A bunch of Chinese paintings		Boedelkamer 63
1789	Tje Tjoenko	2 porcelain elephants 1 copper Lantharn and 3 Chinese paintings 1 gilded cage and 3 paintings 7 Chinese paintings		Boedelkamer 63
1790	Vrouw Oey Tjoenko	1 Chinese painting on glass 1 Chinese painted and gilded shelf (<i>rak</i>)		
1790	Thee Imkon	A big Chinese painting 2 oval mirrors with gilded frames		Schepenbank 751
1791	Njo Samtijauw, living close to the Crocolse bridge	2 paintings in golden frames	6 Rd.	Boedelkamer 82
1791	Lim Hantan, bankrupt	5 ps. (<i>partijs</i> = bunches) of <i>schildereyen</i>	3.36 Rd.	Schepenbank 748
1794	Tan Koeko	one mirror and two paintings beside his rich holdings of textiles		Schepenbank 755
1796	Tan Soeyko	1 shelf, 2 small mirrors and 3 Chinese paintings (1 <i>rak</i> , 2 <i>spiegeljtjes en drie Chines schilderyen</i>) 2 mirrors 1 Frisian clock	9 Rd. 36 20 Rd. 24 Rd.	Schepenbank 758
1796	Lim Konghiem	1 Chinese painting 4 paintings on glass 6 paintings are listed and were sold together with other goods 1 Frisian clock	9.24 Rd. 13 Rd.	Schepenbank 759
1800	Tjoa Tjouwko	2 mirrors 1 mirror and 3 paintings 1 chandelier (<i>een glase kroon</i>) 1 copper hanging lamp	11.24 Rd. 12.24 Rd. 27 Rd.	Schepenbank 761
1804	Tjan Tjeengko	9 paintings 24 paintings 23 paintings 2 mirrors 1 Frisian clock	36 Rd. 37 Rd. 58 Rd. 43 Rd. 39 Rd. 67 Rd.	Schepenbank 762
1805	Tan Teengko	A bunch (<i>parthy</i>) of paintings, worth more than his Chinese books and maps	22 Rd.	Schepenbank 744
1812	Lie Djoeseeng	11 paintings	25 Rd.	Boedelkamer 80

Table 3: Sample of Batavia inventories of non-Dutch and non-Chinese inhabitants.

Year	Deceased person	Art objects owned	Hammer price	Arsip Nasional
1788	Free Buginese woman Saliera	4 mirrors and 2 candlesticks (<i>blakkers</i>) 2 copper lamps		Boedelkamer 64
1789	Moor Bamba Sa Assan Miera	5 paintings, pendulum clock (<i>a stand hoorlogie</i>) A gilded cage		Boedelkamer 64
1790	Arab vrouw Sariepa Aloeya Binli Achmat Aboeff Tayheep	2 Chinese cages 3 white copper hanging lamps	65 Rd. 45 Rd.	Boedelkamer 64
1790	Free Macassar Abdul Ilalik, when he died in 1790	Building materials, mirrors 4 paintings 1 Frisian clock (<i>friese Klok</i>)		Boedelkamer 64
1790	Abdul Cadier Balinese Captain (from Macassar)	1 double Chinese cage 2 candle sticks 1 copper hanging Lantharn 3 mirrors with gilded frames 2 big and 2 small mirrors Apart from rich clothing and modest jewelry		Boedelkamer 64
1791	Insolvent <i>overledene</i> Moor Bappoe Ibrahim Poele	6 paintings in a decorative golden frame 3 mirrors 1 Chinese cage 2 candlesticks A silver pocket watch		Schepenbank 749
1794	Moor Smaon Oesien Bandarie	1 painting		Boedelkamer 152
[Year?]	Mochamad Miera Sase	One small round Dutch table (<i>kleyne ronde nederlandse tafel</i>) One big painting, 13 prints, 2 broken mirrors and 4 broken candlesticks (<i>blakkers</i>) 3 copper hanging lamps 3 English copper Lantharns Apart from expensive jewelry	3 Rd. 6.24 Rd. 50 Rd. 90 Rd.	Boedelkamer 152
1804	Balinese Captain Abdul Kadier Babandam	3 Lantharns 3 mirrors A golden pocket watch	35 Rd. 15 Rd. 20 Rd.	Schepenbank 764
1811	Free Balinese vrouw Asamie	Apart from rich jewelry A copper hanging lamp 4 vitrines 4 damaged paintings	40 Rd. 350 Rd. 18 Rd.	Boedelkamer 79
1813	Free Balinese Kaliep Oemar	Wooden candlesticks (<i>blakkers</i>) 3 paintings and a hanging case with local books (<i>hang kastje met inlandsche boeken</i>)		Boedelkamer 67

Taste

The paintings in Batavia and Cape inventories cover most of the subjects known in Dutch painting: allegories, classical histories, landscapes, genre paintings, and portraits were represented, together with Chinese export art of all kinds. Unfortunately, we cannot quantify the proportion of the different subjects over time; therefore, we do not yet know whether secular subject matter progressively gained ground in Company territories, as it did in the Northern Netherlands. The preponderance of landscapes and seascapes in Batavian collections, from Gillis Vinant up to Willem van Imhoff, as well as in the Cape household of Hendricus Munkerus, allows us however to hypothesize that most of the growth in the number of paintings in eighteenth-century houses consisted of relatively cheap landscapes, as indeed it did in the Dutch Republic.

Who communicated taste into the colonial societies? The persons who are most likely to have inspired standards of taste were painters and patrons. Merchants may also have contributed to taste formation. As Marten Jan Bok shows in his contribution to this volume, a good number of painters left the Dutch Republic for the Indies and established themselves in Batavia either as painters or as Company servants. Several of them also visited the Cape. Here painters satisfied local demand, especially for portraits, by producing so-called *Caabse Kunst*. They probably copied imported subjects as well. That there was a recognized difference between paintings produced locally and those imported from abroad is shown by the wording of the inventories quoted above.

The estates of painters provide us with a certain degree of insight into this question. When Adriana Strijdom died in 1767, her belongings were registered together with those of her late husband, the painter Jan de Waal de Jonge. The

estate included not only five paintings and three family paintings in the *voorcaamer ter regterhand* as well as seven paintings in the *voorcaamer ter linkerhand*, but many more paintings, frames, pigments, painters' utensils, prints, and finally a stock of 33 paintings, finished and unfinished, in the upper rooms. Furthermore, one of the outstanding debts was seven rijksdaalders for delivery of a painting to Philip Hartog (who never paid for it).⁴⁶

Even more revealing from a cultural point of view is the 1797 estate of the modest painter (*als schilder bescheiden geweest zijnde*) Dirk de Jongh. In addition to utensils for printing, drawing, and painting, there are also prints, sketches, and drawings (partly in books and portfolios) as well as *een schilderboek van Laireste en voorts*.⁴⁷ The presence of Gerard de Lairesse's *Groot schilderboek* in two volumes (first published in 1707) shows that an authoritative treatise for the education of Dutch painters was available to Cape artists and could be communicated to Cape society. We know as well that painting as a hobby penetrated even the lower strata of the Cape. The estate of Sergeant Carel Benedict Smeckkenbecher included painters' utensils as well as 28 paintings, prints, and drawing books.⁴⁸ He was a serious amateur painter.

Unfortunately, we don't know much about how paintings at the Cape or Batavia were commissioned. However, the numerous portraits and family paintings that were displayed in prestigious rooms and bequeathed to family members, friends, or institutions, while other movable goods from the same estate were sold at auction, show that such commissions must have been quite common.⁴⁹

The main source of commissions was the VOC itself. When the Company donated paintings to indigenous rulers, decorated its offices with Dutch subjects, or ordered portraits, it was effectively communicating artistic preferences

in content and style from Holland to the Indian Ocean. The direct recipient was colonial society, but indigenous populations were eventually reached as well. The VOC commissions for portraits of the Governors-General can be seen as an instrument for enhancing the legitimacy of the regime. As an artistic testimony of the Dutch presence in Asia, these portraits have long dominated our view of Dutch colonial painting. With its air of continuity and self-evident authority, this gallery of portraits, *de oude landvoogdsportretten*, buttressed Dutch power in Southeast Asia. The paintings are influenced by the tradition of European princely portraits, especially the portrait galleries of European dynasties. In keeping with this pretension, the VOC presented portraits of the Dutch Republican “surrogate dynasty,” the House of Orange, as gifts to indigenous rulers.⁵⁰ The Governor-General portraits also influenced portraits of such indigenous rulers as Sultan Sayfoedin of Tidore.⁵¹ Furthermore, the upper echelons of Company personnel functioned as setters of taste for Colonial society. When Governor-General van Imhoff decorated his residence with 130 paintings and put in one room a painting of the queen of Denmark together with prints of the Great Mogul and views of Campong Baroe, Tangarang, and Tangjonpoera, he set standards of collecting across cultures.

We should not, however, forget that the market too was a tastemaker. Dutch paintings could come to Batavia and the Cape either as imports or as local production recycled on the second-hand auction market. At these auctions, men and women of different social origin bought not only items that they needed for their professional activities, but in increasing measure decorative objects as well.⁵² Non-Europeans also had access to these auctions, the very existence of which stimulated demand for art. Chinese export art was bought and sold

not only by Chinese merchants but probably also by the Company and its traders. This would have included Mogul miniatures and drawings and as well as paintings.

Finally, we have to take into account that the Cape and Batavia were not isolated from European discourse on taste and the arts. This we know from the titles of books we find in private colonial libraries. Until the middle of the eighteenth century, the recorded libraries represented mainly Dutch interest in theology, law, history, classical languages, and geography. But in the second half of the century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, the libraries became more international, reflecting aesthetic interests that were satisfied with poems, fiction, and philosophy. In these libraries Herder and Kant are present as well as Sulzer's *Theorie der schoenen Kuenste*.⁵³

Conclusion

The production and reception of Dutch art in the Indian Ocean and in Asia were functions of intensified market relations, with the Dutch East India Company playing a major role. However, numerous local agents within and outside the European trading companies also had a part in this development. Art objects were commodities on the international but above all on the local markets. When people moved to Batavia or the Cape from Europe, America, or Asia, they brought with them only a small number of art objects for decorative or commemorative purposes. If they wanted more art in their homes or wished to climb socially by a conspicuous display of wealth, they had to commission art objects or buy them on the market. An important market instrument for second-hand goods was provided by estate auctions.

The reception of Netherlandish art in colonial societies proceeded simultaneously via two processes. In the first place, decoration patterns from the Netherlands trickled down and were disseminated via the upper social strata of the Company to the middle classes and the various indigenous groups. At a given moment, they would be appropriated by local producers of art and craft objects. A second process was independent of the first one but was nonetheless intertwined with it. Some of the local ethnic groups had their own styles of furnishing and adorning their homes that in the course of time absorbed Western or Dutch models. Chinese styles of decoration, by way of contrast, penetrated the European strata in Batavia early on, as Europeans bought

and displayed Chinese cultural goods of many kinds. These included not only paintings, but also porcelain, lanterns, and so forth. A sizeable market for Chinese art objects came into being in Batavia as early as the 1620s, a taste that did not manifest itself in the Netherlands until about 1700, when Chinese paintings show up in some of the richer collections.⁵⁴ In Batavia these objects were probably acquired directly from the Chinese and indirectly at auctions of Chinese estates. Only later on were Chinese products traded by the VOC in the Cape and Holland. At the high point of this development, social climbers like Thomas de Wit could choose in Cape Town from a wide range of art objects produced in China, in Batavia, at the Cape, in Holland, and the rest of Europe.

Notes

1. J. G. Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia: European and Eurasian in Dutch Asia* (Madison 1983), 3-20.
2. R. Ross, *A Concise History of South Africa* (Cambridge 1999), 21f.
3. H. E. Niemeijer, *Calvinisme en koloniale stads-cultuur, Batavia 1619-1725* (Amsterdam 1996), 26.
4. U. Bosma and R. Raben, *Being "Dutch" in the Indies: A History of Creolisation and Empire, 1500-1920* (Singapore 2008), 33-38.
5. *Ibid.*, 37-89.
6. Ross, *Concise History*, 23-26.
7. For a recent overview on the multi-ethnic city of Cape Town see N. Worden, ed., *Cape Town: Between East and West: Social Identities in a Dutch Colonial Town* (Hilversum 2012).
8. G. Groenewald, 'A Cape Bourgeoisie?: Alcohol, Entrepreneurs and the Evolution of an Urban Free-burgher Society in VOC Cape Town,' in N. Worden, ed., *Contingent Lives: Social Identity and Material Culture in the VOC World* (Rondebosch 2007), 278-304.
9. R. Ross, *Status and Respectability in the Cape Colony, 1750-1870: A Tragedy of Manners* (Cambridge 1999), 14-16, 32-39; N. Worden, 'Ethnic Diversity at the VOC Cape,' in T. Eliens, ed., *Domestic Interiors at the Cape and in Batavia, 1602-1795* (Zwolle 2002), 129-137.
10. Ross, *Status*, 40-66.
11. A good overview is provided by C. Cornell and A. Malan, *Household Inventories at the Cape: A Guidebook for Beginner Researchers* (Cape Town 2005); see also TEPC Transcription Team, 'The Inventories of the Orphan Chamber of the Cape of Good Hope,' in N. Worden, ed., *Contingent Lives: Social Identity and Material Culture in the VOC World* (Cape Town 2007), 3-22.
12. J. de Loos-Haaxman, *De landsverzameling schilderijen in Batavia: Landvoogdsportretten en compagnieschilders* (Leiden 1941), 151f.
13. Nationaal Archief (Den Haag), NA 1.04.02, 1093. Partly published by A. M. Lubberhuizen-van Gelder, 'Een oude indische inventaris,' *Cultureel Indië*, 8 (1946): 211-220.
14. De Loos-Haaxman, *De landsverzameling schilderijen in Batavia*, 152-155; T. van den Oosten, 'Pyrrhus und Fabritius sowie Marcus Curius Dentatus weist die Geschenke der Samniter zurück,' in: D. Gamboni, G. Germann and F. de Capitani, eds., *Zeichen der Freiheit: Das Bild*

- der Republik in der Kunst des 16. bis 20. Jahrhunderts* (Bern 1991), 259f.; M. North, 'Kunst und bürgerliche Repräsentation in der Frühen Neuzeit,' *Historische Zeitschrift*, 267 (1998): 29-56, esp. 52-55; K. Fremantle, *The Baroque Town Hall of Amsterdam* (Utrecht 1959), 70.
15. Rijksarchief Noord-Brabant, Nassause Domeinarchieven, nr. 894 B, Inventaris van de boedel van G. W. Baron van Imhoff. H. C. Dibbits, '*Als men sooverre van den anderen is ...*' *Het maatschappelijk vermogen van Gustaaf Willem Baron van Imhoff, gouverneur-generaal van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie 1743-1750* (M.A. thesis, Universiteit Amsterdam 1989), 80f. I am indebted to Hester Dibbits for providing me with copies of the inventory and her thesis.
 16. De Loos-Haaxman, *Batavia*, 154f.
 17. MOOC8/1.23, 43.
 18. MOOC8/2.8, 187, 191.
 19. MOOC8/1.62, 102-103.
 20. MOOC8/2.50, 304; examples to follow for the portraits.
 21. The first mention of four *Chineesche schilderijtjes* at the Cape dates from 1713 (MOOC8/3.30). For the following decades see MOOC8/5.3 (1727); MOOC8/5.79 (1730); MOOC8/6.67 (1743); MOOC88.34 (1752), etc.
 22. Schepenbank 751 (1790); Schepenbank 758 (1796); see also the example of Thomas de Wit below.
 23. MOOC8/3.83 (1718); MOOC10/3.62 (1725); MOOC 8/4.103 (1727).
 24. B. Werz, '*Een bedroefd, en beclaaglijck ongeval: de wrakken van de VOC-schepen Oosterland en Waddinxveen (1697) in de Tafelbaai*' (Zutphen 2004), 148f., 152.
 25. J. M. Montias, 'Works of Art in a Random Sample of Amsterdam Inventories,' in M. North, ed., *Economic History and the Arts* (Cologne 1996), 67-88; M. E. W. Goosens, *Schilders en de Markt: Haarlem 1605-1635* (Ph.D. diss., Leiden University 2001), 332; see also the recent studies by P. Bakker, *Gezicht op Leeuwarden: Schilders in Friesland en de markt voor schilderijen in de Gouden Eeuw* (Ph.D. diss., University of Amsterdam 2008), 136-42; H. Nijboer, *De fatsoenering van het bestaan: Consumptie in Leeuwarden tijdens de Gouden Eeuw* (Ph.D. diss., Groningen University 2007), 49-51.
 26. A. Malan, 'The Form and Layout of Early Cape Town Households, 1660s-1740s,' *Vassa Journal*, 18 (Dec. 2007): 34-63, 50-58; idem, *Households at the Cape, 1750 to 1850: Inventories and the Archaeological Record* (Ph.D. diss., University of Cape Town 1993); idem, 'Identifying Buildings and Building Lives at the Cape in the Early VOC Period,' in N. Worden, ed., *Contingent Lives: Social Identity and Material Culture in the VOC World* (Cape Town 2007), 23-52.
 27. MOOC8/8.34.
 28. A. Malan, 'Furniture at the Cape in the Eighteenth Century: An Archaeological Approach,' in T. M. Eliëns, ed., *Domestic Interiors at the Cape and in Batavia 1602-1795* (Zwolle and The Hague 2002), 139-59, here 148.
 29. MOOC8/19.28.
 30. MOOC8/19.31.
 31. In fewer than ten cases did the deceased leave one or more *schilderijtjes* behind. Examples are MOOC8/23.9 (1709), which lists "2 papiere schilderijtjes", and MOOC8/514.16 (1734), with "1 schilderijtje". In the second half of the century we encounter more paintings, but always in small numbers (MOOC8/131.10 (1769), MOOC8/147.10 (1772), MOOC8/184.13 (1781), MOOC8/107.10 (1788), MOOC18/35.1 STB (1795)).
 32. Examples to follow. Criteria for the pricing of paintings were size, condition (preservation), and even (in the case of *schilderijtjes*) the quality of the frame (with golden frames being worth more than black ones).
 33. S. Newton-King, *Masters and Servants on the Cape Eastern Frontier 1760-1803* (Cambridge 1999), 201-209; L. J. Mitchell, *Belongings: Property, Family, and Identity in Colonial South Africa (An Exploration of Frontiers, 1725-c. 1830)* (New York 2009), 104-113.
 34. For the economic expansion of agriculture in the southwest Cape and the social rise of the producers see: R. Ross, 'The Rise of the Cape Gentry,' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 9.2 (1983): 193-217.
 35. MOOC8/7.33.
 36. Ross, *Status*, 70-88 (although Ross focuses mainly on the nineteenth century).
 37. MOOC8/19.28. MOOC8/19.31
 38. MOOC8/19.12.
 39. MOOC19.14.

40. Arsip Nasional Republic of Indonesia: Schepenbank 742, 749.
41. MOOC8/13.23.
42. MOOC8/4.15 for Ansla (Angela) and her family see Mitchell, *Belongings*, 53-57.
43. MOOC8/19.26.
44. J. C. Armstrong, 'The Estate of a Chinese Woman in the Mid-Eighteenth Century at the Cape of Good Hope,' in N. Worden, ed., *Contingent Lives: Social Identity and Material Culture in the VOC World* (Cape Town 2007), 75-90.
45. Schepenbank 749.
46. MOOC8/12.54.
47. MOOC8/21.56. The painter mentioned could be the Dutch engraver and draughtsman Dirk de Jong, who was active in Rotterdam in 1779 and might have moved to the Cape. An indication that this might have been the case is that his engravings include a South African landscape. Thieme-Becker, *Künstler-Lexikon*, vol. 19, 128f.
48. MOOC8/21.56.
49. J. G. Taylor, 'Painted Ladies of the VOC,' in N. Worden, ed., *Contingent Lives: Social Identity and Material Culture in the VOC World* (Cape Town 2007), 512-537. Johan Fourie, who focuses on the outstanding wealth of the Dutch Cape (compared for example with New England), however, explains the number of paintings in the Cape Inventories with significant imports of paintings, bought by "an affluent society with money to spend on luxuries." J. Fourie, 'The Remarkable Wealth of the Dutch Cape Colony: Measurements from Eighteenth-Century Probate Inventories,' *The Economic History Review*, 66.2 (2013): 419-448. For the comparison with North America see also M. North, 'Towards a Global Material Culture: Domestic Interiors in the Atlantic and Other Worlds,' in V. Hyden-Hanscho, R. Pieper, and W. Stangl, eds., *Cultural Exchange and Consumption Patterns in the Age of Enlightenment: Europe and the Atlantic World* (Bochum 2013), 81-96.
50. O. Mörke, 'Stadtholder' oder 'Staetholder'? *Die Funktion des Hauses Oranien und seines Hofes in der politischen Kultur der Republik der Vereinigten Niederlande im 17. Jahrhundert* (Münster and Hamburg 1997).
51. M. North, 'Koloniale Kunstwelten in Ostindien: Kulturelle Kommunikation im Umkreis der Handelskompanien,' *Jahrbuch für Europäische Überseegeschichte*, 5 (2005): 55-72, here 65; idem, 'Production and Reception of Art through European Company Channels in Asia,' in M. North, ed., *Artistic and Cultural Exchanges between Europe and Asia, 1400-1900: Rethinking Markets, Workshops and Collections* (Farnham 2010), 89-108; K. Zandvliet, ed., *De Nederlandse ontmoeting met Azië 1600-1950* (Zwolle 2002), 120-122; The portrait of Say foedin is published on plate A in this volume; Nationalmuseum Kraków, *Collection Czartoryski* (Warsaw 1978), 6-21.
52. T. Randle, 'Patterns of Consumption at Auctions: A Case Study of Three Cape Estates,' in N. Worden, ed., *Contingent Lives: Social Identity and Material Culture in the VOC World* (Cape Town 2007), 53-74. Revealing in this respect are the *vendurollen* of the estates of Barbara Theresia de Savoye (1729 MOOC10/3.81) and Anna de Koning (1734 MOOC10/4.126, 127), with rich selections of household objects, including paintings.
53. J. G. Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste in einzeln, nach alphabetischer Ordnung der Kunstwörter auf einander folgenden Artikeln abgehandelt* (Leipzig 1771-1774). MOOC8/41.41. 152. Another inventory shows a Dutch edition of G. J. Sulzer, *Kort begrip van alle wetenschappen* (Amsterdam 1773). MOOC8/44.7. For English discourse on taste see J. Brewer, *The Pleasures of Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London 1997). For the Continent, with particular emphasis on the composition of libraries, see M. North, *Material Delight and the Joy of Living: Cultural Consumption in the Age of Enlightenment in Germany* (Aldershot 2008), 5-26, 97-114.
54. For example the 1706 inventory of William Henry, Count of Nassau, and his wife, the Countess of Rochford, contained "20 Chineze schilderijen," "8 Chineze schilderijtjes," "11 Chineze stucken," and 7 Chineze stuckjes." Het Utrechts Archief: Archief Taets van Amerongen van Natewisch, nr. 45. According to the Getty Provenance Index Database there are only two earlier mentions of *Chineze schilderijtjes* (not *schilderijen*!): 1682 2 *sch.* in the inventory of Christina Heere, and 1690 20 *sch.* in the inventory of Cornelis van Herff.

6 *Indische* Architecture in Indonesia

Peter J. M. Nas

This chapter deals with Dutch architectural influence in Indonesia. Its focus is on the specific *Indische* architecture that blossomed in the nineteenth century. *Indische* architecture is contrasted with earlier buildings in Batavia as well as with the succeeding type of latter-day *Indische* architecture in the first half of the twentieth century.

Western and particularly Dutch architectural influence in Indonesia is considerable. Although it is sometimes said that the Dutch impact amounted to no more than “a scratch on a rock” in the field of architecture this is certainly not the case. To this very day, more than

sixty years after the departure of the Dutch, the built environment abounds with traces of the Dutch past. Among them are houses, offices, churches, graveyards, and canals in various conditions of maintenance, originating from different periods in history. Evidence from the early period of Dutch settlement is relatively scarce, but constructions from later periods are still abundant. A number of drawings by the artist Johannes Rach (1720-1783) evoke the situation of Batavia in the eighteenth century. But nowadays as well we get a whiff of the original atmosphere of the place in Kota, the part of Batavia that was founded in 1619 and that is



Fig. 6.1: Eighteenth-Century Drawing of the Old Batavia Town Hall.

now a small part of modern Jakarta, the capital of Indonesia. The old town hall at present-day Fatahillah Square, an impressive piece of red-tiled, two-storied, stone architecture, is clearly of Dutch origin. The fountain on the square, which was drawn by Rach, is still there (fig. 6.1).¹ The building shelters the Jakarta History Museum; the prison cells in its basement even now strike horror in the heart of the visitor. The square is dominated by houses with Dutch clock façades. Not far from the old town hall there are more reminders of times past: the chicken market drawbridge (*Hoenderpasar brug*), the lookout tower, the old warehouses, and the Sunda Kelapa harbor with its rows of wooden schooners (now Buginese *penisi*, then Dutch wooden vessels). But not all is sugar and spice. The numerous run-down old buildings and disorderly vacant lots in the area, festering in the unpleasant smell of the nearby Ciliwung² River mouth, make one wonder just which parts of colonial architecture have disappeared and which have remained.

The answer to that question begins with a consideration of the function of the building concerned. When the former function can be preserved and the occupant has sufficient financial resources, old buildings tend to remain in good condition. Examples are the old bank buildings of Bank Indonesia throughout Indonesia and the post office and the Stasiun Tugu railway station in Yogyakarta. Continuity in function is not however a *sine qua non*. The former Dutch stronghold Fort Vredeburg in Yogyakarta is also renovated and well maintained although it is now used as an exhibition center. In Jakarta the town hall and a number of the old buildings in its vicinity have been transformed into museums. But the area has lost its vitality. It is no longer the heart of the city, which in the course of time has expanded to the south. All sorts of plans have been developed for an integral revitalization of Old Batavia in its

entirety, in an effort to overcome the piecemeal approach now prevalent.³

Indische architecture is defined here as that part of Indonesian colonial architecture that is rooted in *Indische* culture. That culture and its attendant lifestyle had two main features: they were adapted to the conditions of the tropics; and they reflected the biased demographics entailed by insufficient numbers of Western women and leading to widespread liaisons between Western men and indigenous women. The defining circumstance of *Indische* culture is that many Dutch men lived in concubinage with an Indonesian housekeeper or *nyai*. Women in that position held the keys to the kingdom, running the household and raising the children. This led to a family configuration of a certain kind: the father was Western, the mother Indonesian, and the children were Eurasian. When the father acknowledged his parentage, the children would have full Dutch legal status. The values of the culture thus formed, as Pauline Milone⁴ puts it, “revolved around a belief in the basic goodness of the European Christian male, an admiration for the Indonesian woman, a view of legal status as an attribute of character, and an identification of light skin with beauty and virtue.” Milone expresses a negative judgment concerning certain features of this value system: it devalued the modernized Indonesian and the Eurasian man of unacknowledged paternity, she wrote, and it associated dark skin with poor character.

So, the *Indische* culture was rooted in the life style of high VOC and government officials, as “Java never produced a landed aristocracy.”⁵ This mainly urban class generally did not belong to the aristocracy. Yet, they demonstrated some sort of an aristocratic life and occupied impressive villas in town where cosy family life at the verandahs and frequent visits supported by great hospitality were considered vital. The families were generally large and

Milone⁶ characterizes domestic slavery as quite relaxed; this until 1860 when slavery was abolished. Notwithstanding the strong urban bias suburban and rural mansions, outdoor hunting and riding, and frequent picnics in the higher and cooler rural areas were quite common. Sometimes rich Chinese, Indo-Europeans, Indonesian Christians, and Mardijkers (of Portuguese descent) became part of or strongly referred to the *Indische* life style. Its most prominent characteristic however was social hierarchy related to officialdom. Even when relaxing at the club or “Sociëteit” (*Soos*) people were very much aware of status differences and persons higher in rank had to be treated accordingly. Milone⁷ also mentions hypocrisy as a dominant trait of *Indische* culture. She thinks besides values as keeping up appearances this lifestyle implied sparseness as well, probably also related to frequent transfers in the archipelago and the prospect of retirement in the Netherlands. For the less affluent and less prominent members of *Indische* culture of course some values requesting substantial status and wealth were difficult to meet, perhaps entailing hypocrisy.

Indische society spawned a highly various tangible culture, ranging from dress (*sarong* and *kebaya*) and food (*rijsttafel*) to superstitious beliefs (*guna-guna*), musical forms (*kroncong*), and theater (*stamboel*). The *Indische* mansion and house are the main manifestations in architecture of this culture. The *nyai* and her male companion were the main mediators of *Indische* culture in the household, but in the course of time their children became its bearers. As Indo-Europeans they internalized the system from childhood and had the dynamism to develop it in its full intensity.

Students of *Indische* culture interpret it in two main ways. Wertheim,⁸ Milone,⁹ and Soekiman¹⁰ emphasize its hybrid or *mestizo* aspect, while van der Kroef¹¹ insists on its high

degree of homogeneity. I tend toward the latter position. Hardly any culture is free of hybridity. All are composed of diverse elements, some borrowed, some resulting from autonomous developments, all subject to ongoing reinterpretation. Taking this into account, I feel that *Indische* culture deserves to be considered as a local tropical lifestyle in its own right rather than a cultural half-breed. It is only found in a certain period in Indonesia, it is neither authentically Dutch nor authentically Indonesian, and it contains admixtures of Chinese influence. Descendants of the bearers of this culture in Indonesia and – mostly – the Netherlands sometimes still identify with it. The present study is intended as a contribution to this discourse, arguing that *Indische* architecture is unique to a degree only encountered in highly integrated and vital cultures.

How, then, is *Indische* culture expressed in architecture? The classic *Indische* house, as described by Wils,¹² is well adapted to tropical conditions, with open verandahs for fresh air at the front and back or sometimes all four sides of the house. The front verandah was generally used as a sitting room and for relaxing with the family. A view onto a spacious garden, with beautiful plants in white pots and fruit trees, was an important complement to the verandah itself. The temperature in the house was kept low by overhanging eaves for shade and by a large pyramid-shaped roof under which the heat was blown away by natural ventilation. High ceilings and a corridor bisecting the building also facilitated airing. The smooth floors, often paved with tiles, served for cooling and cleanliness. The guests and servants (or in earlier times slaves) had separate buildings at their disposal. According to Milone,¹³ “the *Indische* mansion was a white one-story building, having a symmetrical floor plan, pyramid-shaped roof (influenced by the Javanese *pendopo* roof), and back and deep front verandahs.” The

variety of *Indische* houses may be impressive, but from these characterizations it will be clear that the experience of cozy (*gezellig*) family life under tropical conditions and surrounded by all sorts of domestic personnel was the main feature of the *Indische* residence. This lifestyle depended on interaction with certain outside cultures. The overseer of indigenous labor, the *mandor*, was generally Chinese. He would function as the main mediator in public functions between the *Indische* households and the surroundings. The *priyayi*, the Indonesian nobility, provided an example for the expansive lifestyle of the *Indische* town, although the influence of British and French as well as other Dutch colonies around the world should not be dismissed. When about 1800 the Dutch moved south from Old Batavia to the new, cooler town extension in Weltevreden, the *Indische* town took shape around a large square near the palace, the Koningsplein (present-day Lapangan Merdeka), and a smaller square with various public buildings, the Waterlooplein (present-day Lapangan Banteng). "This new settlement consisted of roomy white villas set in large florid gardens. The mansions generally had a Javanese pyramidal roof and cool verandahs in front and at the back where family life followed its unruffled course."¹⁴ The unique character of *Indische* residential construction and town-planning comes out clearly when we compare them with earlier and later colonial architecture in Batavia.

When the Dutch founded Batavia in 1619 they applied the settlement principles of their own towns. They were important city builders at that time, with the internationally famous Simon Stevin, an immigrant from Flanders, at the absolute top. Batavia strongly resembled Amsterdam of the period before the famous circular extensions (*grachtengordel*) were laid out. It is supposed that the ground plan of Batavia was influenced by a design made by

Stevin for the Heren XVII in Amsterdam, but this map has never been found.¹⁵ In Johannes Rach's drawings of Batavia a genuinely Dutch impression is evoked by the fortifications, canals, canal row houses, drawbridges, and persons in the Dutch attire of those times. At the same time, the tropical setting of the town is indicated just as strongly by the presence of Indonesian street sellers (*pikulan*), chained slave and convict workers, and household slaves providing shade with parasols (*payung*). The quite unpretentious houses we see in the drawings were built by the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and strongly resembled their equivalents in the mother country. They were "brick-built terraced houses with high, narrow, two-storey frontages, steps up to the front door and initially even crow-stepped gables."¹⁶ Their roofs were red-tiled and had chimneys as in Holland. However, they also differed from their Dutch models in certain significant ways. The bricks were plastered white to provide protection from the heat of the day, and the roof ridge was parallel rather than perpendicular to the street.¹⁷ The latter feature made it possible to build broad roof overhangs at the front and the back, providing shade to keep the walls cool and affording protection from tropical rains. It is not known if the Chinese way of roof construction was of influence,¹⁸ but this seems not unlikely. Although the general impression of these early houses was very Dutch, therefore, they nonetheless displayed from the start features that speak of adaptation to local, tropical circumstances. Moreover, they probably incorporated Chinese construction practices.

Though in the beginning construction was in wood and rattan and these materials continued to be used for a long time, stone houses soon came to be favored. The main reason for this was fire prevention, especially after the devastating blaze of 1622. The town hall erected

by Jan Pietersz. Coen was finished in 1627 and topped with a second storey in 1649. In the eighteenth century it was replaced by the building still present in the old town of Jakarta. The old town hall was a representative building on a large square with a monumental axis leading to the Kasteel, the original fortification of Batavia. The new one still looks largely the way it was drawn by Rach (see fig. 6.1), notwithstanding some minor changes in the monumental front.

Figure 6.2 shows an example of two old Jakartan houses made by the Dutch on the Verburchsgracht near the Antjolschen weg.¹⁹ Of the building elements on the front gallery that can be seen clearly, de Haan points out that only the middle column is original. The window has iron bars and only one shutter.



Fig. 6.2: Two Old Houses on the Antjolschen Weg.

Another example of an early Dutch house in Jakarta (fig. 6.3) is elaborately described by de Haan.²⁰ Number 8 Jonkersgracht or Roëa Malaka is the right building of the two. In 1921, when it was closed down for health reasons during an outbreak of the plague, it was more or less in the original state. One enters the front room (B) from the sidewalk (A) through a door split in an upper and lower part, so that the upper part could stay open for fresh air. The side room (D) has a window and probably is not original but created in a later phase. The great room (C) has a flight of stairs to

the upper level and an entry with steps to the cellar room (E) and the cellar beneath it. This great room is the main living room for daily activities and enjoying meals. It has an entry to the inner court, where the well (G), the outbuilding and the staircase to the upper level of the outbuilding are situated. In this outbuilding at the back we find the kitchen (H), the toilet (I), and upstairs the slave room. The chimney from the kitchen passes through the slave room to the roof. The upper story and the ground floor of the main building have the same layout. De Haan points out that the house bears a strong resemblance to Dutch houses of that period. The front room functioned not only as a portal but was intensively used. It was decorated with paintings and along the walls it had a lot of porcelain items and weapons. This front room also was the place for the prie-dieu chair of the lady of the house, who had it carried to the church for religious meetings.



Fig. 6.3a: Two Old Houses on the East Side of the Jonkersgracht (Roëa Malaka).

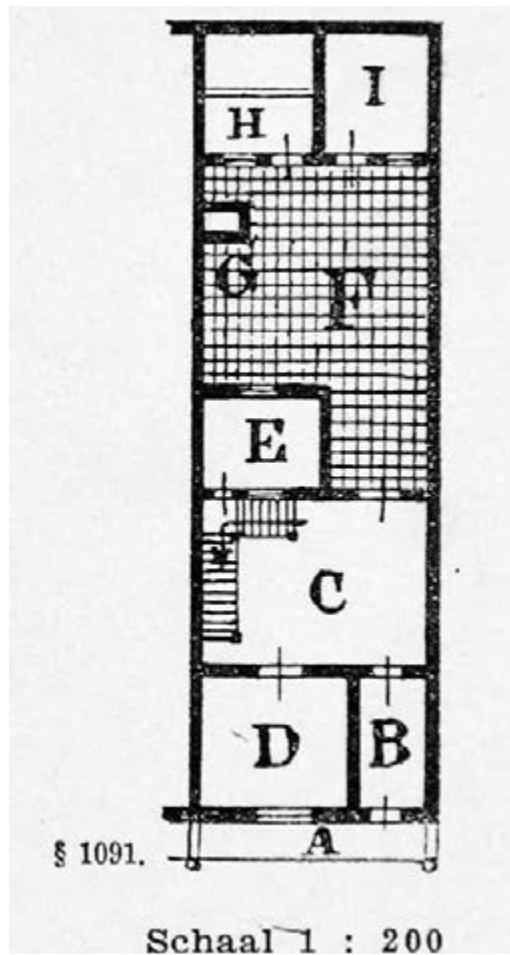


Fig. 6.3b

Fig. 6.3: Two Old Houses on the East Side of the Jonkersgracht (Roea Malaka). Number 8 is on the Right Building in Photograph 6.3a; 6.3b presents the Ground Plan of Number 8. The Photographs 6.3c and 6.3d show the Inner Court in the Back of the Front Building and the Inner Court View of the Outbuilding of Number 8.



Fig. 6.3c



Fig. 6.3d

Batavia at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century had grown into a pleasant and healthy place, praised for its beauty and the agreeable atmosphere of its canals and gardens.²¹ It was harmed but not devastated by the eruption in 1699 of the Salak volcano and the ensuing earthquake. These events changed the speed of the Ciliwung, leading to considerable silting of the canals and the mouth of the river, a nasty problem that proved resistant even to frequent dredging. In the late afternoon the inhabitants liked to relax by boating, sitting outside their houses, or enjoying a glass of wine and a pipe along the waterside.²² This situation changed drastically at the end of the eighteenth century. In that period we find the old town of Batavia described as a very unhealthy place, where many people arrived but unfortunately also died there. The reasons for the downfall of the town have been the subject of ample speculation. The eruption of the Salak has been blamed, as are the dumping of waste in the river from sugar mills and other polluters. In an intriguing piece of detective work, van der Brug²³ convincingly points an accusatory finger at the fish ponds dug in the muddy coastal strip on the expanding shore north of the town, where the malaria mosquito found fertile breeding grounds. Malaria seems indeed to have been the main cause of death of many inhabitants and therefore of the decay of the town, which came to be known as the Graveyard of the East.

By the last half of the eighteenth century, Batavia was well established and the environs were more or less safe. Wealthy inhabitants began building large mansions to the south of the city. Examples are the mansions at Jacatra Road and Weltevreden owned by Governor-General P. A. van der Parra, who came into office in 1761. The mansion of Governor-General Reinier de Klerk, who was in office between 1777 and 1780, is situated on the Molenvliet (Jl. Gajah Mada). It is a nice two-storied building with

a red tile roof. For a long time it served as the National Archive, which however was moved to the south of Jakarta in the 1970s. The mansion was renovated some years ago and is presently in good condition. These buildings sometimes had quite a Dutch look, but the van der Parra's mansion in Weltevreden with its eagles on the baroque façade of the main house and on the roofs of the wings may be thought of as a French touch, notwithstanding the statues of cattle or buffalo in front of the entrance.

Van de Wall²⁴ described a number of mansions that existed at the turn of the twentieth century, some of them from the late eighteenth century. His inventory includes the mansions of de Klerk (about 1760), Tjengkareng (about 1762), Tjililitan, Weyerman, Tjitrap, Tjimanggis, Djepang, Telok Poetjong, Pengoemben, Goenoeng Sarie (1736), and Groeneveld or Tandjong Oost (about 1756). He divides them into three categories: the old *Indische* Style, with low sloping roof and broad galleries (Djepang and Tjitrap); the Old Dutch Style, a large double-storied patrician house with *Indische* slave shelters at the back (de Klerk); and a combination of the two, old Dutch construction adapted to tropical conditions, which van de Wall called the Company Style (Tandjong Oost) (figs. 6.4, 6.5, 6.6).²⁵ As Batavia became increasingly secure, mansions were built by the Governors-General and other rich families on large tracts of land as a contribution toward the cultivation of the surrounding territories (*omme-landen*). This occurred especially after the 1730s. At that time the Molenvliet was described as a supremely beautiful avenue lined with palaces. These estates were not passed on for centuries to heirs in the family, as was often possible in Holland. They changed hands frequently, though they tended to remain in the circle of old families with a long history in Indonesia. In addition to the above-mentioned mansions on large estates, later numerous less conspicuous *Indische*-style houses became to line the avenues in Menteng.



Fig. 6.4: Mansion Jepang, Indische Style.



Fig. 6.5: Mansion de Klerk, Old Dutch Style.



Fig. 6.6: Mansion Tandjong Oost, Company Style.

It was Governor-General Herman Willem Daendels who in the beginning of the nineteenth century, at the nadir of the decline of old Batavia, initiated the new extension to Weltevreden

(present-day Menteng). With that move, Waterloo Square and Koningsplein became the center of activity and the mansions along the Molenvliet gradually lost status. The exodus of the elite to the new southern extension created the conditions for the rise of *Indische* culture, the *Indische* house, and the *Indische* town as described above. The Weltevreden area can be considered its focus. But *Indische* architecture also spread to other places in the archipelago occupied by the Dutch, such as Semarang, Bandung, and Surabaya.

Indische architecture was never the exclusive domain of the Western elite. It could be adopted by anyone who could afford it. A nice example is the mansion at a Chinese rubber plantation (*Istana Tuan Tanah*) at Karawaci, Tangerang (see plate 6.1).²⁶ It has the characteristic sloping roof covered by red tiles, the shutters, the white columns and broad galleries of the typical *Indische* house. However, at the back the owner added two pavilions in Chinese style with beautiful wood carvings. In contrast to the application of some supposedly Chinese construction principles, this unusual feature *is* a clear example of hybridization, with *Indische* and Chinese elements in juxtaposition. When I visited the mansion in the 1970s it was inhabited but severely neglected. In 2009 the building was looted and complete dilapidation had set in. When this was noticed by the press, it triggered strong protest by schoolchildren and others who stood up for the Indonesian colonial architectural heritage.

The decline of *Indische* culture and architecture began in the last decades of the nineteenth century as a result of the invention of the steamship and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. The consequence of these changes was the introduction of regular shipping lines and a large influx of European persons and families. The basis of the *Indische* culture, dependent



Fig. 6.7a-b: Villa Isola, Bandung (Ch. Wolff Schoemaker) and the Main Buildings of ITB Bandung (Maclaine Pont) as Examples of the Modern and Traditional Approaches in Late Colonial Architecture.

as it was on concubinage, was undermined by the increase in numbers of Dutch married couples and families who lived by the norms and values of the motherland. Society took on a caste-like form with the Dutch on top, the indigenous population at the bottom, and the Indo-Europeans, Chinese, and Arabs in between.

The new situation had its impact on architecture as well. For a long time house construction had been mainly undertaken by Company (VOC) and government engineers and personnel with the help of Chinese overseers (*mandor*) and Chinese and Javanese labor. However, at the end of the nineteenth century architects from the Netherlands moved to the archipelago, bringing about intensive new developments in architecture. Some of the newly arrived architects, such as A. F. Aalbers and C. Citroen, practiced modern European styles such as Functionalism, Jugendstil and the style of the Amsterdam School. Others tried to develop a new style, adopting traditional Indonesian motives and construction practices. This group included H. Maclaine Pont, Ch. Wolff Schoemaker, and Th. Karsten. Both approaches became very fruitful, producing innovative results. The modern style is exemplified by Villa Isola and the traditional look by ITB Bandung (figs. 6.7a and 6.7b).²⁷ These developments subverted the dominance of *Indische* architecture, although the new forms sometimes were called *Indisch* and nowadays are still often said to be typically *Indisch*. What has in fact happened is that the meaning of the concept *Indisch* has changed. It now refers as well to the late colonial situation, to what might more properly be called the post-*Indische* period.

Houses of the new type in the late colonial period were generally smaller than those of earlier years. Their gardens were less spacious and they had small terraces in front and at the

back instead of the large verandahs of *Indische* mansions and houses. The symmetrical ground plan also disappeared; the sitting and dining rooms were moved inside the house, as in Holland.²⁸ These smaller houses were still occupied by the highest stratum or "caste" of society, but in the course of time this group became so large that it was more of an upper middle class than an elite, living a more restrained lifestyle and habitation style than its ancestors.

The conclusion of this survey of *Indische* architecture is that the West and especially the Dutch exercised considerable influence on the architecture of Indonesia.²⁹ The colonial heritage in the built environment is widespread in Indonesian cities and rural areas. Although many buildings have been demolished and lost, nevertheless a great number of ordinary structures as well as masterpieces have been well maintained or saved and renovated. Colonial architecture in Indonesia went through several phases. In the first instance, cities and houses were mainly copies of Dutch examples. At the end of the eighteenth century the *Indische* period set in. A range of *Indische* mansions may be distinguished which, though marked with more or less pronounced Eastern or Western features, are always unique in their architectural arrangement. Adaptation to the tropical climate and local circumstances is always in evidence. In this period the decision-makers were not architects but the dwellers themselves, the Dutch house owner and his wife or concubine, albeit in cooperation with government officials and engineers. They showed strong agency, drawing on their own ideas and fantasies to create something new, something not found in the Indonesian or the Dutch sphere. In the twentieth century, after the core *Indische* period, intriguing architectural developments took place using modern Western or traditional Indonesian approaches. In the course of time, the role of designer and constructor was taken

over from VOC personnel, first by engineers and finally by architects. The influx of large numbers of Western families required a new type of house, less extravagant though still detached and of good quality, often resembling middle class housing in the Netherlands. Many people who fled Indonesia after Independence and who now live in the Netherlands or some

other part of the world, recall with a certain nostalgia houses of this type, which they think of as *Indisch*. These were the houses of their youth, reminding them of past times, *tempo doeloe*, when they lived in the country where they were born, the home country they had to evacuate in such a traumatic way.³⁰

Notes

1. Johannes Rach, *1720-1783: Artist in Indonesia and Asia* (Jakarta and Amsterdam 2001), 28.
2. In the Indonesian language the c is pronounced as tj.
3. P. J. M. Nas and B. ten Hengel, 'Transcending postcolonial conditions: Built heritage in two Indonesian cities, Jakarta and Yogyakarta,' in J. van Santen, ed., *Development in Place: Perspectives and Challenges* (Amsterdam 2008), 281-309.
4. P. Milone, *Queen City of the East: The Metamorphosis of a Colonial Capital* (Ann Arbor 1966), 457.
5. G. D. Legge, *Indonesia* (Englewood Cliffs 1964), 72.
6. Milone, *Queen City of the East*.
7. Ibid.
8. W. F. Wertheim, 'De stad in Indonesië: Oud Indonesische steden,' *Indonesië*, 5 (1951): 24-40, esp. 26.
9. Milone, *Queen City of the East*, 415-458.
10. D. Soekiman, *Kebudayaan Indis dan gaya hidup masyarakat penduduknya di Jawa (Abad XVIII sampai medio abad XX)* (Yogyakarta 1996).
11. J. M. van der Kroef, 'The City: Its Culture and Evolution,' in idem, *Indonesia in the Modern World, Part I* (Bandung 1954), 133-188.
12. E. Wils, *Wonen in Indië: House and Home in the Dutch East Indies* (Den Haag 2000), 81.
13. Milone, *Queen City of the East*, 439-441.
14. P. J. M. Nas, 'Introduction: A General View on the Indonesian Town,' in idem, ed., *The Indonesian City* (Dordrecht 1986), 1-17, esp. 6.
15. B. Brommer, *Historische plattegronden van Nederlandse steden, deel 4, Batavia* (Alphen aan den Rijn 1992), 7.
16. Wils, *Wonen in Indië*, 87.
17. F. de Haan, *Oud Batavia*, 2 Vols. and Platen Album (Batavia 1922).
18. H. A. Breuning, *Het voormalige Batavia: Een Hollandse stedestichting in de tropen Anno 1619* (Utrecht 1954 [Herdruk 1981]), 40.
19. De Haan, *Oud Batavia*, Platen Album, B 17.
20. De Haan, *Oud Batavia*, Part 2, 48-53 and Platen Album, 88, 88b, 88c.
21. F. Valentijn, *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indië*, 3 Vols. (The Hague 1856-1858 [Original 1726, Vol. 4]).
22. J. F. L. de Balbian Verster, 'Het oude Batavia,' in J. F. L. de Balbian Verster and M. C. Kooy-van Zeggelen, *Batavia: Oud en nieuw* (Amsterdam 1921), 3-87.
23. P. H. van der Brug, 'Unhealthy Batavia and the Decline of the VOC in the Eighteenth Century,' in K. Grijns and P. J. M. Nas, eds., *Jakarta-Batavia: Socio-Cultural Essays* (Leiden 2000), 43-74.
24. V. I. van de Wall, 'Batavia's oude landhuizen,' *Nederlandsch-Indië, Oud en Nieuw*, 16.12 (April 1932), 361-382; idem, *Indische landhuizen en hun geschiedenis* (Batavia 1932).
25. Van de Wall, 'Batavia's oude landhuizen,' 17, 4, 14.
26. Photographs by Peter J. M. Nas, 1977.
27. W. Lemei, *Moderne woningarchitectuur in Ned. Indië* (Bandoeng 1934); Ir. R. A. van Sandick,

- De opening van de Bijzondere Technische Hoo-
geschool te Bandoeng* ('s-Gravenhage 1920), 10.
28. Wils, *Wonen in Indië*, 83.
 29. The reverse is also true, but not the topic of this chapter (see P. J. M. Nas and M. Boersma, 'Feeling at Home, Dealing with the Past,' in P. J. M. Nas, ed., *The Past in the Present: Architecture in Indonesia* (Rotterdam 2007), 147-162).
 30. H. H. Beaulieu-Boon, *So Far Away from Home: Engaging the Silenced Colonial – The Netherlands-Indies Diaspora in North America* (Ph.D. diss., Leiden 2009).

7 The Cultural Dimension of the Dutch East India Company

Settlements in Dutch-Period Ceylon, 1700-1800 – With Special Reference to Galle

Lodewijk Wagenaar

Introduction

Years ago, in 2007, I went with a group of students from the Postgraduate Institute for Archaeology (University of Kelanya) to a little village in the Gampaha District, about 40 kilometers from Colombo. We had traveled all the way from the capital to interview a potter whose ancestors had been traced back in Dutch documents kept in the Sri Lanka National Archives to the second half of the eighteenth century. However, I needed an interpreter: No member of the family, or anyone else in the village spoke English. After 150 years of British occupation (1796-1948) and after decades of impact by the so-called “global economy” direct oral interaction was impossible. With this experience in mind, I tried to understand the historic character of Dutch colonial rule in Sri Lanka in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and wondered what actually had been the impact, the influence or effect of the Dutch presence on Sri Lankan society. In order to get to grips with the question, I thought it might be useful to examine the “spheres of influence,” that is, the urban centers, the immediate surroundings of these centers and the hinterland – the rural areas inhabited by the Sinhalese population. In order to place into context the different modes of influence, I will first give an outline of the Dutch presence in Sri Lanka. Secondly, I will describe the different ethnic groups in the three respective zones.

Thirdly, I will discuss the social and cultural dimensions of the Dutch East India Company’s rule, focusing on the Dutch-European impact – if any – on Sri Lankan society.¹

In February 1796 the British took over the Dutch possessions of coastal Ceylon, bringing to a close nearly 150 years of Dutch colonial presence on the island now called Sri Lanka. That era, generally called the Dutch Period, commenced in 1640, when the Portuguese lost the harbor city of Galle on 13 March. However, the Dutch presence remained very limited and insecure for some time after this first major conquest, as the Portuguese military forces proved to be stronger than the Company officials had expected. Further, cooperation with the king of Kandy was rather problematic. As part of the treaty of 1638 the VOC had offered military assistance to Kandy to help expel the Portuguese from the island. In return the Company would acquire a predominant position in the export of Ceylonese commodities, especially cinnamon. Unhappily for the VOC, the truce of 1641 and later the peace treaty of 1642 between the Dutch Republic and Braganza Portugal, which after 60 years was once again separated from union with Spain, brought a temporary end to further expansion in Ceylon. The Dutch were very lucky in having taken in 1641 the strategically important Malacca – just in time. Events in Dutch Brazil however, where Brazilian-born Portuguese with military aid

from Portugal rebelled, led to a new situation in Ceylon and India. In 1656 Colombo was taken by the Dutch, in 1658 the Company conquered Jaffna (Jaffnapatnam) in the north and within seven years the Company also controlled Coromandel and Malabar in South India.

Although in the war against Portugal the Company was very successful, coming to terms with its former ally, the Sinhalese Kingdom of Kandy, proved to be much more difficult. The first two governors, acting on the Company's behalf, father (1662-1663, 1665-1675) and son Rijckloff van Goens (1675-1679), were very stubborn. They actually wanted to acquire the very same territories the Portuguese had formerly held, which brought them into a costly war against Kandy. The Central Board of Directors in the Republic, called the Gentlemen Seventeen, became strongly opposed to this fruitless policy after some time. The successor to van Goens the Younger, Laurens Pijl (1679-1692), received instructions from the High Government in Batavia (the highest authority of the Company in Asia) to stop the war and leave the former Portuguese-held territory to the Kandyans. As a result large areas with cinnamon trees were lost or were accepted as land not administrated by the Dutch. Therefore from 1679 the Company had to ask for permission to peel cinnamon from those trees in the King's Country. Soon the annual embassies sent from Colombo to Kandy became standard tools of diplomacy in this new policy of coexistence. The Company and its ambassadors however disliked the unequal protocol during these annual audiences, and especially the obligation to prostrate oneself before the king was seen as extremely humiliating. Though no new treaty had been made which explicitly and formally confirmed the role of the Company as administrator of the coastal strip of land in the south western provinces, in practice the Company had accepted the status of being only

a *stadholder* of the king. Both parties had no other option; therefore the new status quo was kept till the outbreak of the war of 1761-1765. The peace treaty of February 1766 gave the Company what it had looked for earlier: Sovereign rights and, as a logical result, a more equal protocol followed by the Dutch and Kandyian ambassadors during their respective audiences in Kandy and Colombo.

Jaffna in the north was a different case. This formerly independent kingdom was once conquered by the Portuguese, and, since it had never been part of the Kingdom of Kandy, the Company was very keen to emphasize the legitimacy of its possession as based upon the "right of conquest."

In the meantime, with the Seven Years' War (1756-1762) between the United Kingdom and France over, it seemed the Company had nothing to fear on the Asian front. The ever-growing competition from the English East India Company however had already become a real problem, as developments in Bengal had shown earlier.² Governor Falck (1765-1785) of Ceylon, being aware of an imminent threat, reinforced military garrisons in some Coromandel settlements, though the lack of political backing from Batavia made his small-scale operations rather useless. Events in the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War (1780-1784) showed that the Dutch Company was not able to defend its positions any more. After a long period of being appreciated as a strong and welcome friend by Indian princes, now the Dutch Company itself had to look for allies to defend its overall presence in Asia. Only with French military assistance could the British forces occupying Trincomale (Trinconomale) in 1782 be pushed out of this strategic harbor on the east coast of the island. The VOC escaped the worst of this scenario: only a few possessions in Coromandel were lost to the British. Developments in Europe would lead to dramatic changes in

Asia. The Dutch Republic was overrun by the French revolutionary armies in early 1795. The new Batavian Republic, just a puppet regime under the “protection” of the French, had to face new international and economic reality: war with Great Britain and maritime isolation from the colonies in the East and the West. The Prince of Orange, now a refugee in England, had instructed the colonial administrators to hand over their respective settlements to the British in order to protect them against French occupation. As a matter of fact the Cape Province, most Indian settlements and Ceylon were all taken by the British. On 14 February 1796, the Dutch Period in Ceylon came to an end.

Characteristics of Dutch Ceylon

Administrative Divisions

In order to understand what influence or impact the Dutch colonial presence could have had, it is essential to begin with a sketch of the political and economic structures and phenomena during the Dutch occupation of the coastal provinces of Ceylon. After the expulsion of the Portuguese the Dutch East India Company, formally under the legal auspices of the States-General, began administering the territory they held at that moment, even though the hostilities with the interior Kingdom of Kandy did not end until 1679. The political divisions were more or less traditional. The former kingdom of Jaffna, once conquered by the Portuguese, became a *Commandement* under a *Commandeur*. Likewise the Galle district was administered by a *Commandeur*, who, together with his councillors, manned the Political Council of Galle. Under this council two subordinate officers administrated the population of the rural areas, the “Overseer [*Opzichter*] of the Galle *korle*” and the “Dessave of Matara.” The function of “dessave” was

copied from the indigenous *disāve*, governor of a province or in Company’s terms “dessavonie.” The functions of the “Overseer of the Galle *korle*” and of the “Dessave of Matara,” essential as they both were for exploitation of the rural areas, were filled by European Company officials. Likewise, the “Captain of the Mahabadde” (cinnamon department), who was responsible for everything related to the production and transport of cinnamon, was a European Company officer. This function was copied from an older Sinhalese royal position, *Mahabadde* meaning “great store.”

The district of Colombo was not organized as a separate Commandement such as Galle or Jaffna. It was administrated directly by the central government of Dutch Ceylon. The “Dessave of Colombo” however, was responsible for all affairs relating to the rural population. His residence was in Hulftsdorp, outside Colombo. The central government of the Company’s Ceylon was in the hands of the Ceylonese Political Council, presided over by the governor. Though formal decisions were taken collectively (as was the case in all levels of the Company councils), the governors’ positions were strong enough for them to be able to manipulate other council members.

The Rural Areas

After 1658 the Dutch East India Company had taken over the administration of the coastal areas, governing about 500,000-750,000 people. This the Company could only manage thanks to a system of indirect rule. The Dutch presence on the island can be characterized as one of colonial exploitation: The fruits of taxation and profits from the Ceylonese economy equaled or even surpassed the value of the commodities obtained from export to the Netherlands. In the course of the eighteenth century the development of coconut and cinnamon plantations strengthened the economic exploitation. More and more the trading company in Ceylon

had become a colonial enterprise. This could be accomplished only by accepting that the indigenous elite would take its share. Therefore the Company could afford to keep a very low profile: Its presence, especially in the hinterland, was rather thin, even invisible.

The Company had entered the island solely to get a grip on its valuable commodities, in the first place cinnamon (see Plate 7.1). From an early stage the commercial activities had been extended to the elephant trade and to other attractive commodities, such as pearls, conch shells, areca nuts, pepper, and cardamom. Of course, the Company was completely dependent on the population under its administration to get the aforesaid products. Happily enough, that is for the Company, such rural activities were related to the complicated caste system and the obligations connected with it. The *Chaliās* of the *Salāgama* caste for instance had to peel and prepare the costly cinnamon bark. Twice a year they went out to the woods in the Company's territory as well as in the King's Country, far away from their families who stayed behind in the "peeler" villages. During the period of harvesting the Company provided them each month with 40 pounds of rice as *mainctementos* – a word borrowed from the Portuguese. For general subsistence the Company provided every head of a family with land to grow rice. Other castes were obliged to show up for the elephant hunt, and so on and so forth. A special group worth mentioning is that of the *lascorins*. The male adults functioned as peons, guards, police officers, and messengers. Here also the heads of families were compensated with land which was the standard remuneration in many agrarian societies in this part of Asia. It is interesting to note that the Company was fully dependent on this indigenous force to maintain order and peace in the countryside. Only in extreme outbursts of social unrest were troops called in from the coastal garrisons.

Generally speaking all the inhabitants of the rural areas were in one or the other way connected with the Company. As *Bhupati* or Lord of the Land, the Company exercised a broad set of rights, from taxation (in most cases a fixed share of the crops) to a wide variety of services to be rendered to the Company. Maintenance of public roads or transport of high officials on circuit tours by way of *palanquins* would have been impossible without the obligatory labor of coolies, members of the lower (sub) castes. For most inhabitants of the countryside the annual inspection of the schools by members of the Education Board, or visits by Company surveyors would have been the rare occasions when they saw Europeans, representing the Company, the Lord of the Land. Such visits disrupted daily life one may assume, when curious locals alerted by the indigenous sound of drums and bells of the *tamblinjeros* looked or stared at the procession of palanquins bearing the white Hollanders in their peculiar clothes. Of course, such a train was accompanied and guarded by *lascorins* – in that respect the "show" did not differ very much from the passage of high headmen.

Without the indigenous layer of local headmen or *Inlandse Hoofden*, the Company would not have been able to exploit the colony. As a slightly different take on the famous slogan "No taxation without representation," the situation in Ceylon could be referred to as "No exploitation without participation." Under the Portuguese the elite from the *Goyigama* or farmers' caste had kept their prerogatives, land and privileges, and the only option for the Dutch was to retain their services. Of course there were problems with local headmen squeezing out their villagers. In the National Archives of Sri Lanka there are many documents dealing with villagers' complaints about extortion and the like. Governor Gustaaf Willem van Imhoff (1736-1740) was very suspicious in this

respect. Commissioners could not be sent out to investigate such cases unless the complaints had found their way to European officers such as the *Dessaves*. Locals could be interviewed through interpreters but most headmen would have been able to communicate in Portuguese, the *lingua franca* even during the Dutch Period. The structural problem, however, was the principal difference in position and interest. Whom could the Company trust? Even when there was reason not to trust particular headmen or interpreters, it was really difficult to find out what was actually going on. The consequence was that the Company had to accept the dubious and negative aspects of indirect rule. In practice this often meant that headmen acquired lands and illegally pressed villagers to work on their accumulating paddy lands. When the Company started the system of cinnamon gardens around 1770, such members of the new economic elite were much needed to get the project on track – in many cases village people were forced by their headmen to work on the new plantations. Even as early as 1720, headmen had been cooperating with the Company in forcing farmers to produce commodities such as pepper and cardamom.

The Immediate Coastal Area

For centuries the coastal area has been inhabited by an ethnic mix of inhabitants: Fisherman families from the *Karāva* caste; *Paravar* (*parruassen* in Dutch), Tamil fishermen and traders from the opposite coast, especially from Tuticorin; Muslim traders (called *Moren* by the Dutch); Chetties (originally members of a mercantile caste from India); and, from about 1550 onwards, Europeans. The last group will be dealt with in the next section.

During the Dutch Period a process of diversification brought members of the *Karāva* caste into new economic activities. As transporters

and contractors they profited greatly from the presence of the Company which apparently needed and welcomed their enterprises.

The relationship between the Muslims and the Company was quite a different story. The Dutch were very reluctant to permit any trade which could possibly harm the Company's interest. It appears that the Company felt rather jealous when looking at other people's success, even in the case of a group which had settled down long before their own arrival. Muslims, and likewise the Chetties and Paravar, were seen as foreigners; hence they needed official permits to stay. Their commercial enterprise can be divided into two kinds of activities: First, the transport of commodities to and from the Indian coast opposite; secondly, the retail business of trading a wide variety of commodities in the Company's territory although they were active over the border too; the trade of products into and from Kandyan lands however was of a more modest scale. Muslims not only lived in small settlements along the coast, many of them had adjusted to the urban environment and set up shops or were engaged in jobs for the Company. In Galle for instance, they even had a mosque. This was quite remarkable: The truly indigenous Sinhalese Buddhists had not been allowed to have temples in the vicinity of any Dutch urban center.

The Muslims formed a crucial interface between the rural economy and the coast, and between Sri Lanka and South India. As long as they did not transport restricted Indian cloth or other monopoly products, they were free to ply between the harbors of the two coasts. However, they needed special permits or *passen*, even if their destination was only Puttalam, until 1766 formally a harbor within the territory of the Kandyan kingdom. Small Company craft patrolled the western coastline from south to north to prevent smuggling; nevertheless many Muslim vessels were able to deliver "illegal"

goods to parties in “illegal” harbors. Apart from this, their trade differed from that of the Company, since they provided commodities for the local markets at both sides of Palk Strait. Sometimes they bought from the Company’s stocks or acquired goods at public auctions in the urban centers. This phenomenon will be discussed later. Governor Schreuder in his report of 1756 comments very negatively on the *Moren*: “They are cunning people, devoted to the Mohammedan religion; their prime intention is to enlarge their numbers and to come into possession of the trade and of the best lands and gardens [that is, plantations] as well.”³ The Company has always tried to stop this process, Schreuder continues, adding to his earlier remark that this apparently has been to no avail, the Muslim population on the island amounting at that moment to probably 150,000 people. That seems to be highly exaggerated.⁴ In 1760 the “Moorse Tombo” of the Galle *korle* counted 426 males, including 94 within the walled city of Galle, that is, 42 adult men and 52 juveniles. In the Dissavony of Matara registered male Muslims numbered 692 and altogether the Muslim households in the Galle District would have contained between two and three thousand people. Spread over the Company’s territory in Ceylon, Muslim households may have had a population of 10,000 to 15,000. The total population under the Company’s administration might have been between 500,000 and 750,000.⁵

Like the Muslims, the Chetties (or Chitties) also operated as merchants and retail traders. Members of this Indian merchant caste had started to migrate to Sri Lanka many centuries before the arrival of the Portuguese and the Dutch. During the Company administration of colonial Ceylon, immigration of the Chetties continued but probably on a small scale. However, in the course of time different groups have adopted the name of Chetty with the

result that this group was not very homogeneous. Remco Raben mentions the active role of the Company in bringing manumitted slaves under this category, apparently to profit from the compulsory services related to the status of being Chetty.⁶ In contemporary Dutch sources opinions of this ethnically composite group are slightly milder than the rather negative reflections on the Muslims. Because they competed with the Company for business, the Chetties were seen as a potential threat too. However, since many of them had professed to the Calvinist faith, the Chetties were more acceptable. Some of them stood very close to the Company’s administration, such as the Tamil or “Malabar” interpreters and members of the Indigenous Estate Board. It seems that most Chetties lived in urban areas. I have not found documents listing Chetty families living outside the Fort in the Galle District but a list from 1759 mentions 97 males within the walled city of Galle.

Less is known about the Tamils residing in Galle or the Galle District. Paravars did not form a very important group, it seems, for official traces identifying Tamils as a group with special duties owed to the Company are rare. The Company was very keen on producing lists (*rollen*) of the aforesaid Muslims and Chetties. Such lists were tools for the relevant Company officers to summon the adult members of these groups to do their *uliyam* service (*Oeli dienst*). By paying the *uliyam* tax, *uliyars* could avoid other compulsory services, such as transporting timber, carrying palanquins of the Company officers on duty, or laboring at public works. Muslims and Chetties just visiting the Company’s territory were excused from *uliyam* service. Paravar were likewise seen as foreigners obliged to do *uliyam* service. Though most of them lived in Tamil-speaking areas, some of them were active in the Galle District. In Galle Fort itself a street was named after

them, that is, “Parruas Straat”; it is not known however, if Paravar indeed did live there or just used the place to set up stalls and vend their merchandise.

The Urban Settlements: Galle for Example

The Company's Ceylon had three major urban centers: Jaffna in the north, and in the southwest Colombo and Galle (see Plate 7.2). As said before, Galle was the administrative center of the rural Galle District, consisting of the Galle *korle* and the Matara *dessavony*. As a

maritime center Galle was the most important of the three cities. From the Bay of Galle the East-Indiamen continued their journey to their final destination Batavia – the route Patria-Ceylon primarily served the transport of military forces from the Netherlands. Annually in November and February these returning ships (*retourschepen*) arrived laden with the costly spices and other products from the Company's Asian trade network. Generally ships arriving from Batavia on their way to the Netherlands first called at Colombo and then left for Galle after the usual unloading and loading of goods (fig. 7.1). Smaller Company craft, such as shallops (*chialoupen*), plied

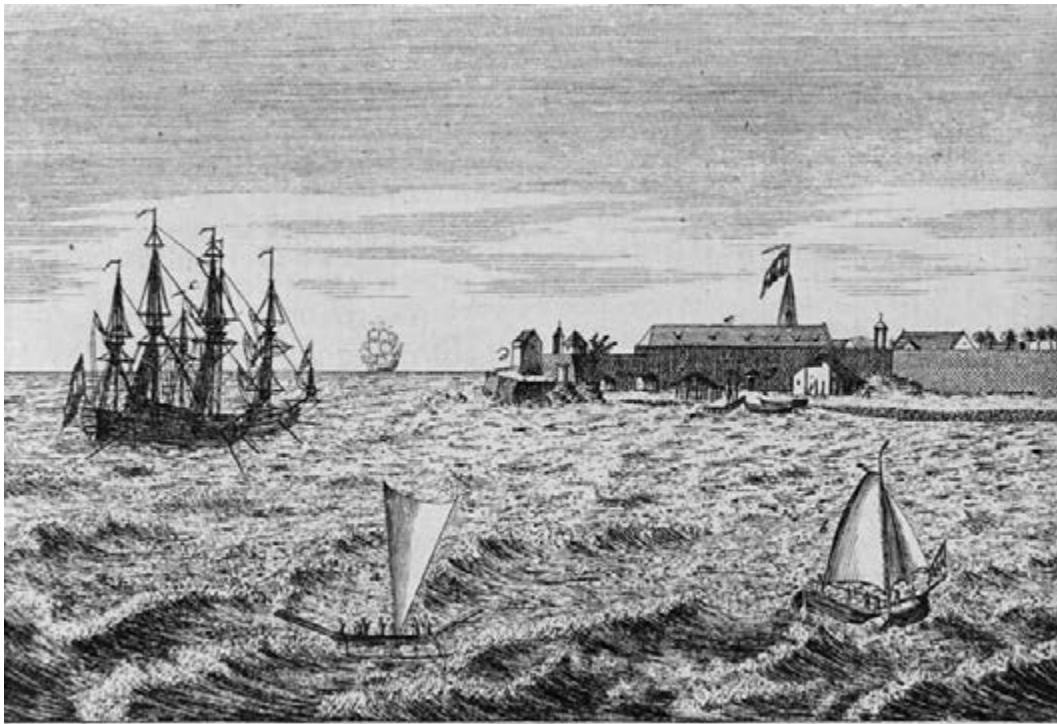


Fig. 7.1: Galle Seen from the Bay, 1736.

At the left two Company ships lie anchored in the Bay of Galle. The vessel in the foreground is a local dhonie, a kind of outrigger sailing canoe used by fishermen and by Company pilots. The boat with leeboard flying a Dutch flag at the back is a Company chaloupe (shallop), a vessel that plied between Company harbours in Sri Lanka as well as between Sri Lanka and destinations in South India. In front of the gateway (in the middle of the Great Warehouse) one sees the landing stage.

between the Ceylonese Company stations and were also employed to connect Ceylonese and South Indian ports within the Company's regional trading empire. When discussing the particular maritime roles of the two main players, Colombo and Galle, Galle might be called the more important of the two. The Bay of Galle could safely provide shelter to four or more East-Indiamen at a time whereas, especially during the monsoon periods, the anchorage at Colombo offered poor protection against the strong winds. The capacity of the Company's warehouse in Galle was also greater than the combined ones in Colombo. However, in the local and regional Company trade, as well in the coastal trade as undertaken by Muslim entrepreneurs, Colombo and Galle can be seen as equals. As a matter of fact, Colombo surpassed Galle in importance as an administrative center. Be this as it may, Galle combined two distinctive functions, being both a major administrative and economic center. Galle housed a lot of Company workers, a mutually agreeable arrangement, because people with large families could provide the necessary labor.

Galle: A Multi-Ethnic Society

The spatial, urban, and social development of the Company's Galle took some time to develop its late-eighteenth-century identity. As a matter of fact, this process had been ongoing since soon after the conquest in 1640. At first the Portuguese material infrastructure was kept. Soon however, all typical characteristics of the Portuguese colonial settlement were removed. The demolition of cloisters and churches gave way to new construction sites but details of this spatial reorganization are not known. It took decades, we presume, till the typical "Dutch Period" Galle came into existence. Approximately when this development matured is difficult to tell. One striking

example is that not until 1752 did *commandeur* Casparus de Jong start the construction of a proper Dutch Reformed Church (see plate 7.3). Prior to the completion in 1756 the church folk had gathered in one of the attics of the great warehouse. When Governor Jan Schreuder visited Galle in June 1760, no glass had yet been placed in the windows. Although the installation of a secondhand organ from Colombo had already started, it is not documented whether the works had been completed when Schreuder attended the Sunday service there on June 15th. The construction of this church can be seen as rounding off the development of Galle as an urban settlement fit for serving the "Dutch" community. Of course, the choice of this period as a point of departure for a study of the cultural identity of Dutch Period Galle seems a little bit arbitrary, and indeed, valid arguments can be raised against it. From my wider experience however, based on the general history of city planning and the architecture of Galle, I think the choice can withstand possible objections.

J. W. Heydt, a surveyor in the Company's service, visited Galle in the late 1730s. He wrote: "It is built over with many very poor houses in which few Europeans are seen; in it dwell Costizos, Mestizos, Moors, Malabars, Sinhalese and Chetties mostly mixed together."⁷ We find more detailed information about the population of Galle in the period during the "completion" of Galle. Ample documents from the second part of the 1750s are kept in the National Archives of Sri Lanka but their value is limited since most official lists refer only to males. Therefore, one has to avoid speculative interpretation when reconstructing the composition of the total population. Luckily enough, we have some clues, such as those in the Day Register (*Dagregister*) (fig. 7.2) written by Jan Schreuder's secretary. Here we find a list totaling 1,841 inhabitants, with the addition

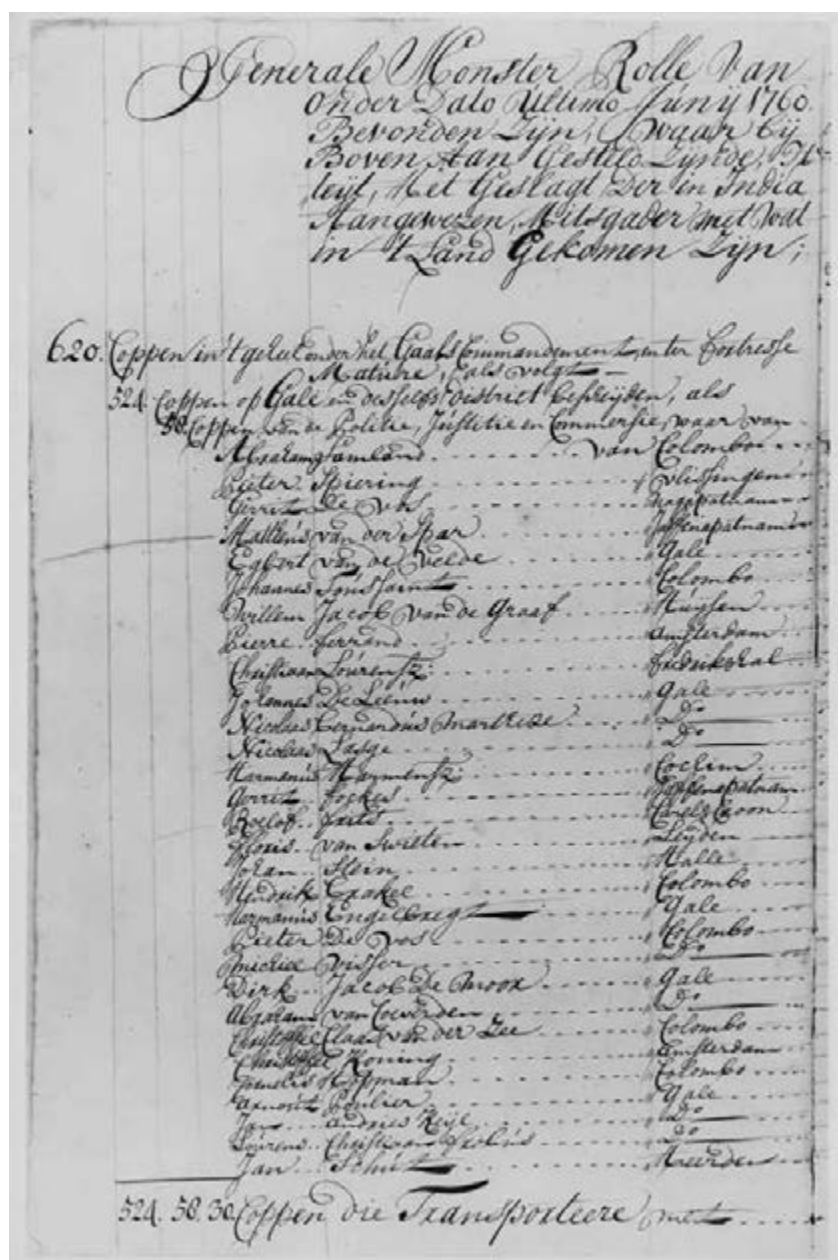


Fig. 7.2: General List of Persons Enrolled in the Service of the Company in Galle, 30 June 1760. Generale Monster Rolle (General Muster Roll, financial year 1759-1760) lists 620 persons in the Commandment of Galle. This left page of the full plano sheet gives the names and places of origin of 30 (out of 58) servants working for the Civil Department (Administration, Justice and Commerce). The other half of the plano sheet, not reproduced here, shows their ethnic offspring, date of enrollment, function and salary. Of this first batch of 30 servants, 21 were born in Company Ceylon (Jaffna, Colombo, Galle) or South India (Nagapattinam, Cochin); six servants arrived from the Dutch towns Amsterdam, Heerde, Huizen, Leiden and Vlissingen; two were from Sweden (Frederikshall and Karlskrona); and one from Germany (Halle).

“females and males, adults and young ones, free persons as well as slaves.”⁸ There are 518 Company servants whose ethnic background we can trace from another document kept in Colombo. It lists 413 “Europeans,” 39 *casties*, 47 *mixties*, 4 *pusties*, 14 *toepassen*, and 11 Sinhalese.⁹ After reporting the functional composition of the 518 five other groups totaling 320 persons, such as burghers (66), pensioners (6), Company slaves (96), prisoners and forced laborers (40), and indigenous servants (112) are itemized. Most of the people in this last category were probably Muslims and Chetties. Between the Company and these listed groups there existed an employee–employer relationship, although it was somewhat different in the case of the convicts and Company slaves. The inclusion of burghers in these lists seems to be odd; however, one has to realize that the burghers had very limited freedom. They could not go wherever they liked and were actually economically and geographically “imprisoned” in the urban settlements of the Company. In extreme cases the adult burghers were brought back under the authority of the Company in order to serve in the infantry, as indeed happened in 1761 after the outbreak of the Sinhalese rebellion.

Over a thousand inhabitants have not been specified, among them probably a small group of business people, such as peddlers and other small traders – most of whom would have been Muslim or Chetties. Eurasian shopkeepers and other small entrepreneurs certainly would have been included in the listed group of 66 burghers. The great majority of this nonspecified group of a thousand, however, consisted of family members of the listed and nonlisted professionals: Male minors, females of any age, and elderly people. Since most families owned slaves, the total of privately owned slaves may have amounted to two hundred or more.

Europeans, *Casties* and *Poesties*

Ethnic Europeans formed a floating group in the Company’s society. J. C. Wolf, who for many years worked in Jaffna (1751–1770), wrote about his fellow Company servants:

But the “Dutch” in Ceylon may be said to consist of almost every nation to be found in Europe who are [...] pretty universally known by the general name of Dutchmen to the natives of this island, who have very little, if any, idea of the different states of Europe.¹⁰

In Galle these Europeans numbered 413. Infantrymen (239) and artillerists (19) – most of whom were stationed in their respective military quarters located at the main bastions – formed the largest group, followed at a distance by the maritime personnel (120). The majority of this second group was lodged in barracks too, it seems. Some senior military and marine officers lived in private houses in the city proper. The 35 remaining Europeans were spread over a few departments: Administration (14), Church (4), Health (1) and Technical Workshops (16). Altogether a group of circa 50 European Company servants at the most lived in Galle Fort – as it is called nowadays. A fair number, but certainly not all of them lived with a family; a small minority had married ethnic European housewives.

Many European Company servants signed a second contract, or opted for the status of freeburgher. This group and their descendants we find described by J. C. Wolf. He says that the composite European Dutch community was sub-divided according to the descent of the children: “The child of two Europeans was called a *pustiz*, the child of a European father and a *pustiz* mother was called a *castiz*, and a child of a European or *castiz* father and a native mother was called a *mixtiz*.”¹¹ This categorization is confirmed by S. A. M. Mottau. In his glossary

one reads under the heading of “Poesties”: “In the Company’s service, only those actually born in Europe were Europeans; the children of European parents born in Ceylon were called *poesties*; their descendants of European blood were *casties*.”¹² Hobson-Jobson does not mention the phenomenon *pustiz* at all. Under the heading “Castees” it says: “The Indo-Portuguese formed from *casta* the word *castiço*, which they used to denote children born in India of Portuguese parents.”¹³ As such the Portuguese-Dutch category *castiço-casties* was used in the same way as *creole* in the West Indies. Others, like Michael Roberts, suggest that the term *casties* may also have been used for the issue of Europeans and *mixties*, without referring to specific sources.¹⁴ A list of names of Company servants with specifications of their ethnic background, compiled in 1755, seems to confirm the ambiguous composition of this group.¹⁵

Topasses and Mestizos

In the shadow of the ethnic Europeans, so to speak, the Company’s urban settlements counted several social groups of mixed ethnic background. The history of these groups goes back to the Portuguese Period and can be seen as a typical phenomenon of coastal societies in South and Southeast Asia which were affected by European expansion. It is striking that within a period of five years after the conquest of Galle (1640), an Orphan Board had been set up to look after the estates of those orphan who were minors. Apparently Company servants had had intimate contacts with women from Eurasian (*topasses* or *mestiços*) or ethnic Asian circles, such as low-caste Sinhalese or enslaved persons originating from a wide zone – from Asia as well as from Africa. As a matter of course, the Company had to care for the children born of such liaisons, and by doing so this early response to social problems can be seen as an acceptance of the very existence

of Eurasians within the Company’s urban environs.

In the Dutch urban societies ethnic background was strictly classified, and, certainly, to some extent also felt as a social reality. In the list mentioned above, we find four categories between “European” on the one side, and Sinhalese – sometimes also called “Black” (*Swarte*) on the other side, that is, *casties*, *poesties*, *mixties*, and *toepas*. From some sources one understands that *casties* and *poesties* were ethnic Europeans, born in Asia. This however, is contradicted by sources which suggest that these two categories could also be seen as Eurasian.

The category of *topasses* has a long history, going back to the early Portuguese presence in India. The word has been interpreted as “people speaking two languages” or as “hat-men.” Under the heading “Topaz, Topass” in Hobson-Jobson one reads: “A name used in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for dark-skinned or half-caste claimants of Portuguese descent, and Christian profession.”¹⁶ Mottau writes: “This is a word of doubtful etymology [...]. The *toepasses* were a mixed race of Portuguese paternity whom the Dutch employed in the rank and file of the ‘Burgery.’”¹⁷ The supposed bilingual background of the *topasses* has been absorbed into the Sinhalese language: The *mudaliyars* (Interpreters) in the Courts of Ceylon were called *tuppahe mudiyanse*, Mottau continues. However, the connection with the Indian (Hindi) word *topi* (hat) is more plausible, as has also been mentioned in Hobson-Jobson. Under this category of Christian *topasses* one finds several groups, among them descendants of manumitted slaves. Be this as it may, in Galle four *topasses* were attached to the Political Department (administration), and ten of them were working within the military – which links them with another traditional meaning of the word *topass*, that is, that of “military men.”

Though *topasses* cannot be seen as a very strict ethnic Eurasian group, they were sometimes recognized by Company officials as a separate category. At least they felt themselves special, since they were permitted to wear hats – as can be seen in some drawings by Esaias Boursse, who has depicted *topasses* in Colombo in c. 1660, barefoot and wearing odd and torn hats.¹⁸

Children of European fathers and indigenous mothers were called *mixties* or *mestices*. The reality however, was different. This category seems to have included a much wider range of “in between.” Be this as it may, this Eurasian group formed the backbone of the administration in Galle. From Company documents one learns that about half of the civil departments were staffed by *mixties*. This situation however, did not match official policy. An internal instruction issued in 1759 tried to limit the number of *landskinderen* (ethnic Europeans) and *mixties*: “Clerks in the secretaries must consist of two-thirds Europeans and one-third *casties* and *poesties*, but no *mixties* [should be engaged].”¹⁹ The actual composition of the staff of the civil departments in 1760 was 14 Europeans (24%), 28 *mixties* (48%), 12 *poesties* (21%), 4 *topasses* (7%), totaling 58.²⁰

A clear and undisputed definition of the several Eurasian categories in their eighteenth-century context is not available. Even where some definitions seem secure, their value is limited to specific sets of time and space. More pertinently, contemporary sources contradict each other, and definitions have been changing all the time, often as a result of “ethnic identity building,” especially during the nineteenth century. Other factors have led to confusion, such as different meanings or connotations in the Portuguese-Indian context. We can extract a definition of the distinctive Eurasian categories as seen through the Company’s eyes

from a document kept in the National Archives in Colombo.²¹

Father	Mother	Child
European	Indigenous	<i>Mixties</i>
European	<i>Mixties</i>	<i>Casties</i>
European	<i>Casties</i>	<i>Casties</i>
<i>Casties</i>	<i>Casties</i>	<i>Poesties</i>
<i>Casties</i>	<i>Mixties</i>	Not found
<i>Casties</i>	Indigenous	<i>Mixties</i>
<i>Mixties</i>	<i>Mixties</i>	Not found
<i>Mixties</i>	Indigenous	<i>Mixties</i>

Privately Owned Enslaved Persons

Since no free labor market was in existence, the Company and its servants followed the Portuguese example of using slave labor (fig. 7.3). Though slavery was a system in use in many parts of Asia, it seems that the European companies intensified it. Enslaved persons, such as prisoners of war or people who had to offer themselves to get rid of debts, were transported over longer distances than ever before. First-generation persons who were sold to the Company, directly or indirectly, originated in a wide variety of places, including Bengal, Arakan, Madura, and Bali. Though official marital relations did not exist, a lot of children were born as slaves because of the status of their mothers. Most slaves in the Company’s Asian region worked as domestics in private households. This situation brought them unmistakably into a situation of close familiarity and even sexual intimacy with their owners. The adoption of Johannes, son of the manumitted slave Regina, by Steven Baade, Master of Equipment in Galle, strongly suggests that this Company official had fathered this child with one of his domestics.²² Last wills confirm that many times slave owners had special and affectionate relations with their enslaved domestics. The aforesaid Johannes Baade, still a minor when his father died in 1761, inherited lands, goods, and even

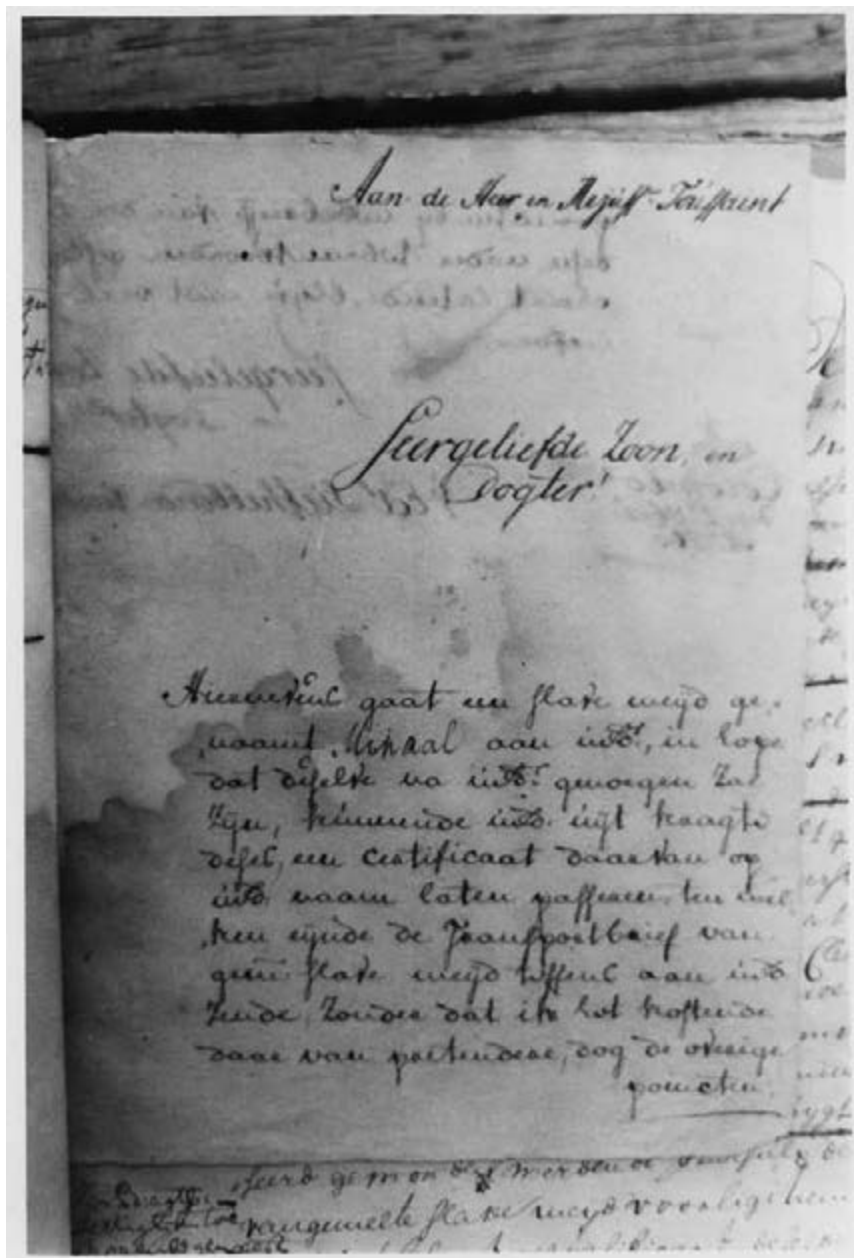


Fig. 7.3: Letter from Barent Kriekenbeek (1715-1778) to his Daughter Adriana Elizabeth (b. 1737) and Son-in-law Johannes Toussaint (b. 1719) in Galle, Colombo, 2 October 1760.

In this letter, attached to a certificate of transfer dated 10 October 1760, the father sends a female slave to his daughter and her husband (married 1756), announcing that the 'letter of transport' will follow shortly: 'Dearest son and daughter, herewith a slave maid named Minaal comes to your honourable selves, of whom I hope you will take pleasure... Your loving father, B. Kriekenbeek.' Both the Kriekenbeek and the Toussaint families were of mixed descent. The use of enslaved domestics was quite common. The overseer of the Galle Corle, Johannes Toussaint, will have owned ten or more private slaves.

slaves from his father's estate. Slaves were never admitted as full members of the Dutch Reformed Church, however, many enslaved domestics were baptized. As Christians they had the right to be buried in the Christian section of the graveyard outside town, reserved for "Black Christians, free or nonfree."²³

Muslims and Chetties

These groups already have been introduced in the section "The Immediate Coastal Area." J. W. Heydt gives the following description: "This place is also inhabited by many merchants, and many Moors and Cittis live in Galle, who open their booths daily when the weather is fine and sell all sorts of wares. They occupy a whole street in which they do their trade, and everything can be bought from them."²⁴ Probably Heydt refers to the "Moorse Kramerstraat," nowadays called "Pedlar Street." Though exact numbers cannot be given, Muslims and Chetties within Galle Fort may have totaled four hundred or so, roughly a quarter of the total population in 1841.

Characterization of Galle

Urban centers like Galle were not exceptional in Asia, or elsewhere in the vast world of colonial and commercial enterprises led by European states and trade companies. In Sri Lanka, places such as Colombo, Galle and Jaffna had been developed into urban centers by the Portuguese – the Dutch East India Company just followed in the footsteps of its predecessors. Of course, after the seventeenth-century conquest of those cities much was changed. Colombo Castle was reduced in size to make defense against European intruders cheaper and more efficient. As a result, fewer people could be accommodated in the *Kasteel* itself. In the eighteenth century, residence in the Castle was reserved for the higher European echelons: Most non-Europeans

as well as Europeans of low rank had to settle in the "Old Town" outside the Castle.

Galle differed from places such as Colombo and Jaffna, as well as from Malacca or Makassar. Those centers had urban settlements outside the Castles. In Colombo, for instance, this site was called "Old Town" or just "Town" (*stad*) – nowadays this part of Colombo is known as "Pettah" (from the Sinhalese *pitakotuwa*: "Town attached to a fortress"). In contrast to other colonial cities, Galle had no urban settlement outside the city walls (see plate 7.4). Therefore, in the fortified city of Galle inhabitants of different ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds lived together. This was also the case during the Portuguese Period. Some of the economic activities directly connected with the daily life of the city inhabitants, did take place outside the gate. The fish market and the *bazaar* were located on the seashore. Fishermen had their huts close to their boats. Though we have no detailed information, it seems some illegal encampments had developed there, housing a variety of people. One reads in the report of Jan Schreuder's inspection tour that many of the Company's Sinhalese slaves in this *negorij* [from Malay *nagari*, hamlet] spent the night there. This discovery made clear, though too late, "the decay and the near extinction of the Company's slaves, since the slaves are supplied with free women."²⁵ Outside the walls some burghers had *schacherijen*. In some documents we find proof that soldiers stayed in these illegal inns and reported back late at their respective barracks. This *negorij* being quite marginal we will concentrate on Galle proper, the city within ramparts.

With military people stationed in barracks and marine personnel being occupied in the harbor or at sea, the visible presence of white people must have been rather limited: Asians and Eurasians dominated the street scene of Galle, as was the case in all Company urban

settlements. However, Galle was a major “bas-tion” of the Dutch trading company, therefore Dutch economic and cultural interests were predominant in every respect. But, looking at the ethnic background of the majority of the population, in which way and to which extent can we call Galle a Dutch city?

Cultural Transplants

Maybe the term *transplantation* can indicate some of the predominant institutional, socio-economic and cultural features of Galle. Taking a stroll through this eighteenth-century city, the residence of the commander, several offices, warehouses and the omnipresent walls certainly would have caught the eye. In 1760, the Dutch Reformed Church had been completed, and this building can be seen as illustrative and symbolic of Galle as a European implant in Asian lands. Though in the first charter of the Dutch East India Company no reference was made to the Dutch Reformed Church at all, it was self-evident that the Company as a semi-government undertaking was committed to Calvinist values. Hence, the care for Dutch Reformed congregations overseas was well organized: The main settlements had one or two ministers (*predikanten*) and on the ships a trained layman functioned as an assistant preacher (*ziekentrooster*). In the pattern of the weeks, Sunday services played an important role. Apart from feelings of personal piety, churchgoers identified with the dominant religious and cultural modes. At the same time, the VOC enforced social rules and confirmed moral guidelines and issues. Its legal and moral policies determined which groups were acceptable as partakers of the privileged world of the Dutch colonial masters. This socio-cultural world of the colonial elite stretched out to a broad spectrum of urban inhabitants, among whom there were many differences in social status. Burghers for instance, could be and

indeed were fully accepted as members of the Reformed Church; from a socio-economic perspective however the Company looked on this group as second-rate citizens. Most of the burghers in Ceylon had married *mestizo* or Asian women, “which indicates that most of these men were from the lower income bracket and suggests that burghers stood fairly low on the social ladder.”²⁶ Their inclusion in the world of the dominant colonial elite therefore was very limited and conditional. Nevertheless, the Reformed Church formed the platform or “theater” where the Eurasian burghers could express themselves and distinguish themselves from even lower social strata. In that respect the Reformed Church facilitated their slow upward socio-economic mobility, a process that only showed some real successes during the British Period.

In the colonial urban settlements, one can identify a few other institutions which can be seen as *implanted*. Of course, these institutions had different characters; hence the impact on society differed correspondingly. Primarily meant to treat sick soldiers and crews of the maritime department, the hospitals might have been ethnic enclaves reserved for European personnel. Western medical practice as such certainly was not confined to the hospital. The Company physicians would have cared for private individuals for a fee. The European medical practice however, was limited to customers from European and Eurasian ethnic circles. Asian ethnic groups had their own indigenous medical tradition. That is why the Company contracted a Sinhalese physician (*inlandse geneesmeester*) to work in the Slave Hospital of Galle. It is not quite clear to what extent “Western” and “indigenous” medical traditions were regarded as exclusive. Indigenous medical practitioners had a superior knowledge of local herbs and their healing effects. This gradually influenced the European pharmacopeia, a clear

recognition of its positive appreciation. At the same time, ethnic Asians would have been in touch with “Western medicine.” The most famous example is the journey a physician from Colombo made all the way to Kandy because Kandyan courtiers wanted him to treat the king, who had an incurable disease.

The institution of an Orphan Board (*weeskamer*) has already been mentioned. This body was a direct copy of the Orphan Boards in the Dutch Republic and the administrators based their decisions on Dutch-Roman law. The *weeskamers* administered the estates of full or half orphans of European or Eurasian background. In line with this example, the Company set up indigenous estate boards (*inlandse boedelkamers*). In Galle the Indigenous Estate Board, though subordinate to the “Dutch” Orphan Board, was administered by representatives of the communities involved.

Formally the poor relief was a matter for the Reformed Church. However, the Christian care for the poor by the *diaconie* was heavily sponsored by the Company. One per thousand of all transactions settled at auctions for instance, were channeled through to the deacons. It must be admitted, that the Company had a very strong or even decisive influence on church life, such as on appointments of ministers, duration of services, or supervision of the church council by Company commissioners. The *diaconies* in Colombo, Jaffna, and Galle, as in other major settlements of the Company, were also responsible for running the orphanages. As a matter of fact the care of the poor and orphaned children was limited to those Christian urban people who needed these social services. Roman-Catholics and Dutch Reformed minors, who could afford to care for themselves, were denied admission. Though the general policy was not to admit Asians, the Company had the right to send needy Company slaves. In such cases it had to pay the costs of subsistence.

In the field of education, the Company also played an active role (see plate 7.5). Galle had three schools; two for “Dutch” children, and a third one reserved for Sinhalese pupils – no mention has been made of a Tamil school for Muslims and other Tamil-speaking children. Though the location of the latter one has not been documented, we do know that the curriculum consisted of writing and reading Sinhalese, calculating and the basics of the catechism. This school had two masters. During 1760/61, Pieter van Strigt – from Amsterdam – was teaching at the regular “Dutch” school. He got high marks in the report by the school commissioners (*scholarchen*), who stated that his pupils were excelling over all other schoolchildren.²⁷ Since the instruction was given at the teachers’ private premises, children of all ages and of both sexes were sitting together – from 7 to 11 am and from 2 to 4 pm. No school regulations have been kept in the archives, however, we do know that the same books were in use for instruction as was the case at Dutch schools.²⁸ The orphanage had its own school for its modest population of 15-20 children, most of whom were the offspring of noncommissioned European officers and indigenous or Eurasian mothers. In 1760 the verger of the Reformed Church, Willem de Jong from Middelburg, was also commissioned as schoolmaster. Daily routine in the Dutch colonial orphanages did not differ much from those in the Dutch Republic: *reveille* at 5.30 pm, morning prayer, breakfast, school from 8 to 11 am, lunch at noon, school again from 2 till 5 pm, at 7 evening prayer, supper at 8, bedtime at 9 o’clock.²⁹

The instruction at the Sinhalese school would have been in Sinhalese. At the two other schools the colloquial language would have been Dutch; since textbooks as well as both schoolmasters came from the Netherlands.

Organization of the Public Space

After the conquest of the Portuguese fortified urban settlements in Ceylon, the Dutch East India Company encountered a new situation in which many choices and decisions had to be made. How to build up the cities they just had taken? What should be their relationship with the actual inhabitants? Portuguese officers, soldiers, priests, and the like were sent to Portuguese-held territory on the Indian mainland, in accordance with the articles of the respective truces. The very existence of the colonial society, however, was a *fait accompli*. The Dutch Company could not “undo” the effects of Portuguese colonial history, which meant that in regard to the mixed ethnic composition of the population of the urban settlements only superficial changes could be made. Fresh imports of enslaved labor from Africa by the Portuguese for instance, had stopped and had to be replaced with supplies from other trade areas, such as the Bay of Bengal and several islands in the Indonesian archipelago. For the Company the system as such was crucial: The artificial colonial *implants* could not do without enslaved domestics and other labor. As a matter of fact, few of the threads of the ethnic texture got replaced. Most *mestices* from Portuguese-Asian background stayed on the island and were confronted with a dramatic cultural change: The Roman-Catholic Church of the Portuguese suddenly had become illegal; Catholic devotion therefore, was suspect and dangerous. Consequently Roman-Catholic believers had no option but to be converted to the “true Christian religion” of Calvinist Protestantism. As Muslims and non-Christian Chetties did not face this problem they will have easily adapted to the new rulers.

Not many details are known of daily life in the Portuguese settlements. When the Dutch took over Portuguese Ceylon, the colonial urban settlements were still young phenomena

in the Asian socio-economic and cultural landscape. In 1679 an unofficial truce ended the war between Kandy and the Company. As a result of the mutually accepted status quo, the Dutch Territories became safe and secure. Consequently farmers returned from Kandyan lands and agriculture in Company territory started flourishing again. This development however, did not affect the distorted relations between the Dutch urban settlements and the hinterland. Though at a political level Kandy and the Company had agreed a policy of co-existence, culturally and socio-economically the Dutch cities still were strange elements in the Sri Lankan landscape: In no way could the colonial urban socio-economic system form an organic part of the surrounding Asian world.

Eurasians were particularly trapped, since their life was confined to the colonial urban settlements. Burghers for instance, had no other place to go to: They did not fit into the Sinhalese agrarian society, nor were they welcome to settle in the Dutch Republic. Economically speaking, they were at the tender mercies of the Company. The Dutch East India Company distrusted anybody whose activities might harm its own commercial interests. Therefore, burghers were fully dependent on the economic space the Company left open to them. Muslim and Chetty traders were confronted with different restrictions; traditionally however, they were much more mobile.

In the hundred years after the conquest of 1640, Galle gradually developed into the Dutch colonial city as seen by Johann Wolfgang Heydt during his stay in Ceylon (1734-1737). His description is no help with how Galle then looked. Neither Heydt nor any other contemporary authors give any information about city government, city planning or any other administrative occupation within the public domain. To get better glimpses, one has to search for data kept in the Company archives. Happily a

rather complete series of *plakkaaten* – laws and ordinances enacted by the Company – has survived. Some of them reflect very clearly the way the Dutch colonial government was involved in matters concerning building procedures, city cleaning, public safety, fire prevention, and the like. We also find regulations on social and moral affairs, such as ordinances concerning marriage and cohabitation or notices banning illegal games, like playing dice and cock fighting. Other ordinances concern public health and economic life; such as restrictions on the slaughter of cattle and the sale of meat; the prescription of the quality and price of bread; and the conditions for inn-keepers to open shop.

These ordinances were not novel. After the great fires in Amsterdam (1421 and 1452) for instance, the city government had enacted ordinances on fire prevention: From then on timber as a construction material was limited to the internal structure of houses; for the side walls, façades, and roofing, bricks and slates had to be used. In Galle, as was also the case in Colombo and Jaffna, in the eighteenth century most private houses were still very modest structures covered with palm leaves – *ola* roofs. In 1744 the High Government in Batavia sent circular letters to all Company quarters, requiring the enactment of an ordinance to prevent fire in urban settlements. In Galle this ordinance was issued on 7 July 1745. “In order to prevent ignorance of this order by anybody, this advertisement will be publicly posted in Sinhalese, Tamil, and Dutch,” the decree admonished. After a year many house owners had not responded, hence the order was issued again on 8 August 1746. Owners of “small houses” (*wooningjes*) and “huts” (*kufjes*) were allowed one month to implement the renewed instructions, or to move out of town. On 26 September, the government in Colombo sanctioned one last postponement of six months, after that anyone who could not afford to pay for

tiles – “the insolvent and poor” inhabitants – had to leave (see plate 7.6). The content of these decrees certainly confirm the observation made by Heydt that Galle was “built over with many very poor houses.” There was some cold comfort: The Company would point out where those who had to leave could resettle.³⁰ It was self-evident that no brick houses were permitted to be built within range of the walls. In 1773, eight years after the war, the governor and council of Ceylon decided to renew the relevant ordinance and to advertise this annually: Only huts made of earth, branches, and straw would be tolerated there. At first notice those structures should be taken down, without compensation. In 1784 again an ordinance was issued on this subject: Within a distance of 200 rods – about half a mile – no brick houses would be tolerated.³¹ With some reservation one can conclude that from the second half of the eighteenth century outside Galle Fort the first nucleus of later Galle Town was developing, but nothing can be said with certainty about the composition of the occupants.

In Galle, as well as in other Company urban settlements, the organization of the public domain was closely related to security and defense. From several ordinances it becomes clear that enormous heaps of rubbish were piling up from the outside against the walls. Apparently the garbage was done away with by throwing it illegally from the bastions. The rubbish piled up so much people could climb over, with the result that malevolent persons easily good enter or leave the fort. In 1739, and again in 1752 and 1755, advertisements were attached at the obvious places, published in Dutch, Sinhalese, and Tamil. Owners of enslaved domestics explicitly were held responsible for the bad behavior of their personnel. For the first offence the penalty for the owners would be 5 rixdollars, for the second time this would be doubled – it was seen as obvious that slaves

were acting only as ordered by their owners. A third violation would be punished even more seriously: In cases where an enslaved domestic was the offender, he or she would be confiscated and publicly sold; freemen who broke this rule would be persecuted and punished accordingly.³² How rural Galle looked even at the end of the eighteenth century is detailed in another *plakkaat*: In 1785, the commander and council of Galle renewed the prohibition of burning rubbish in the street – such was (and still is) the habit in villages. In well organized cities this could not be tolerated, the document comments.³³ The government also tried to prevent inhabitants from letting their cattle graze within the city walls. More and more residents in Galle kept cattle, with the result that “day and night one sees cattle grazing and roaming through the distinguished streets of the city, even in front of the commander’s office: Many cows, pigs, all kinds of goats, yes also horses and donkeys.”³⁴ This was polluting the city and for people passing by it was also very dangerous, especially at night. The clambering of goats on the ramparts and even on top of roofs of structures such as gun powder stores was ruining the defense works. This was even more appalling since maintenance and reparation works in that period had cost a fortune. This insanitary situation was worsened by the undisciplined behavior of “common black people” relieving themselves at random places, their excrement causing an unbearable smell. It occurred on a daily basis that children and slaves answered nature’s call even “along distinguished streets and near the houses of our European white residents,” we learn from a notification sent to the public prosecutor, to the captain of the garrison and to other Galle officials in 1759.³⁵ Among the addressees were the district supervisors (*wijkmeesters*) whose duty it was to keep an eye open and inform the city government.

For Galle no set of instructions for the District Supervisors has been kept. The instructions for their colleagues in Colombo however, make it clear that these officials functioned as informants to the government. They had to look sharp for “suspect and dangerous people” in their district, especially since so many “foreigners” from Tuticorin and Coromandel were intruding and settling along the coast.³⁶ *wijkmeesters* had to make lists with profiles of the households in their district, stating the professions and moral character of the persons concerned. Special attention had to be given to “idlers [*leeglopers*], too lazy to do any craft or trade, not caring for their children.” If children of European fathers were concerned, their situation must be notified to the government, in order to get them back on track, as soldiers, drummers, sailors, or artisans in the service of the Company. Christians, who could not care for themselves and had asked for support from the *diaconie*, needed a testimonial; the district supervisors were required to recommend persons of good moral conduct who actually lived in their district. In Colombo these officials also functioned as inspectors of public sanitation. This responsibility was given to the *wijkmeesters* of Galle too, as can be seen from the notification mentioned before.

The Company’s rule was authoritarian and hierarchical; therefore many ordinances concerning the public domain were based on instructions sent from Batavia, issued by the High Government. From the capital of the Company’s trading empire these instructions were sent to the several regional governments, and from there to the lesser administrative bodies, such as Galle. In the urban settlements a limited transfer of competence and authority can be seen. At the end of each year, officials for the several boards and officers of the burgher militia were (re)appointed by the respective city governments. Their tasks

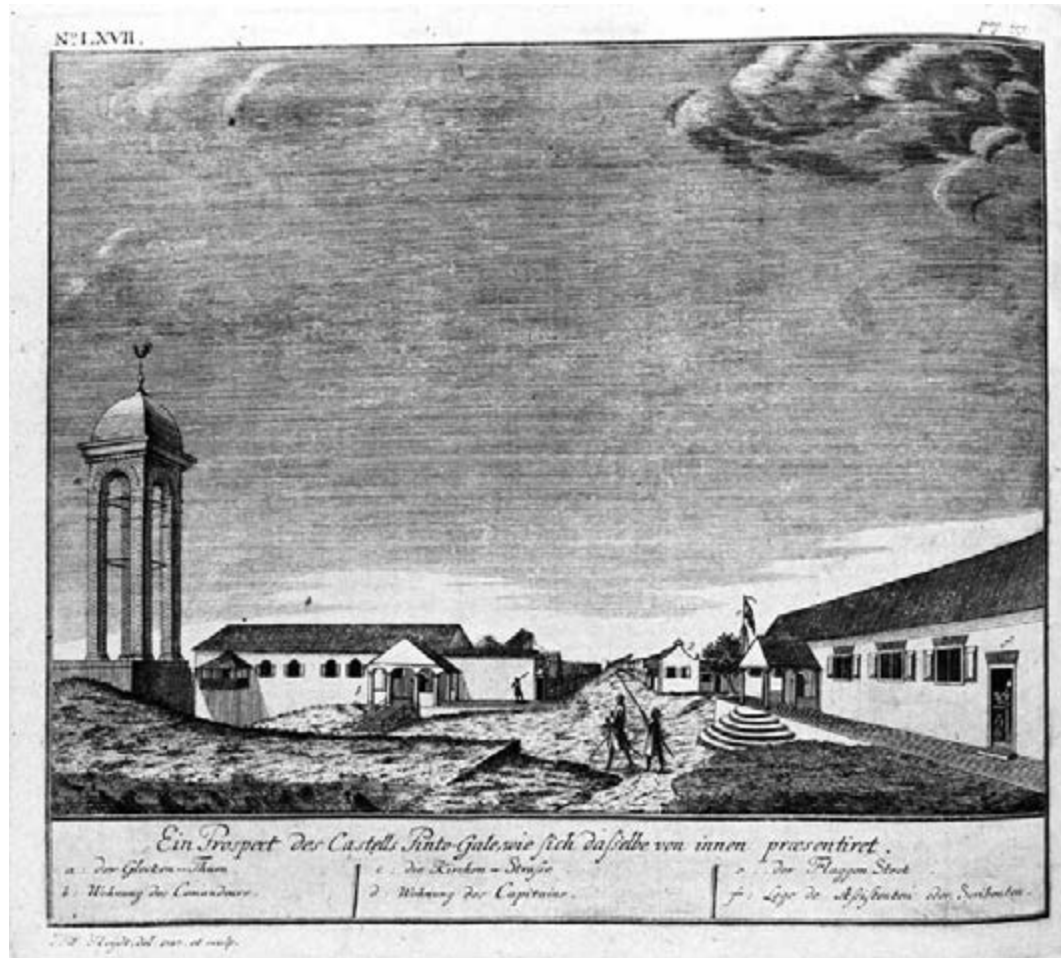


Fig. 7.4: View of City of Galle, 1737.

The weathercock adorning the belfry at the left may be a reference to the name of the town. Galle means rock in Sinhalese, but Europeans associated it with the Latin word *gallus*, cock. The large building at the left side of the street is the residence of the commander of Galle. In the middle a Company officer walks to his office, escorted by a slave bearing a parasol. At the right side stands the house of the Company administrator and some adjoining offices. Behind the door a Company clerk is at work – with hat on of course.

were detailed and hence any opportunities to exceed the rules were strictly limited. Much more important however, was the fact that citizens of the urban settlements were given a modest and embryonic right of representation. Of course, the higher officials – all offspring of Europeans – played a major and decisive role in the field of local government. It cannot

be denied however, that citizens of the urban settlements were given some responsibility and therefore could express themselves in their city societies. This applied especially to the group of burghers, but was limited to those individuals who formally had this status. In contrast, the socio-political inclusion of Muslims, Chetties, and a few Sinhalese, was rather limited; the

Indigenous Estate Board and the *Landraad* (Rural Law Court) were the only bodies with representatives from these three groups. Be this as it may, a limited group of inhabitants had some say in local government, and can be seen as “codesigners,” so to speak, of the public domain.

The Insignia of Dutchness

Identity and status mattered in the urban settlements of the Company, even when it was not always easy to understand which factors and circumstances were at work and to what extent. One *plakkaat*, the instruction for the burgher militia of Colombo laid down in 1759, may help to throw light on social inclusion – and exclusion. The fourth article reads: “All Burghers and free residents, not being in the actual service of the Honourable Company, and who are of the Christian religion and also wear European clothes, aged between 16 and 60 years, will serve in the *burgerij* [...]”³⁷ One needs no “close reading” to really understand the meaning of this article. First, burghers and other free residents in the service of the Company were excused from serving in the militia – they joined a special military unit within the Company forces. Second and this is very crucial, only Christians who wore European clothes were obliged to serve. This rule excluded most residents. The ethnic “uniform” of the European males – shoes, stockings, pants, coat, and hat (including accessories such as silver cords and the like) – apparently was indicative of one’s social status. The most essential part of this European dress however, was the hat (fig. 7.4). In article 42 of the Chapter on Slaves the “New Ordinances of Batavia” (*Nieuwe Statuten van Batavia*, 1766) Europeans and *hoede dragers* (“persons who wear a hat”) are used as synonymous terms.³⁸ Even the poorest *topasses* were

entitled to wear these material testimonials, notwithstanding the fact that the hats might be crumpled and torn. Therefore it is not surprising that hats for men as well as for boys were imported in great numbers from Holland, to be distributed to the European soldiers, as well as to be sold in the Company shop (*Kleine Winkel*); secondhand hats also could be purchased at public auctions. Females within this “European” social circle likewise distinguished themselves from indigenous women by their dress and accessories as well as by the use of stockings and the wearing of shoes.

The Company was very strict in the observance of dress codes. Generally speaking, by doing so the Company hoped to prevent jealousy between the several castes and sub-castes living in the rural districts. As a matter of fact, there was also a practical and economic argument. Sinhalese persons for instance, could try to escape from their *corvée* by wearing the dress of Chetties. To counteract this the Company issued an advertisement warning those persons going in disguise that they would be at risk of being required to do *uliyam* service. Another ordinance relates to the castes of barbers and washers. Since their chiefs performed special duties for the Company, they had been given permission to wear a distinctive dress, which included silver buttons on their shirts and coats. The common folk of these castes were allowed to dress themselves in this fashion only on the occasion of their marriage. In such a case the groom had to pay the rather prohibitive sum of 6 rixdollars to a charity – a huge sum, comparable with the monthly income of a trained soldier. The same ordinance explicitly forbade women from wearing stockings and mules; even then they “had to continue the tradition of wearing the clothes as prescribed by their caste.”³⁹ Muslims and Chetties got slightly preferential treatment. They were allowed to wear “papus, alparks or any other footwear,”

provided they had made an annual payment of 1 rixdollar.⁴⁰

From the sources it becomes clear that there existed a divide between the “inner circle” of the Company urban societies and the rest of the population. On one side of the divide we find the ones dressed after European conventions, on the other side the Muslims, Chetties, Sinhalese, Tamils, and other Asians, such as the great group of privately owned slaves. The ones in “European” attire, so to speak – even with its adaptations to the local and tropical situation – presented themselves as persons belonging to the group with a European and Christian background, as indicated by the terms of article four of the above mentioned instruction for the burgher militia.

In the Dutch Period, no special Dutch word was in use to indicate this group. The notion “European” was linked with the group of Company servants born in Europe, and with the dress worn by members of the political and cultural mainstream. The word *burger* (or *vrijburger*) actually was a legal term, referring to Europeans or Eurasians not being in the actual service of the Company. But surprisingly, ethnic descent was not any more a strict condition. Actually the group of burghers was quite a hotchpotch, as turns out from a resolution of the Political Council of Ceylon, 14 August 1781. In that year some Christian Sinhalese, apparently accustomed to wear European dress, had been entered as “burgher.”⁴¹ As we have seen before, European dress in association with the Christian faith were the twin conditions for admission to the burgher militias in Ceylon. The example of 1781 shows that the notion “burgher” had developed into something like our notion of “Westernized.” The old concept of “Dutch burgher” had lost its legal and ethnic connotation, it seems. Later in the nineteenth century self-conscious Dutch burghers wanted to turn back the clock and stressed the importance of

European parental descent. Convictions about descent ran parallel with ideas about the typical cultural features of the burgher society. The Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon (DBU), founded in 1908, has played an important role in keeping alive the group awareness.⁴² The “Dutchness” of these burghers however, can be seen as a kind of construct, as an invented tradition which arose as a response to the increasing Sinhalese self-awareness and nationalism.

The Company didn’t use one general word to cover the whole group of “Westernized” people inhabiting the urban centers. Till the end of the Company rule notions such as “European,” *castis*, *pustis*, and *mixtis* were in fashion, even when the meanings of these words were not specific any more. For most Sinhalese the situation was quite different. For them “Dutch” people were all alike. Therefore it is no surprise that the Sinhalese used the generic word *lansi*. It is the shortened form of *landesi*, a corruption of *Hollandesi*. For them, the outsiders, some features of the colonial rulers were quite clear. “This community,” the Ceylonese archivist and “Dutch burgher” R. G. Anthonisz wrote in 1929, “included the three denominations, European, Castis and Mixtis.”⁴³ In a footnote Anthonisz adds that the name *lansi* had been the distinguishing designation for the Dutch and their descendants in Ceylon throughout the British occupation. He also refers to the then current expressions of *lansi palliya* (Dutch church) and *lansi oppuwa* (Dutch document) as part of the Sinhalese vocabulary. However, in what period the generic term *lansi* turned up, is a question the author did not answer. Probably this denomination originated in the eighteenth century. Be this as it may, in the nineteenth century the words *lansi* and *burger* had become nearly synonymous, both referring to people in Ceylonese society who were associated, and who associated themselves, with a common tradition and culture. Elements of the burgher

culture, such as the typical Dutch “Breudher cake” (*Broeder*), could be appreciated as being rather trivial. In every burgher cookery book however, the recipe for this dish is a must. To find the origin of this peculiar food, one has to travel back in time. A journey through eighteenth-century documents will provide the historical context as well as proof of the material culture of the *lansi* inhabitants of the urban settlements.

Dutchness at the Table

At a sailing distance of some 20,000 kilometers, Holland still could be very close, at least for the well-to-do in the main centers of the Dutch East India Company. This we learn from data retrieved from the “registers of auction sales” (*vendu boeken*), kept in the National Archives at Colombo. A few days before he departed again to Zeeland, on 22 November 1768, skipper Jan Hendriksz of the *Nieuw Rhoon*, brought an impressive number of items from Holland to an auction in Galle. Among them one finds utensils such as scissors, axes, clasp knives, and dinner-knives; also combs, irons, and even four telescopes. What is most striking is the fact that barrels with ham, smoke-dried meat and pâté had been transported all the way from the Netherlands to Batavia and from there to Ceylon.⁴⁴ The importation of such luxury goods was not exceptional. Skippers, mates, and other officers could earn a nice extra income out from it, as we learn from auctions held earlier the same year, on 13, 14, and 15 January 1768. Then Michiel Hendrik Wunder, skipper of the *Noord-Beveland*, Rense van Vliet, surgeon on the same ship, and Albert Kikkert, skipper of the *Schoonzicht*, sold an impressive amount of luxury comestibles: “Wheels” of Leyden cheese, barrels containing preserved salmon, ham, Haarlem sausages, Brunswick sausages, smoked tongue, pâté, smoke-dried meat, and barrels of Frisian butter.⁴⁵ As a matter of fact,

these articles formed a fraction of the goods they had imported.

Skipper Wunder for instance, had auctioned 250 bottles of white wine, sold in lots of 25, 50 and 100 pieces at 10 *stuiver* (stiver) a bottle. The cost of the smallest lot of 25 bottles – 12½ guilders – certainly exceeded the spending power of most the inhabitants of Galle, as obviously was the case with most imported wines. The well-to-do could buy all kinds, as we learn from the auction of 10 November 1768. Then the mate of the aforesaid ship *Nieuw Rhoon* had brought to auction great quantities of nonspecified red wine, Rhine wine, Frontignac wine, and secco from Malaga. According to the auction registers Dutch beers and Dutch gin (*jenever*) also were imported. On 29 December 1768, Hendrik Jacob Beeld, chief surgeon on the *Damzicht*, auctioned five hundred bottles of beer in lots of 25 at 11-15 stivers each. At the same time 28 bottles gin had been auctioned for prices between 1 rixdollar and 1 rixdollar and 9 stivers.⁴⁶

Ship’s officers were not the only ones who had the right to do some private business. Governors, commanders, and other high officials also could fill chests and bring in permitted goods to trade. To name one, Cornelis de Lij – commander of Galle – auctioned in July 1767 as many as 189 bottles of secco wine for an average price of 10-11 stivers.⁴⁷ On 12 December of the same year he brought to the market 664 bottles of secco wine, 455 bottles of nonspecified red wine and 108 bottles of Frontignac, totaling 572 rixdollars. Even after the service charge of about 29 rixdollars imposed by the auctioneer had been deducted, he may have made a profit of nearly 100 percent – not at all bad when compared with the official monthly income of 120 guilders (or 50 rixdollars).⁴⁸ Though goods and quantities may have differed, such private trade was not incidental at all. In auction records of 1768 we meet Commander Arnoldus de Lij again selling wines, brandy etc.

The fashionable drinks in the eighteenth century were coffee, tea, and cocoa. Since coffee was grown in Ceylon itself, no mention of this product can be found in the auction registers. We do find however some sales of coffeepots. A copper one was sold in 1767 to adjutant Tupke.⁴⁹ Two pewter ones had been sold in 1769 for 5 rixdollars each.⁵⁰ A silver specimen changed hands in 1793 for 205 rixdollars and 26 stivers – this included the lamp.⁵¹ The sale of cocoa is recorded a few times. It is no surprise that we again meet a ship's officer who brought to auction private goods: He is Jan de Winter, sommelier of the *Willem de Vijfde* (named after stadtholder William V). At the auction of January 1778, he sold ninety packets of *chocolaat*, for 36-43 stivers per pair. From an auction later that year, we learn that cocoa was sold for 12-15 stivers per pound.⁵² Earlier documents show that cocoa was poured out of special jugs (*schocolaat kannetjes*). Of the three fashionable drinks, tea was undoubtedly the most preferred. Supplies came from several routes and from a broad variety of traders. The mate of the *Nieuw Rhoon*, De Lange, who sold several kinds of wine at the auction of 10 November 1768, had brought in at the time some boxes of tea. It is quite probable that De Lange had purchased this in Batavia; where he had arrived on 15 June 1768. From Batavia the *Nieuw Rhoon* returned to Patria via Ceylon. The same route had been followed by Gerrit Springer, skipper of the *Morgenster*, who sold some tea in 1778.⁵³ Tea was also imported from Indian traders, as appears from an auction held in Colombo in March 1778. The military captain D. Heupner sold tea and other items on behalf of the Cochin-based merchant Salomon Kessar.⁵⁴ Tea was also regularly imported by high officials, such as Cornelis de Cock, member of the Political Council of Galle. At the auction of 1 March 1768 he sold 149 pounds of tea, for 14 stivers per pound.⁵⁵ We find a variety of bidders, Europeans and burghers as well as Sinhalese

and Muslims. Muslim petty traders would have sold tea from their stalls in smaller portions. There is no way of positively identifying their customers. However, one may presume that fellow Muslims, burghers and other Eurasians would have been their clientele. Apparently some Sinhalese and Muslims connected with the Company could afford to buy tea. In 1778 for instance, the First Interpreter Adriaan de Zilve, bought 1 pound of tea for 1 rixdollar. At the same auction Seresine, Modliar at the Porta of the Commander, and the Sinhalese interpreter of the Rural Law Court, also bought a few pounds. The First Chief of the Muslims bought two pounds of tea, plus a "Japanese tea kettle" for 17 stivers.⁵⁶ In the files accessories related to making and drinking of tea, such as tea kettles, teapots, and containers are also recorded. Naturally well-to-do households have more luxurious and rare items. In 1793 for example, two expensive "silver tea trays" (*zilvere thee bandees*) were mentioned, costing about 120 rixdollars. Such silver items, of course, reflect the wealth of the upper classes, in this case in Colombo.⁵⁷

Consumption of those fashionable drinks was a global phenomenon, not necessarily showing a touch of Dutchness. However, we can trace other articles and products which do indeed demonstrate a typical Dutch connection. Imported grits (*gort*) for instance, was used for making porridge. Almonds, raisins, and currants were used in cakes, of which the *Broeder* still is a famous traditional burgher dish. Originating from West Friesland – part of the province of Holland – the *Broeder* had a rather basic recipe which required ingredients such as wheat flour, yeast, milk, eggs, butter, and raisins. The Cape Province could provide wheat flour, currants, and raisins but it seems that the latter two generally came all the way from Europe. In 1925 the *Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon* published a recipe, "How to Make *Broeder*." The

last lines read: “You will now be able to lift the entire batter, and place it in a buttered Broeder pan. Bake in a hot oven.”⁵⁸ Apparently the Ceylonese recipe had been slightly changed over time: Originally the Broeder pan was heated on the stove or on the fire. The main point is the mention of the typical Dutch “Broeder pan.” Many European and burgher families had such utensils in the kitchen, and therefore we find these pans in several auction records. In 1791 a broeder pan is mentioned in the records of the Colombian “Burgher Pieter de Almeda.”⁵⁹ The auction of 29 and 30 July 1793, mentioned before, lists all the goods sold by the European Hendrik Willem August Keuneman. He was born in the German city of Oldenburg and arrived in 1755. The long list of Dutch books and the entries for a copper *poffertjespan*, a *pannekoekspan* and a *broederpan* show that Keuneman had fully adjusted to the Dutch style environment (fig. 7.5). As was the case with most heavy copper objects, “*broederpans*” too were sold according to their weight. In 1768 a pan, weighing “two pounds at 32 stivers each pound,” was sold for 1 rixdollar and 16 stivers.⁶⁰



Fig. 7.5: A Poffertjes Griddle and a Cookie Pan, Eighteenth Century.

Waffle irons, *broeder pans* and the utensils shown here formed part of the standard kitchen stock of Burgher households.

The list of Dutch food contains more than the above-mentioned *poffertjes* (a kind of very small pancake, served with powdered sugar), *pannekoeken*, and *broeder cake*. Several kinds

of waffles (*wafels*) and cookies (*koekjes*) were baked by burgher ladies at home as well by small commercial bakeries. A variety of typical utensils, used to produce these Dutch delicacies, can be found in the auction records. The names of buyers, mentioned in these lists, give an interesting indication of which social groups were interested in such burgher items. The *topass* Johannes Nicolaasz, blacksmith, bought on 17 September 1768 a cookie iron (*kokis ijzer*). At the auction held on 7 and 8 December another *topass*, Samuel Sanders, and the *mixties* Johannes Engelbrechts surgeon, also acquired such irons. At the same sale the Mixties Claas Fontijn, carpenter at the wharf, and Caspar Sieling, keeper of the City Inn and captain of the burgher militia, both bought a waffle iron (*wafel ijzer*) – most likely the entries refer to waver tongs, which are still used to make treacle waffles (*stroopwafels*). Willem Aldons (presumably a *casties*) then bought a *poffertjes pan*. From the documents no proof is found of Muslim or Sinhalese persons buying such objects. Nevertheless, the Dutch names for some these delicacies have found their way into the Sinhalese vocabulary. The most well-known is *kokis* – cookies, from the Dutch words *koek* or *koekje*, a word also meaning “little cakes,” especially oil cakes.

Dutchness Inside and Outside the House

In an album once owned in about 1690 by Paul Hermann, a medical doctor of the Dutch Hospital in Colombo, one particular drawing gives a very interesting glimpse of “Dutch burgher” life at the end of the seventeenth century. We see a coconut plantation (*tuin*) with an arak distillery. Amid Sinhalese laborers a few gentlemen are depicted, of whom one is smoking a pipe. Such drawings showing aspects of everyday’s life are very rare.⁶¹ Without doubt the eighteenth-century situation was quite similar. Many burghers residing in Colombo and Galle, produced arak

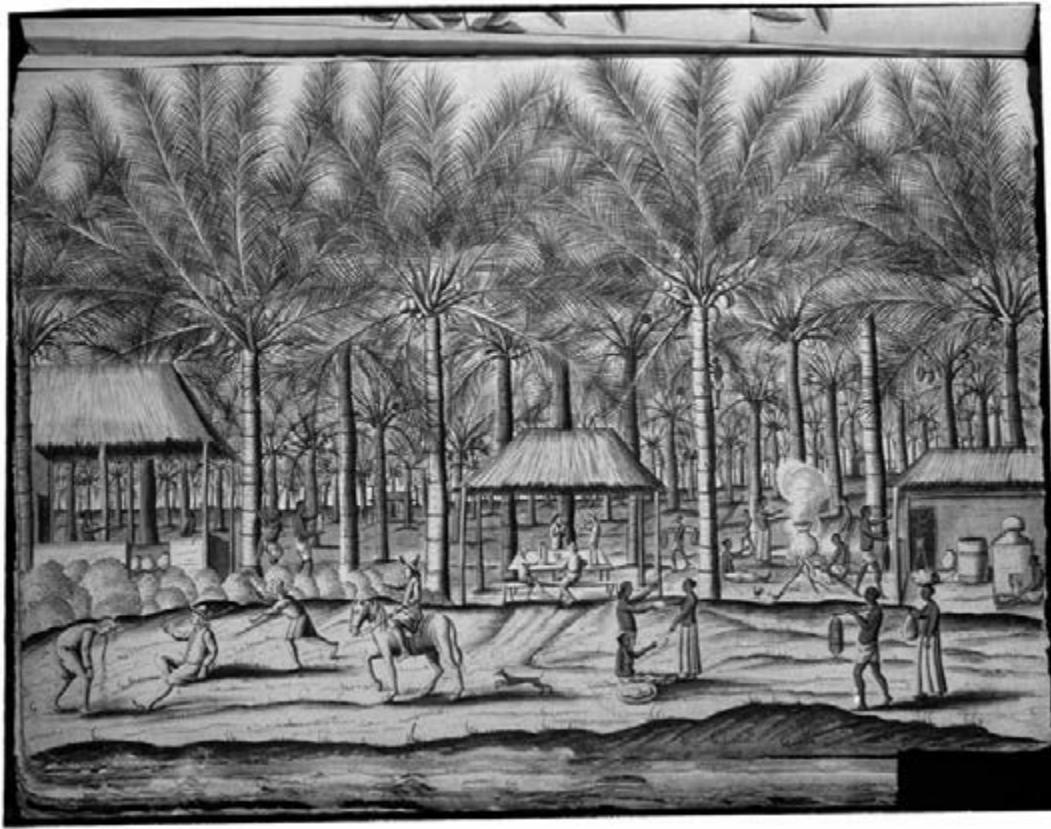


Fig. 7.6: Coconut Garden in the Colombo District, c. 1690. Drawing in an Album by Paul Hermann (1646-1695). The drawing gives a good picture of a Burgher arrack distillery in the middle of a coconut plantation, then called 'garden' or, in Dutch, *tuin*. At the lower right is a copper still. The persons wearing hats are Burghers; all Sinhalese people are depicted bareheaded.

in their coconut gardens outside the cities (fig. 7.6). The liquor was sold in small inns (*schaggerijen*) or in the official city inns. The use of distilling boilers occurs in several documents. In an inventory of real estate administered by the Orphan Board (*weeskamer*) of Colombo during the financial year of 1750, one finds an entry stating among other estates: "Three pieces of land in the Hewagam *korle* in the village of Williwittij and three distilling boilers, six large and eight small martabans, three male slaves and some gold and silver ware, totaling 600 rixdollars."⁶² Such boilers were expensive, as we learn from auctions in 1767. On 13 July a

distilling boiler "with headpiece" (*helm*) was sold for 69 rixdollars and 13 stivers – the total weight of the copper item was 175 pounds, à 19 stivers.⁶³ Earlier a specimen without headpiece was sold for 50 rixdollars to Cornelis Martheze, a *casties* "burgher" – of course, this appliance had to be completed before it could be used.⁶⁴

Turning back to the smoking gentleman, as depicted in the Paul Hermann drawing: Smoking tobacco in Dutch "Gouda" clay pipes certainly can be seen as a token of "Dutchness." Soldiers and sailors on their way to Asia took dozens of them, if not a full gross of clay pipes. Since those pipes were very breakable, imports

to the Company settlements were much needed – and indeed this happened regularly, as appears from the auction records. On 17 April 1767, great quantities of pipes had been brought to auction in Galle: Seven gross of *half tabacks pijpen* and 22 dozens of *maetpijpen* – those were the pipes with the long (19–21 inches) stem. The price for a gross of half pipes was about 6 rixdollars, about 1½ rixdollars per piece. The long ones were slightly more expensive. Pipes were kept or transported in special bags (*pijpenzak*), it seems. One such article had been sold for 30 stivers; the price suggests it must have been a nicely decorated item. The next year the Galle innkeeper, Caspar Sieling, sold 127 dozen pipes, for 12 stivers per dozen – that is a stiver each.⁶⁵ As seen earlier, ship's officers played a major role in the import of such Dutch articles. In January 1768 for instance, Rense van Vliet, surgeon of the *Noord-Beveland*, sold several gross of *maet pijpen*. His colleague from the *Damzicht* sold ten gross of *halve cabale pijpen* at the auction of 29 December in the same year.⁶⁶

Tobacco was imported from Holland, although Ceylonese tobacco also was available. Most of it was grown in the Jaffna region. However, farmers were encouraged to grow tobacco in other districts because the Company reaped the benefit of the taxes.⁶⁷ Most of this local tobacco was used as chewing tobacco (*kauw tabak*). It was sold in bundles (*fardeel*) of circa 80 pounds weight. At the Colombo auction of 1 May 1780, for instance, the Company's Broker Slema Lebbe Markair Koos Magamadoe sold 43 bundles, while 5 bundles were held over for 12 rixdollars and 25 stivers each.⁶⁸ Most bidders were Europeans and burghers. On 21 October 1780 chewing tobacco from Jaffna was sold by a Chetty merchant; this time most of the bidders were Sinhalese and Muslims. Tobacco, which from a European perspective was of a better quality, was imported from Holland – originally it would have come out of the British

colonies in America or the Dutch colonies in Surinam or Guyana. As an example we find that on 10 November 1768, the skipper of the ship *Nieuw Rhoon* brought to the auction in Galle a lot of European stuff, which included large quantities of tobacco.⁶⁹ Many soldiers and sailors brought tobacco boxes (*tabaksdozen*) with them. Naturally, in the course of time those items got damaged beyond repair and so replacements had to be imported. In 1778 for instance we find a long list of items, worth 920 rixdollars, containing scissors, knives, corkscrews, pairs of hair tongs, tobacco boxes, et cetera, imported by Sweris Vrolijk, schipper of the *Amsterdam*. Probably the boxes concerned were copper tobacco boxes, most of which were made in German workshops. Many of those have been kept in private collections as well as in the collection of the National Museum in Colombo. These boxes, decorated with views of a variety of German and Dutch cities, or with biblical scenes et cetera, were rather common. Simpler and cheaper items also appear in the auction files. On 13 July 1767, for instance, a lead tobacco box was acquired by the organ player (*orgalist*) of Galle – price: 16 stivers.⁷⁰

Though smoking was a very common phenomenon in Dutch Ceylon, surprisingly enough this has not been reflected in the Sinhalese language – probably because the tradition of betel chewing was more common. In contrast, card playing apparently must have been spread widely among indigenous inhabitants of the Dutch territories in Ceylon: Terms such as *hārata*, *skoppa*, *ruyita*, and *kalābara* are still in use and derived from the Dutch words for cards, hearts (*harten*), spades (*schoppen*), diamonds (*ruiten*), and clubs (*klaveren*). Other terms in this respect are *āsī-yā* (ace – *aas*), *būuru-vā* (knave – *boer*), *hērā* (king – *heer*), *porova* (queen – *vrouw*), and *turumpu-va* (trump – *troef*).⁷¹ Thousands packs of cards were imported and apparently sold to Sinhalese

and Muslim buyers. On 7 and 8 December 1768, Mattheus van der Spar, First Warehouse Master (*Eerste Pakhuismeester*), auctioned 1,452 sets of cards. Bidders were the interpreter of the Bay of Galle (*strandtolk*); the former chief of the Matara Muslims; the interpreter of the Galle secretary, Simon de Silve; another Sinhalese employee of the Company, Louis de Silva; and Agamadoe Lebbe Magm[adoe?] Sarief, who was assistant or *kannekappel* at the Indigenous Estate Board.⁷² It is quite probable that most of these buyers did purchase the playing cards in order to retail the items again to individual customers such as soldiers of the garrison or to persons living in or outside Galle. Other auction records also show Muslims who might have purchased such items as merchandise.⁷³

Playing a game of cards could have occurred anywhere however, we have a few entries in the auction records which prove that such games were actually common in more well-to-do households. There so-called gaming tables (*speeltafels*) were in use. In March 1768 three of these items were jointly sold for 8 rixdollars. Of course, depending on material and decoration, such items could be costlier: In 1793 a *speeltafel* was sold for 4½ rixdollars – a sum exceeding the monthly wages of an average soldier.⁷⁴ As in Holland it was customary in Dutch Ceylon to play trictrac. Cheap *tiktak* boards were sold for a rixdollar; a good quality piece changed hands in 1768 for 3 rixdollars and 12 stivers – only a member of the Political Council of Galle could afford to buy such an item.⁷⁵ In these kinds of households we come across other precious items, such as optical devices. Skipper Rense van Vliet had imported two sets, each with sixty “optic prints.” Caspar Sieling, keeper of the City Inn of Galle and Captain of the burgher militia, bought one set of *optiekspiegel* with prints – apparently the price of 9 rixdollars was no problem.⁷⁶

To Impress with Dress

Earlier “European dress” was mentioned as being of crucial importance for one’s status. Whatever the quality of the attire might have been, shoes, stockings, hats, et cetera made the difference. For indigenous people who looked upon the “Company people” as the foreign *lansi*, this was obvious. However, for the people within this “Dutch” social circle, it was not the “European” dress that counted so much. Individuals needed to conform to their respective dress codes; therefore, their position must be reflected in their attire. Of course, background and wealth conditioned the material result. The higher echelons of the Company’s servants could afford to spend the most, but employees in a lower position and the more successful burghers followed closely. Costly fabrics, pricey silver and gold accessories, and precious jewelry were effective tools to distinguish one’s self. Depending on one’s financial resources, personal desires could easily be attained because all kinds of special products were imported. This we see again and again in the auction records. Imported accessories for men were: Silver shoe buckles; buttons made from silver and gold thread; silver buttons; silver knee clamps; watches; silver thread and strings to decorate hats etc; silver and gold *passemblerie* for the decoration of jackets and trousers.⁷⁷ It is especially difficult to trace articles imported for ladies. At the auction of 1 March 1768, the “Dessave of Matara”, Cornelis de Cock, sold nine pairs of black silk stockings for 1 rixdollar and 18 stivers per pair. Probably those were ladies’ wear, but we don’t know for sure. One case, however, is clear: In the long list of goods sold by skipper Rense van Vliet, we recognize a large quantity of black mourning fans – those were used only by ladies.⁷⁸ Women of course, had traditional ways to decorate themselves: They wore a great variety of necklaces, collars, ear rings, finger

rings, and other kinds of bijoux. Since most jewelry was made locally or regionally, we do not find these kinds of objects in the auctions of goods imported by skippers, mates and other ship's officers. Ample proof of the importance of these precious articles we find in last wills and in the estates of orphaned children, administered by the Orphan Boards.⁷⁹

Many accessories of good quality were long-lasting and could be circulated again via auctions. Sometimes however, it is difficult to indicate the origin of goods. Much silver and golden accessories and jewelry bought by Muslims would have been sold in a later stage to "Dutch" customers. It cannot be denied, however, that part of the jewelry which once belonged to "*lansi*," got into the hands of indigenous families.

Furniture

In the collection of the National Museum, Colombo, a great variety of "Dutch Period Furniture" has been kept – most of it is on show in the Dutch Period Museum, Prince Street, Colombo. This category of colonial furniture has been extensively studied by Jan Veenendaal.⁸⁰ Auction records, last wills, etc. provide a good insight into the social context of the owners of the different kinds of furniture, as well as a good understanding of the variety of the objects. We find a multitude of square, round, and oval tables; tea tables; chairs and armchairs; footstools; couches (*rustbank*); pedestals for candles (*kandelaarsknaap*); cabinets; simple and double writing desks (*schrijfdoo*s); and of course, we also find mention of bunks (*kooi*). It is striking that furniture in the tropics was made of massive wood, such as nendun, mahogany and teak – there was no reason to economize by using veneers, as was the case in Europe. Teak also was used to make doors, window frames, and columns. The great advantage

of this wood was, and still is, that it is resistant to termite attacks (fig. 7.7).



Fig. 7.7: Balcony of the Dutch Period Museum with Eighteenth-Century Dutch Period Furniture. At the end of the seventeenth century this private residence was acquired by the VOC to lodge the Colombo seminary. It may also have doubled as the orphanage, the first mention of which dates from 1676. The atmosphere of this display suggests the situation before the VOC bought the place. The roof at the right is tiled in the typical Portuguese 'Monk and Nun' style.

In many auctions mention is made of "church chairs" (*kerkstoelen*). Apparently European and burgher churchgoers brought their own chair, or actually had their chairs carried by domestic slaves. Slaves also carried the Bible boxes with Bible, spittoon, and other objects needed during the lengthy services. Non-Dutch bidders for items of Dutch Period furniture were rare. We see a few exceptions, such as the purchase in 1768 of "a church chair and cushion" by the chief of the Matara Muslims. He paid 27 stivers for this chair which was actually just an ordinary one – such a chair would not have been conspicuous in a Muslim household. A much more expensive church chair was sold in 1769 by Barend Frederik Runstorff, chief surgeon of the hospital in Galle for 4 rixdollars and 36 stivers. A comparable item fetched 3 rixdollars and 6 stivers in 1778. This particular one came from the household of Daniel Eregod Wecke, military captain in Colombo. A very special one

was sold in 1793 for 10 rixdollars.⁸¹ Apparently the well-to-do officials and citizens expressed their status even during church service by using extraordinary chairs.

Miscellaneous Objects

Many thousands of iron and copper objects, wooden bins and trays, pedestals, fabrics from Holland and India, porcelain from China, etc. changed hands at auction sales. However, the majority of lots at those sales contained kitchen utensils and everyday household items. The sound of the cymbal signified that an auction was going to happen shortly. Objects were then piled up on tables – that is, if they were not too big. People could then view what was for sale. It must have been interesting, though sad in case of auctions connected with relatives who had passed away. Sometimes such sales had to do with transfers of Company officers from Galle to Colombo, or from Colombo to Batavia. From time to time auctions were organized in connection with the arrival of East-Indiamen from Batavia or Europe – of course many people then would have been curious to see what products had been imported.

Most houses would have had a sober character and simple decoration. Not many people could afford to buy rare and expensive items such as the Dutch clock (*staand horologe*) sold in 1778 for 53 rixdollars. Some people brought cosiness into the house by keeping a bird. The auction records list bird cages and stocks of birdseed. A few times prints, paintings, and “painted glasses” are mentioned. The prices were rather modest. In January 1768 ship’s surgeon Rense van Vliet sold eleven sets of six prints, for circa 33 stivers each. Nine sets were bought by Europeans and burghers and two sets by Siddie Lebbe Odeaar, possibly a Muslim trader. At the auction of 1 March, eleven paintings on glass (*glaase schilderijen*) brought in 1 rixdollar, almost 4 stivers each. In September

of the same year three paintings (*schilderijtjes*) were sold for 40 stivers, or about 13 stivers each. In October 1768 three paintings together realized 2 rixdollars. It is difficult to form an opinion of these paintings: When prices are that low, the quality must have been rather mediocre, one might think. However, it is not quite clear whether the entries do indeed refer to paintings. In many cases the term painting referred to prints (*prenten*). Be this as it may, one may wonder why this category is nearly nonexistent in the auction records as well as in inventories – this in contrast with the situation in the Cape Province and in Batavia.⁸²

Epilogue

After the conquest of the Portuguese-held territories in Sri Lanka/Ceylon (1640-1658), the Dutch East India Company administrated the coastal areas in the south-western parts of the island, as well as the northern region of the former kingdom of Jaffna. After the war with the interior Kingdom of Kandy (1761-1765), the Company controlled the all the seashores and effectively isolated Kandy, economically and politically. The Company presence was concentrated in a few fortified port cities, such as Colombo, Galle, and Matara in the south, and Mannar and Jaffna in the north. Of these, Colombo and Galle were the main centers of the economy and administration. The Portuguese had founded these city-like centers and can be credited with producing the new phenomenon of mixed-population urban centers. In the middle of the seventeenth century the Portuguese were thrown out, and during Dutch occupation the urban societies slowly developed into a new mix of people and culture. In these societies the European-Reformed Christian culture was dominant. Politically and economically, the Company, through its European servants, was

the decisive factor – “burghers” (a term mostly used for the upper social layers of the Eurasian group living in and around the urban centers) and other Eurasians, had limited influence. From the Company’s perspective, the Eurasians were just a nuisance, tolerated solely since they filled the posts of secretaries and other offices. The Company simply could not do without them.

Sinhalese people, the inhabitants of the countryside, were seen as indispensable components of the lands exploited by the Company – the Company being legally the “Lord of the land”. The success of the Company’s administration was fully dependent on the cooperation with the Sinhalese “chiefs” (*Inlandse Hoofden*) – they formed the intermediaries with the Sinhalese population, and therefore they were vitally important to the Company. Formally the chiefs had to conform to the requirement of being baptized and to join, so to speak, the Dutch cultural circle. For most of them, especially for the lower strata of chiefs, observing this requirement was just a show. Many Sinhalese in such circumstances were only nominally Christians.

So, one may wonder, what actually could have been the “Dutch” impact on Sri Lankan society? The urban settlements were rather isolated pockets within a vast territory of Sinhalese (and in the north, of Tamil) society. Hence the *transmission*⁸³ of material culture was limited to limited space. *Reception* of Dutch material culture was confined as well. The same can be seen for such important concepts about public space: they simply had not spread outside the urban settlements. During the British Period “urbanity” slowly spread outside the city borders. We find a similar situation in the nineteenth-century Dutch East Indies. There the countryside also got slowly involved with the “modernity” of city life – a process which

is still in progress. Since the British took over the Dutch possessions in Ceylon, one might say that the Dutch in Sri Lanka had not had enough time to leave behind serious imprints. Even more significant is the fact that the Company and its people had absorbed much of the Portuguese legacy. The result was a blended culture, in which several European features gradually combined to form a new whole, which was later dubbed the “Dutch Period.”

Nowadays in Sri Lanka the term “Dutch Period” is commonly associated with coins, furniture, utensils, and architecture. No more than a few specialists realize that Roman Dutch law has left some traces in the Sri Lankan legal system.⁸⁴ When walking over the historic ramparts of Galle, it is difficult to avoid hawkers who try to sell “Very Old Coins” (“VOC, Sir!”). Furniture and utensils are for sale in antique shops situated in a street called “Leynbaan Street” (*lijnbaan* = rope walk). Most items however originated in the nineteenth or twentieth century; they are reflections of burgher life during its heyday. Most of it is not very Dutch indeed, with the exception of *poffertjespannen* en *broederpannen* although many of them will certainly have been manufactured in the nineteenth century.

Many structures built in Galle during the Dutch Period have survived, with adaptations of course: ramparts, churches, warehouses, and private houses. There are a few fine specimens of the Dutch colonial heritage in Colombo. They include the Dutch Period Museum in Prince Street, Pettah, housed in a former Company Orphanage; and the Reformed Church in Wolvendaal, a mile or so outside the Old Town (now called Pettah). Elsewhere most monuments from the Dutch Period are forts along the coast. All these structures have one thing in common: They are not Dutch at all, they are colonial: Typical European adaptations to tropical situations.

Therefore, the term “Dutch Period” architecture is still useful, although at times it might cause confusion. During this Dutch Period a lot of construction work was accomplished with local labor. Therefore it is not surprising that words like *bālka-ya* (*balk* = beam), *kalampa-ya* (*klamp* = clamp), *rāmu-va* (*raam* = frame), *soldara-ya* (*zolder* = attic or loft), and *bās* (*baas* = boss) have enriched the Sinhalese vocabulary. These terms

have interesting companions such as *artāpal* (*aardappel* = potato), *sukiri* (*suiker* = sugar), and *tapalakku* (*tafelaken* = tablecloth), to name a few examples. Burghers used to chat with neighbors or friends at the *istōppuva-va* (the elevated steps of their veranda). When speaking about the impact or *afterlife* of Dutch culture on Sri Lanka, one has to be very modest. Most of the Dutch heritage is just words.

Notes

1. This research was conducted with the support of a NIAS Fellowship during the second semester of the 2009-2010 academic year. I do sincerely thank my fellow researchers at the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities and Social Sciences in Wassenaar, the Netherlands, as well as management and staff of this wonderful global academic village, for their deep interest and kind support.
2. After the defeat of the Nawab of Bengal in the Battle of Plassey (1757), the VOC had tried to stop British expansion in this region – to no avail. The Company lost more than a battle: from then on it played a secondary role in Bengal.
3. Nationaal Archief (Den Haag), Hoge Regering in Batavia, 571, ‘Secrete beschrijving van het gouvernement Ceylon door den raad ordinaris Jan Schreuder,’ 1756, first section. Before Schreuder got the position of Governor of Ceylon, he was one of the Councillors of the East Indies in Batavia (Jakarta). His special duty was to report on Ceylon. In his *Memoir*, Schreuder repeats his negative opinion on the Muslims “who will not give up smuggling although it is done at the risk of life and goods,” in J. Schreuder, ‘Memoir of –, Governor of Ceylon Delivered to His Successor Lubbert Jan Baron van Eck on March 17, 1762,’ in E. Reimers, ed., *Selections from the Dutch Records of the Ceylon Government*, no. 5 (Colombo 1946), 24.
4. L. Wagenaar, *Galle, VOC-vestiging in Ceylon. Beschrijving van een koloniale samenleving aan de vooravond van de Singalese opstand tegen het Nederlandse gezag, 1760* (Amsterdam 1994), 60.
5. This is a rough estimate.
6. R. Raben, *Batavia and Colombo: The Ethnic and Spatial Order of Two Colonial Cities, 1600-1800* (Ph.D. diss., Universiteit Leiden 1996), 248-251.
7. J. W. Heydt, *Allerneuester geographisch – und topographischer Schauplatz von Afrika und Ost-Indien* (Willemsdorf 1744), 206: “Sie ist mit vielen aber sehr schlechten Häusern bebauet; in welchen die wenigsten Europäer zusehen; sondern es wohnen alldorten Costizen, Mestizen, Mohren, Mallabaren, Singualesen und Citis mehrentheils untereinander.” Translation in Johann Wolfgang Heydt, *Heydt’s Ceylon: Being the Relevant Sections of the Allerneuester Geographisch- und Topographischer Schauplatz von Africa und Ost-Indien, etc. etc. by Johann Wolfgang Heydt. Wilhermsdorff [Willemsdorf] 1744*, trans. with notes by R. Raven-Hart (Colombo 1952), 46.
8. SLNA 1/2740, Day Register of the circuit tour by Governor Jan Schreuder, 23-24, 14 June 1760: “[1841 inwoners,] soo van de vrouwelijke als mannelijke sexe, oud en jong, vrij en lijfgeenen.”
9. SLNA 1/5883, Galle Compendium 1759/60, 48-49. The two lists are slightly different because of transfers and mortality.
10. The original travel log has been published as *Herrn J. C. Wolfs Reise nach Zeilan. Nebst einem Berichte von der holländischen Regierung zu Jaffanapatnam*, 2 vols. (Berlin and Stettin

- 1782 and 1784). The Dutch translation is titled *J.C. Wolfs Reyze naar Ceylon, Benevens een bericht van de Hollandsche Regeering te Jaffanapatnam* (Uit het hoogduitsch. The Hague 1783). The description of the "Dutch" and Eurasian population is given on page 178. The English edition is titled *The Life and Adventures of John Christopher Wolf: Late Principal Secretary of State at Jaffanapatnam in Ceylon; Together with a Description of That Island, Its Natural Products, and the Manners and Customs of Its Inhabitants*, by J. Chr. Wolf, trans. A. Eschelskroon (London 1785). Page 267 has the description of Europeans, quoted by T[ambyah] Nadaraja, *The Legal System of Ceylon in Its Historical Setting* (Leiden 1972), n. 153.
11. Quoted in R. G. Anthonisz, 'A Hundred Years Ago: A Lecture Delivered at the D.B.U. Hall on the 29th August, 1924,' *Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon* 14.4 (1925): 102.
 12. S. A. W. Mottau, 'Glossary of Terms Used in Official Correspondence of the Government of Sri Lanka, Compiled from Records at the National Archives,' *The Sri Lanka Archives*, vol. 3, 1985-1986 (Colombo 1986), 166.
 13. H. Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases, etc.*, new edition, ed. W. Crooke, reprint (New Delhi and Madras 1995), 172.
 14. M. Roberts, I. Raheem, and P. Colin-Thomé, *People Inbetween: The Burghers and the Middle Class in the Transformations within Sri Lanka, 1790s-1960s* (Ratmalana and Sri Lanka 1989), vol. 1, 39.
 15. SLNA 1/6118, name-list of Company servants in Galle, with specifications of ethnicity, 18 December 1755.
 16. Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, 933-934.
 17. Mottau, 'Glossary of Terms,' 199-200. The quote about the Tuppahe Mudiyanse is from the *Memoir of Rykloff van Goens to Laurens Pijl* (1679), ed. and trans. S. Pieters (Colombo 1911), n. 30.
 18. Tekenalbum door Esaias Boursse (1631-1672), Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. nr. NG-1995-6.
 19. SLNA 1/5645, Permanent orders from Colombo filed in the Galle Secretary, letter of 21 August 1759: "Pennisten op de schrijfkantoren moeten bestaan in twee derde Europeschen en een derde Castiese en Poestiese dog geen Mixtiesen."
 20. SLNA 1/5883, Galle Compendium 1759/60, 48-49.
 21. SLNA 1/6118, Name lists, 18 December 1755.
 22. SLNA 1/5731, Last will of Steven Baade, 23 February 1760. For a full discussion about privately owned slaves and their owners in Galle, see Wagenaar, *Galle, VOC-vestiging in Ceylon*, 51-56.
 23. SLNA 1/5645, Permanent orders from Colombo filed in the Galle Secretary, letter from Colombo, 19 March 1759. A second section was reserved for "free non-Christians, be they Tamil, Sinhalese or otherwise." The third section was used to bury non-Christian slaves.
 24. Heydt, *Allerneuester geographisch- und topographischer Schauplatz von Afrika und Ost-Indien*, 200: "Dieser Ort ist noch mit seher vielen Kaufleuten besetzt, und wohnen viele Mohren und Cittis in Galen, die bey schönen Wetter täglich ihre Butten öffnen, und allerhand Waaren verkaufen. Sie haben eine gantze Strasse innen, worinnen sie ihren Handel treiben, und ist bey ihnen vors Geld allerley zu bekommen." Translation in Heydt, *Heydt's Ceylon*, 43.
 25. SLNA 1/2740, Dagregister inspectiereis gouverneur Jan Schreuder, 1760, 64. The situation could not have been a surprise. To prevent the undesirable situation of slaves procreating free children, an ordinance in 1704 forbade free women from cohabiting with Company slaves and ruled that children born from such relations would have the status of slaves, even though the mothers were free persons. This ordinance was reissued in 1732. See: L. Hovy, *Ceylonees plakkaatboek. Plakkaten en andere wetten uitgevaardigd door het Nederlands bestuur op Ceylon, 1638-1796* (Hilversum 1991), nos. 206 and 259.
 26. U. Bosma and R. Raben, *Being "Dutch" in the Indies: A History of Creolisation and Empire, 1500-1920* (Athens and Ohio 2008), 41.
 27. SLNA 1/5884, Annual report of Galle 1760/61, f.38: "dat de kinderen onder de krankbezoeker Strigt verre boven de anderen in alle leeren uitmunten."

28. Wagenaar, *Galle, VOC-vestiging in Ceylon*, 99-100.
29. Hovy, no. 429: Regulations for Board and Staff of the Diaconie Weeshuis of Colombo, Colombo, 4 August 1758.
30. Hovy, no. 363, Advertisement dated 26 September 1746. The earlier decrees are numbered 348 and 360.
31. Hovy, no. 529, Resolution of Governor and Council, 28 May 1773; no. 568, Advertisement of August 1784.
32. Hovy, no. 394, Advertisement of 31 July 1752; no. 403, Advertisement of 12 December 1755.
33. Hovy, no. 585, Resolution of Commander and Council of Galle, 19 May 1785.
34. SLNA 1/6194, Plakaten, advertentiën, etc., 1743-1760: Advertisement by the Commander of Galle, 18 June, 1759.
35. SLNA 1/6194, Plakaten, advertentiën, etc., 1743-1760: Notification, Galle, 24 July 1759.
36. Hovy, no. 453, Instruction for the District Supervisors of the Castle and Town of Colombo, 2 May 1670. No. 609 has the amplified instruction, as enacted in 1786.
37. Hovy, no. 437, Instruction for the Burgher Militia of Colombo, 9 May 1759. The relevant part of the Dutch text of article 4 reads: "Alle burgers en vrije ingesetenen of eygentlijk alle degeene die niet in actueelen dienst van d'edele Compagnie dog christenen zijn, mitsgaders in Europeese kleederen gaan en boven den 16 jaaren oud en nog geen 60 berijkt hebben, zullen onder de burgerij (...) dienen (...)."
38. NA, Hoge Regering van Batavia, 19 & 20: Nieuwe Statuten van Batavia (1766), Volume 2, f.739, article 42: The relevant part of the Dutch text of article 4 reads: "En als de dienaars van de Justitie zien dat een leyfeigene zig verstout deese of geene Europeese of hoede drager al waar 't ook maar een soldaat of matroos, moetwillig tegen het lijf te loopen, 't zij op de plaevijdsel voor de huijsen of elders op de weegen [...] zullen zij de soodanige ten eersten moeten apprehendeerden om op order van den officier aan een boom of paal omtrent de plaats daar zulks geschied is, op de billen gegeeselt [...]." (In free translation: "And if servants of the Justice Department are witnessing a slave being so audacious as to push or nudge willfully a European or hat wearer, even if he were only a soldier or sailorman, apart from the fact if this happens on the sidewalk before the houses or elsewhere [...], the culprit will be tied up at the nearest tree or pole and have his bottom (or behind) whipped [...].")
39. Hovy, no. 430, Dressing instructions relating to marriages of Muslims, Chetties, Barbers and Washers, issued Colombo, 15 September 1758/Galle, 16 October 1758.
40. Hovy, no. 375, Placard notifying fines in favor of the cashier's office of the garrison, Colombo, 25 October 1748. 'Papoesen' and 'alparkes' were kinds of footwear in use by Muslims and Chetties.
41. J. van Goor, *Jan Kompenie as Schoolmaster: Dutch Education in Ceylon 1690-1795* (Groningen 1978), 17.
42. The full bilingual name of this association was: "Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon – Hollandsche Vereeniging van Ceylon." It proudly used the Dutch device "Eendracht maakt macht" (Union is strength), the Latin version "*Concordia res parvae crescunt*" was the motto of the Dutch United Provinces.
43. R. G. Anthonisz, *The Dutch in Ceylon: An Account of Their Early Visits to the Island, Their Conquests, and Their Rule over the Maritime Regions during a Century and a Half* (Colombo 1929), 177.
44. SLNA 1/6063, Register of Auction Sales 22 January 1767-2 May 1769, f. 175, Auction 10 November 1768. The *Nieuw Rhoon* departed on 22 November 1768 for the Netherlands.
45. SLNA 1/6063, Register of Auction Sales 22 January 1767-2 May 1769, f. 85-94v, Auctions 13, 14, and 15 January 1768. The ships *Noord-Beveland* and *Schoonzicht* left on 2 and 16 February 1768, respectively, both headed for the Netherlands.
46. SLNA 1/6063, Register of Auction Sales 22 January 1767-2 May 1769; f.200r, Auction of 29 December 1768. The *Damzicht* left 2 February 1769, for Patria.
47. 1 rixdollar equaled 48 stuivers; 1 guilder equaled 20 stuivers. The rixdollar and guilder – or Dutch florin – only existed as monetary units; no such coins were in existence before the early nineteenth century.

48. SLNA 1/6063, Register of Auction Sales 22 January 1767-2 May 1769: f.72r, Auction of 13 July 1767; f.75 Auction of 15 December 1767.
49. SLNA 1/6063, Register of Auction Sales 22 January 1767-2 May 1769: f.40v, Auctions of 28 February 5 and 16 March 1767.
50. SLNA 1/6063, Register of Auction Sales 22 January 1767-2 May 1769: ff.206-214, Auctions of 11 and 24 February 1769.
51. SLNA 1/3041, List of Auction Sales, held in Colombo 1778 and 1793: f.108r-109v, Auctions of 29 and 30 July 1793.
52. SLNA 1/6068, Register of Auction Sales 20 December 1777-12 June 1781: Auctions of 22 and 23 January 1778; f.72, Auction of 1 October 1778. The *Willem de Vijfde* left for Patria on 6 February 1778.
53. SLNA 1/6068, Register of Auction Sales 20 December 1777-12 June 1781: Auctions of 31 October and 21 November 1778.
54. SLNA 1/3040, Register of Auction Sales Colombo: f.27r, Auction of 28 March 1778.
55. SLNA 1/6063, Register of Auction Sales 22 January 1767-2 May 1769: f.128r-v, Auction of 1 March 1768.
56. SLNA 1/6068, Register of Auction Sales 20 December 1777-June 12th 1781: Auctions of 6, 7, and 9 December 1778.
57. SLNA 1/3041, List of Auction Sales, held in Colombo 1778 and 1793: f.108r-109v, Auctions of 29 & 30 July 1793.
58. 'Household Hints,' *Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon* 14.3 (1925), 97. In Manique Gunesekera, *The Postcolonial Identity of Sri Lanka English*. Colombo 2005, 184, entry no. 100 comments: "This is a Dutch borrowing ('broodje') for a cake type of bread with raisins, made during Christmas. It is round and high, like a pudding in shape, and has its own mould." Of course, the connection with "broodje" is totally wrong. However, "broeder" can be boiled indeed in a mould also used for "tulband" – a turban-shaped fruit-cake. This mistake is not copied in M. Meyler, *A Dictionary of Sri Lankan English* (Colombo 2007), 37.
59. SLNA 1/3043, List of Auction Sales, held in Colombo 1791-1795: f.2r-3v, Auction of 18 December 1791.
60. SLNA 1/6063, Register of Auction Sales 22 January 1767-2 May 1769: f.106r, Auction of 21 January 1768.
61. A coconut garden with distillery. Drawing in an album of Paul Hermann (1646-1695). Herbarium of Paul Hermann, vol. 5, Icones, f.307, Natural History Museum, London. Depicted in Wagenaar, *Galle, VOC-vestiging in Ceylon*, 50.
62. SLNA 1/ 4088, Resolutions of the Estate Board of Colombo: Resolutions of 27 September 1750.
63. SLNA 1/6063, Register of Auction Sales 22 January 1767-2 May 1769: f.67r, Auction of 13 July 1767.
64. SLNA 1/6063, Register of Auction Sales 22 January 1767-2 May 1769: f.40v, Auctions of 28 February 5 and 16 March 1767.
65. SLNA 1/6063, Register of Auction Sales 22 January 1767-2 May 1769: f.10-12, Auction of 17 April 1767; f.129r, Auction of 1 March 1768.
66. SLNA 1/6063, Register of Auction Sales 22 January 1767-2 May 1769: f.87r-94v, Auction of 15 January 1768; f.200r, Auction of 29 December 1768. A *cabaal* is a long Gouda pipe; the shorter ones apparently had been called *halve cabaal*.
67. SLNA 1/5712, Native appointments, June 1763-November 1764, f.3, 26 May 1763: appointment of the Muslim (Moor) Lebbe Kandeage Agahamadoe Lebbe as collector of the Company taxes, "in connection with the new plantations of tobacco, et cetera."
68. SLNA 1/6069, Auctions held in Colombo from 7 January 1780-6 February 1782. Auction of 1 May 1780.
69. SLNA 1/6063, Register of Auction Sales 22 January 1767-2 May 1769, f. 175, Auction 10 November 1768.
70. SLNA 1/6063, Register of Auction Sales 22 January 1767-2 May 1769: f.67r, Auction of 13 July 1767.
71. P. B. Sannasgala, *A Study of Sinhala Vocables of Dutch Origin: with Appendices of Portuguese and Malay/Javanese Borrowings* (Colombo 1976), 55.
72. SLNA 1/6063, Register of Auction Sales 22 January 1767-2 May 1769: f.186, Auction of 7 and 8 December 1768.
73. SLNA 1/6063, Register of Auction Sales 22 January 1767-2 May 1769: f.128, Auction of 1 March 1768: of the twelve sets, the interpreter Simon

- de Silve and Koos Mahamadoe Neina Mark both bought one set for 16 stivers each. Probably this was for personal use. SLNA 1/6063, Auction of 25 and 27 October 1768: nine lots of half a dozen sets were sold for 1 rixdollar each – most buyers were Muslims merchants. SLNA 1/6068, Register of Auction Sales held in Colombo 20 December 1777–12 June 1781: at the auction of 20 December 1777, Ibrahim Lebbe Meestrie Oedeaar Markair had bought 48 packets of cards.
74. SLNA 1/6063, Register of Auction Sales 22 January 1767–2 May 1769; f.114r, Auction of 1 March 1768. SLNA 1/3041, List of Auction Sales, held in Colombo 1778 and 1793; f.108r–109v, Auction held 29 and 30 July 1793.
 75. SLNA 1/6063, Register of Auction Sales 22 January 1767–2 May 1769, f.52–53v, Auction of 25 May 1767. We find “tiktak *bord*” (trictrac board) as well as “tiktak *doos*” (trictrac box). Maybe the term was used indiscriminately. To store the wooden disc (which cause the sound *tic-tac*), the box type was much more convenient.
 76. SLNA 1/6063, Register of Auction Sales 22 January 1767–2 May 1769, f. 85–94v, Auctions of 13, 14, and 15 January 1768.
 77. SLNA 1/6063, Register of Auction Sales 22 January 1767–2 May 1769; f.115v, Auction of 1 March 1768: Carel Keuneman, *casties*, bought at this auction a ‘hat with silver strings’ (1 hoed met silvere coortjes).
 78. 1/6063, Register of Auction Sales 22 January 1767–2 May 1769, f. 85–94v, Auctions of 13, 14, and 15 January 1768.
 79. Wagenaar, *Galle, VOC-vestiging in Ceylon*, 81–83.
 80. J. Veenendaal, *Furniture from Indonesia, Sri Lanka and India during the Dutch Period* (Delft 1985).
 81. SLNA 1/6063, Register of Auction Sales 22 January 1767–2 May 1769; f.106r, Auction of 21 January 1768. Ibid., f.219r, Auction of 2 March 1769. SLNA 1/3040, Register of Auction Sales held in Colombo, f. 82–85v, Auction of 6 & 7 October 1778. SLNA 1/3041, Auction sales held in Colombo in 1778 and 1793; f.108r–109v, Auction held 29 & 30 July 1793.
 82. M. North, ‘Art and Material Culture in the Cape Colony and Batavia in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries’ in this volume.
 83. For the meaning of the terms *transmission*, *reception* and *afterlife*, used in this Epilogue, see the contribution by A. Erll, ‘Circulating Art and Material Culture: A Model of Transcultural Mediation’ in this volume.
 84. M. H. J. van der Horst, *Compensation for Improvements: The Roman Dutch Law in Sri Lanka* (Amsterdam 1989). In her dissertation Marleen van der Horst studies the history, development, and present application in Sri Lanka of that part of the Roman Dutch law which deals with the rights of *bona* and *mala fide* possessors in respect of improvements effected on the property of another person and fruits gathered from such property.

8 European Artists in the Service of the Dutch East India Company

Marten Jan Bok

Introduction¹

In the spring of 1595, two weeks after the very first Dutch merchant fleet had set sail for Asia, the directors of the trading company that had sent it off, the *Compagnie van Verre*, held a meeting with a merchant named Dirck Gerritsz. Pomp. Pomp, also known as Dirck China, had traveled extensively in Asia while in the service of the Portuguese and was able to provide the new company with detailed information on the goods available in the Asian markets and their prices.² One of the questions put before him was whether it might be profitable for the company to export to China “paintings of landscapes and hunting scenes, as well as prints.” His answer was straightforward: “Says that this is useless because they [the Chinese] themselves paint.”³ It thus appears that from the early beginnings of their encounter with Asia, the Dutch intended to export their visual culture to that part of the world, yet were aware that they would have to compete with local producers. From what Pomp told them, they knew that there was demand for art in Asia, at least in China, but they did not know whether or not Dutch products would meet local taste. The fact that the works they contemplated shipping had secular subjects suggests that they knew that the Portuguese had been bringing religious art to China and that the Dutch were better off opening up new lines of trade. These considerations bring us straight to the heart of the matters discussed in this chapter: did the Dutch art trade succeed

in creating an export market in Asia for Dutch paintings and prints? Which Asian nations showed interest in Dutch artistic products and why? Did Dutch artists migrate to Asia and if so, what were their reasons? Were Dutch artists interested in the works of their Asian colleagues?

This chapter originally intended to focus on two main topics: Asian trade in art objects from the Netherlands and the migration of Dutch artists to Asia. In the course of research, however, so much fruitful and rewarding new material concerning the latter topic was brought to light that it was decided to shift the balance toward artists and away from trade, with only a brief introductory section about the Dutch art dealers who explored markets in the East.

The discussion between Dirk China and the *Compagnie van Verre* in 1595 clearly demonstrates that even before the foundation of the United Dutch East India Company (VOC) in 1602, Dutch merchants were thinking about opportunities to sell art in the East. No more dramatic proof for this is imaginable than a discovery made in the ruins of the *Behouden Huys* (the secure house) on the Russian Arctic island of Nova Zembla (Nova Zemlja), abandoned in 1597 by the failed expedition of Willem Barentsz to find a northeast passage to China (fig. 8.1).⁴ Among the artifacts recovered in 1877 by a Russian expedition and later acquired by the Rijksmuseum was a pack of prints, frozen into a solid mass. When they were detached from each other in the 1970s,

the pack was found to contain about 400 Dutch and Flemish prints by and after masters like Hendrick Goltzius, Jacques de Gheyn, and Philip Galle. There is no reason to doubt that they were being taken to Asia to be sold on local markets. This is not the only proof that Dutch merchants were sending works of art to the east at an early stage. Among the fleets sent to Asia by the so-called *Oude Compagnie* (*Tweede Schipvaart*), founded in Amsterdam in 1598, one carried a cargo containing large numbers of engravings by renowned Netherlandish masters. When in 1602 the various Dutch trading companies merged into the United Dutch East India Company, hundreds of these prints were still in stock in Patani, the main international harbor on the Malayan (currently Thai) east coast.⁵ Additional evidence for the reception of European art in Asia is provided by works of art produced by local artists from Persia to Japan that take European prints as models or sources of inspiration (figs. 8.2, 8.3 and 8.4). Prints were mass-produced, light, easy to handle, and cheap to ship. If an Asian audience could be found for them, nothing stood in the way of successful distribution.



Fig. 8.1: Early Twentieth-Century Display in the Rijksmuseum of Artefacts from the Failed 1597 Expedition to Asia. Recovered in 1877 by a Russian Expedition to Nova Zembla (Nova Zemlja).



Fig. 8.2: (Attributed to) Kesu Das (Mogul, Akbar-Periode) (after Hendrick Goltzius), *A Soldier*, c. 1600. Watercolour on Paper.

Paintings were another matter. Shipping paintings on panel or canvas from one side of the globe to the other is much more costly than shipping prints. Asian buyers would have to be found who were willing to pay a much higher price than the painting would cost in Europe. In the sixteenth century Antwerp dealers had solved this problem by the mass production of cheap, mostly devotional paintings for bulk shipment to the Spanish colonies.⁶ This option was not available for trade in Asia, where religious restrictions in countries like Japan, China, Persia, the Moghul Empire, and Indonesia stood in the way of selling paintings with Christian subjects. The paintings that were shipped to Asia had either secular subjects that



Fig. 8.3: Hendrick Goltzius, *Titus Manlius Torquatus*, 1586. Engraving.

were assumed to appeal to Asian audiences or subjects favored by Europeans living in Asia or Asians wishing to adopt a European lifestyle. On a few occasions the VOC sent very expensive paintings east, intended for the exchange of gifts as part of their international diplomacy. This phenomenon is covered by Cynthia Viallé and Yoriko Kobayashi-Sato in their respective contributions to the present book.⁷

Not only Dutch but also English art dealers were trying to find a market for more expensive paintings, as we know from documentation concerning Japan in the early seventeenth century.⁸ An attempt to place paintings in the East Indies was undertaken by the Utrecht art dealer Herman van Vollenhoven, who in 1628 gave 12 paintings worth 20 guilders each on commission to the Hoorn VOC-merchant



Fig. 8.4: Hendrick Goltzius, *Musius Scaevola*, 1586. Engraving.

Balthazar Wyntgis for sale in the archipelago (App. 1).⁹ If he was unable to sell them for the highest possible profit (*op het voordelijcxte*), then he was to give them to influential persons (*groote peronaiges*) in the hope of rich rewards (*op hope van rijckelijcke recompense*). Wyntgis sailed to Asia aboard the *Beets*, which left Holland on 25 January 1629 and arrived in Batavia (Jakarta) on 18 July of that same year. Unfortunately, nothing more is heard of the paintings and a few years later Wyntgis was “eaten by the wild natives” (*van de wilde gegeeten*) on the Moluccan island of Ceram.¹⁰

When the high costs of packing, shipping, and handling paintings over very large distances become forbidding to trade, one solution is to move production facilities closer to the market. And since serious production of

paintings can only be done by skilled painters, this involves migration, which brings us to the main topic of this contribution. The question to be answered is: did it pay for a Dutch artist to settle in Asia when he intended to make a living with his brush? The anecdotal evidence points to a negative answer. For example, when the *Beets* landed on Java, the city of Batavia had just survived a long siege by the emperor of Mataram. Within a few weeks the populace was confronted with a second siege. Under such circumstances Wyntgis could not expect to sell his Utrecht paintings at a high profit. The European population of Batavia had other things on their mind. On 21 September Governor-General Jan Pietersz. Coen died, with his wife Eva Ment and his physician Jacobus Bontius, an important medical scholar, at his bedside in the Castle. At the time, Bontius was employing his cousin Adriaen Minten as a draftsman in Batavia, but without much success. In the beginning of 1631 he wrote about him to a relative in Holland: "it may be that he can do better with his painting in Holland, but over here we do not need such costly painting [paintings?]" ("mach syn dat hy met syn scilderen beter int vaderlant doet, wy en syn hier sulcke costelyke scilderen [scilderien?] niet van node").¹¹

Although Bontius was probably right, during the course of the seventeenth century a substantial number of professional painters as well as mapmakers, surveyors, and skilled amateur draftsmen traveled to Asia (App. 2). Almost all of them came over in the service of the VOC, in a variety of commercial, naval, or military ranks, but never as "artist." The Company did not hire artists. Nevertheless, upon arrival in Batavia, newcomers would be screened for skills that could be put to use for the benefit of the company. For some trained artists, especially those with good personal connections and communicative skills, this

provided a way out of having to spend all their time aboard a ship or in a garrison at some remote VOC settlement. The mapmaking agency in the Batavia Castle permanently employed such artists.¹² Only after having served out their contract could such men contemplate working as an artist, provided the Company allowed them to settle as a freeburgher (*vrijburger*) in Batavia, Colombo, or some other major settlement.

Research, Methods and Tools

In the following, I will concentrate on the artists themselves, in the form of a collective biography or prosopography. Research into this subject was conducted as a subset of the NIAS project, entitled "The Migration of Netherlandish Artists to Asia in the Seventeenth Century." The records on individual artists, derived from published and archival sources, some of them online, were installed in a database, which as of February 2011 contained 99 names (App. 2).¹³ All of them arrived in Asia between about 1580 and 1710.

Research on the migration of Netherlandish artists to Asia has been scattered. Our understanding of this phenomenon has not progressed substantially beyond where it was left by Jeanne de Loos-Haaxman in 1941¹⁴ and Horst Gerson in 1942.¹⁵ The work of Marie-Odette Scalliet, *Pictures from the Tropics* (1999) was a step forward, but it did not draw on extensive new research.¹⁶ Only in the field of cartography do we have new information, in the groundbreaking study by Kees Zandvliet, *Mapping for Money* (2002).¹⁷

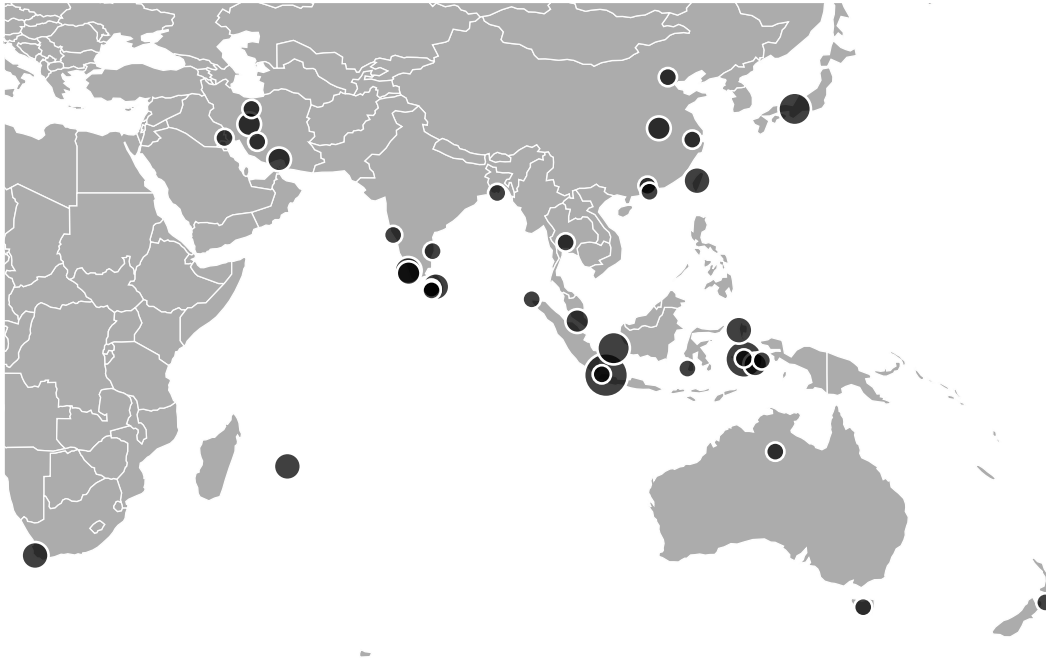
The feeding of the database was greatly facilitated by the explosion of online resources in recent years. The richest primary source is formed by the *Generale Missiven*,¹⁸ the annual survey reports from Batavia to the Heren XVII.

Digests of valuable sources are provided by the database of Dutch Asiatic Shipping (DAS),¹⁹ now available through the website of the Huygens/ING Institute, and the so-called *scheepssoldij-boeken* (the ledger of all persons aboard VOC ships) on the website of the National Archive.²⁰ Of the printed books that can now be consulted on internet, the most useful was *Beschryvinge van de Oost-Indische Compagnie* [Description of the East India Company] by Pieter van Dam, which was not edited and published until the twentieth century.²¹ Library digitization projects of old and rare books, mostly by Google Books, were often a godsend. In several cases the individual *faits et gestes* of the artists in the database could be traced through the online reconstruction of the VOC archives provided by TANAP (Towards a New Age of Partnership), an Asian, South African, and Dutch cooperative program to provide direct access to material preserved in the archives of the participating countries.²² Finally, the genealogical databases maintained by the Dutch national, regional and local archives and journals yielded much indispensable information.²³ All in all, “The Migration of Netherlandish Artists to Asia in the Seventeenth Century” now contains much more detailed and reliable biographical information than was previously available. Records on many artists who were merely a name have been enriched with personal data and social and professional context. Notwithstanding the ravages of time and the fog of history, which have robbed us of most of what we want to know, still in a substantial number of cases entire careers and appointments in Asia could be reconstructed. These data can be consulted online on the University of Amsterdam database ECARTICO.²⁴ For the convenience of the reader I attach a “Checklist of Dutch Artists Working in Asia in the Seventeenth Century” (App. 2).

General Characteristics of the Cohort

Almost two-thirds of the artists who traveled East were trained painters. Most of the others were skilled or amateur draftsmen, while a small residue is difficult to classify. In the course of the century an average of one artist a year reached Asia from the Netherlands. The rate increased over time, reflecting on the one hand the steep growth in the number of artists working in the Netherlands during the first half of the seventeenth century (Graph 1) and on the other hand the expansion of the VOC. In each of the first two decades only three artists reached Asia. From 1620 to 1640 the number doubled to six per decade. Numbers doubled again to twelve in each decade until 1670, peaking to 14 in the 1670s as well as in the 1680s. After 1690 the numbers dropped.

Since travel to Asia was practically restricted to servants of the VOC, most artists made their Asian landfall in Batavia, the main hub of the Company. From there most employees were assigned posts in one of the many settlements outside Batavia and Java. Draftsmen and cartographers were typically given one of three assignments: employment at VOC headquarters in Batavia; exploration of new lands; members of embassies to one or another Asian ruler. Small groups of draftsmen were employed for scientific projects, as in Cochin (Malabar Coast, India), where around 1675 Commander Hendrik Adriaan van Reede oversaw work on what was to become the famous *Hortus Malabaricus*, a 12-volume illustrated compendium of Southeast Asian herbal pharmacopeia.²⁵ Twenty years later in Amboina (Ambon, in the Moluccas, Indonesia) we find several draftsmen at work on Georg Everhard Rumphius’s *Amboinsche Rariteitkamer*, a splendid publication on the marine life and geology of Ambon.²⁶ The role of draftsmen in that project had a particular



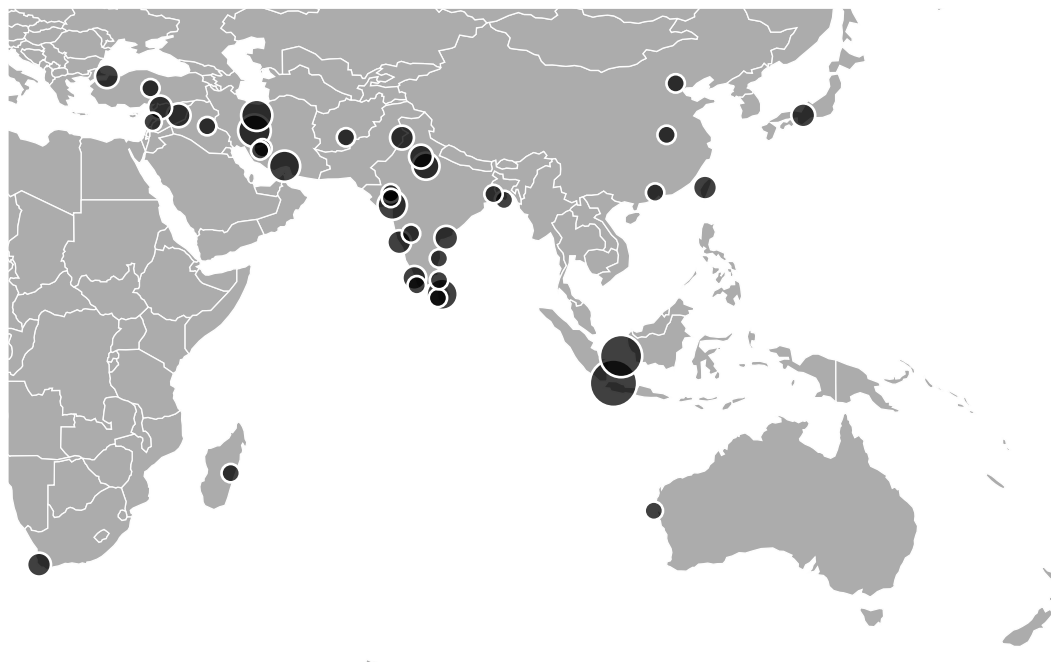
Map 8.1: Places in Asia where Dutch Draftsmen and Cartographers were Active, 1590-1710. Source: ECARTICO database.

importance. Rumphius was a passionate observer of nature who went blind at the age of 42 and thereafter leaned heavily on the talents of artists. The geographical spread of draftsmen and cartographers in Asia is visualized in Map 8.1. The distribution is unequal, with strong concentrations in the Moluccas, Cochin, and the capitals to which the VOC dispatched embassies. The stipps on remote coasts are places to which Company expeditions were sent.

The geographical distribution of the painters (Map 8.2), despite the fact that many of them were primarily employed as draftsmen, shows some important deviations from the previous map. The large number of painters signaled in Batavia is due to the role of the city as a hub for VOC personnel. Not only were painters likely to be put to work there by the Company – to paint portraits of VOC officials, for one thing – there was also a greater chance that painters who wished to practice their profession after their contracts had run out would do so in Batavia.

Less apparent is the reason for the high level of activity in the Ottoman Empire, Persia, and India. This is largely due to the desire of the shah of Persia, the Mogul emperor, and a few other princes on the Indian subcontinent in the first half of the century to take on European artists as court painters. Elsewhere in Asia, as in China, Indochina, and Indonesia, there seems to have been little interest among rulers for what Dutch artists had to offer. This phenomenon has been analyzed in more detail by Gary Schwartz for Persia and Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann for China.²⁷

As a result, it was only in Batavia that something resembling an artistic community came into being. This group consisted on the one hand of painters who served the Company and on the other hand of painters who had left the Company and who had been subsequently allowed to settle as freeburghers. Paintings signed and dated by artists working in Batavia are known from the 1630s onward. They seem



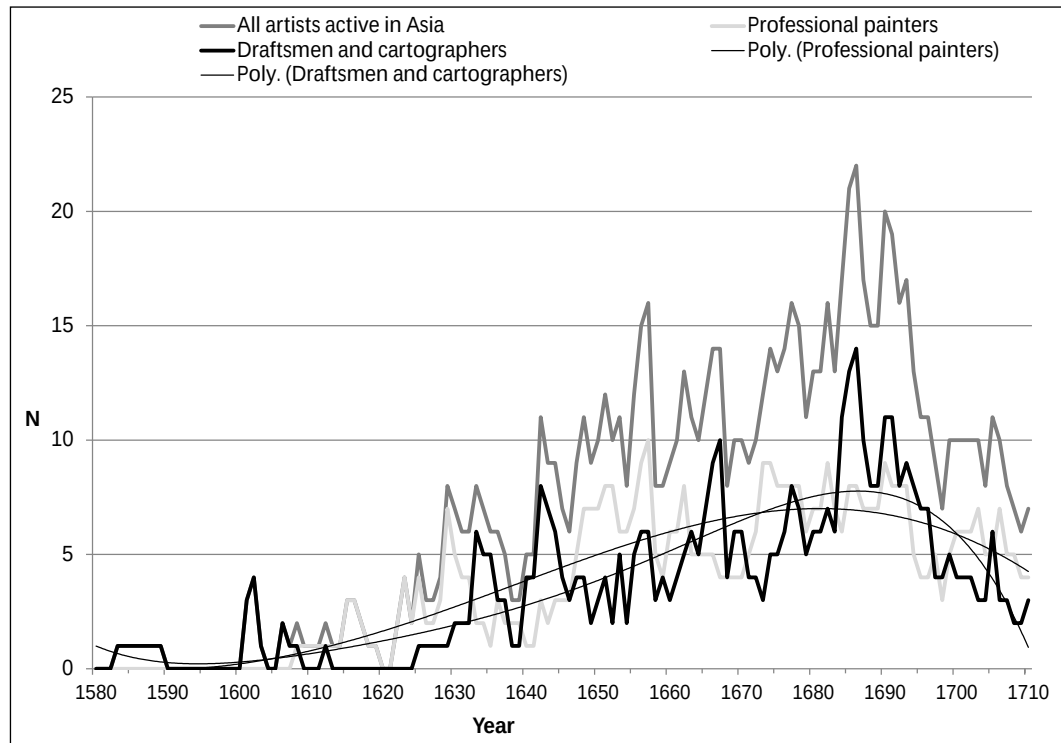
Map 8.2: Places in Asia where Dutch Painters were Active, 1590-1710. Source: ECARTICO database.

to have been painted only for Europeans who were able to afford a Dutch lifestyle. This was not a very large client base. The number of Europeans in the Company capital town never exceeded more than a few thousand, comparable to the population of a small Dutch town like Weesp, Wijk bij Duurstede, or Schoonhoven. None of these towns could boast a thriving artistic scene in the seventeenth century and neither could Batavia.

It takes more than substantial demand, however, to turn a city into a creative artistic center. For a clearly distinguishable local school to come into being, the supply side is just as important. It takes a critical mass of artists able to inspire each other, and fervent artistic rivalry fueled by economic competition. In the production of furniture or silverware, we can distinguish clear stylistic differences between objects made in Batavia, Amboina, Colombo, or the Cape of Good Hope. This is not the case with painting; we cannot speak

of a Dutch-Indonesian school of painting. Contributing factors were the limited demand – the number of those who wanted to adopt a European lifestyle and were able to pay for it was small – and the high mortality among the artists, who generally died before being able to develop a style, let alone a school.

It is now clear that at any given moment one or two painters were active in Batavia. If they were not very productive, this was due to their short life expectancy, their nonartistic duties for the Company, and the need to practice other professions in order to supplement their income. This remained so even after the population of Batavia expanded from 8,000 in 1632 to about 50,000 at the end of the century. Many of the inhabitants were enslaved laborers or immigrant Chinese.²⁸ These groups, like the other non-European ethnic groups in the city, were not potential clients for Dutch artists. When the High Government in Batavia – Governor-General and Councillors – ordered paintings

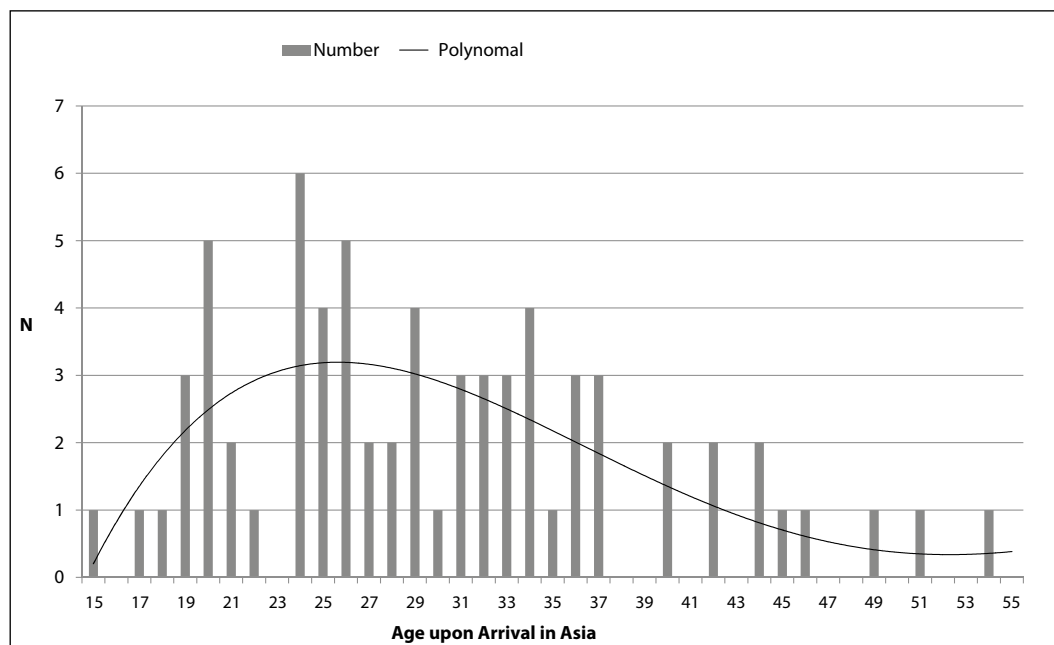
Graph 1: Number of Artists Present in Asia at any Given Year (1580-1710) (with polynomal)

Source: ECARTICO database.

to be used as diplomatic gifts, they tended to order these from the Netherlands rather than from local artists. As a result of these various factors, we cannot speak of a thriving art market for Dutch paintings in Batavia. The situation was not helped by the ready availability of cheap imported Chinese paintings.²⁹ All in all, the conclusion is unavoidable that migrating artists did not play a major role as mediators of visual culture between Europe and Asia.

The second part of this chapter zooms in on a number of individual cases in order to illustrate the circumstances that could induce artists to migrate and the opportunities open to them in Asia. The documentation includes wonderful stories of adventurous artists who turned their stay into a success, sometimes

even returning to Europe as rich men. The majority, though, died in Asia, often soon after their arrival.³⁰ Several artists who had been in close contact with Rembrandt van Rijn in Amsterdam later turned up in Batavia. There they formed something like a small community, with Rembrandt's daughter Cornelia van Rijn, who came east as the wife of the painter Cornelis Suijthoff, as the connecting figure.³¹ A second group is formed by a son of Frans Hals (Reinier Fransz. Hals [1627-1672]), two of his grandsons (Jan Regniersz. Hals [1664-1694] and Jan Fransz. Hals [1658-1718]), all painters. They ended up in and around Batavia, as did a grandson of Jan Steen (Jan Jansz. Percellis alias Steen [1687-1718]), also a painter.³² In that sense Batavia became something of a carbon copy of the Dutch art scene, with the great names

Graph 2: Number of Artists Arriving in Asia at a Given Age (1580-1710) (with polynomial)

Source: ECARTICO database.

represented by modestly talented descendants. Since almost all painters passed through Batavia upon arrival in Asia and before their return to Europe, the city saw a coming and going of people who were in one way or another connected to the Dutch art scene. However, as Graph 1 indicates, the total number of artists active in Asia at any particular moment remained limited. The peak in the 1680s and 1690s can in part be attributed to the Rumphius project, which over time employed at least ten painters and draftsmen in Ambon and Batavia.³³ The total number of professionally trained painters never exceeded ten.

As straightforward as it might seem to build a list of the VOC servants who are identified in contemporaneous sources as painters, things are not that simple. For one thing, many individuals took up different professions in the course of their lives. This was particularly true of men who marched through the ranks of the

VOC. A person who in the Netherlands was registered as a painter may have abandoned that profession altogether after signing up for duty with the Company. The opposite phenomenon is also a real possibility. That is, that an amateur draftsman or a worker in the applied arts may in the East have been called upon to rise above his previous level of training in order to produce paintings. Regents or noblemen who served the Company as officers may have had drawing lessons at home and practiced their artistic skills in the exotic Indies. And what about those who entered the service of the VOC as a simple ship's boy or soldier, showed some talent for drawing and were subsequently trained for employ in the mapmaking agency in Batavia? Or those whose cartographic activities led to ever more beautifully illustrated maps and views? And finally there are emigrants who engaged in drawing as a pastime, enriching their correspondence

or travel journals with sketches. Rather than weighing all these instances against a certain measure of artisticity, I have decided to include all of them, provided that we have reason to believe that their activities as a painter or draftsman were not one-off incidents. This is all the more justifiable since even the professional painters in our research did not always operate as independent artists. They were hired in the first place to serve the VOC; if their artistic skills were put to use, it was usually to document the Company's interests in Asia. Only the court painters in Persia and India and the freeburghers in the Company's settlements had a position resembling that of a painter in Europe.

The criteria for inclusion in our database are thus quite liberal.³⁴ This applies as well to countries of origin. All Company servants are considered, including those (mostly Germans) who were not Dutch by birth. The rationale for this is that nationality made little if any difference in the functioning of VOC servants. Whether as mediator of European visual culture in Asia or creator of visual documentation of the world of Asia for a European audience, the work of a Dutch or German artist would have been treated identically.

An additional consideration to keep in mind is that the present list is probably only the tip of the iceberg. It is likely that many Dutch artists in Asia remain unidentified and that much of their work is lost. Most of the paintings that do survive are neither signed nor attributed.

Graph 1 distinguishes between painters and other artists, mostly draftsmen and cartographers. The assumption behind this is that the migration of the first group might be more closely related to the development of the Dutch art market during its so-called Golden Age. The growth in the migration of painters slowed down temporarily in the

1630s and 1640s, suggesting that the boom in the market at home kept painters there. The obverse effect is apparent after the French invasion of 1672, when a deep crisis in the Dutch art market seems to have led to increased migration for two decades. This correspondence may however be insignificant, since the migration of artists follows the same trend as overall migration to the VOC's Asian settlements. The linear regression of the curves for painters and other artists is almost parallel, suggesting that both groups migrated for mostly the same reasons.³⁵ However, on the individual level the evidence suggests that economic circumstances were the main push factor leading to migration of artists from Holland. In this regard, artists were no different than other VOC employees.³⁶ Like the cohort as a whole, they were mostly young adult men between 20 and 35 years old (Graph 2).³⁷ Among them were surely a number who came east for the love of travel and adventure, such as the young painter from Breslau (Wrocław) Heinrich Muche, who after having read Johan Nieuhof's description of the VOC embassy to China decided that he wanted to go there too.³⁸ Others may just have found it difficult to fit in at home. We come across instances of bankruptcy, lack of success as a painter, poverty, marital problems, divorce, adultery, and bigamy.

A striking example of the latter is the painter Jan Huybertsz. Bloem from Amsterdam.³⁹ In 1623 he married Lijsbeth Baerents, but six years later, when he turned up in Batavia,⁴⁰ he posed as a bachelor. On 1 November 1629 the banns were published for his marriage with a widow from Amsterdam named Roelandina de Mol. With her he ran a tavern in Batavia and had several children. When he was accused of bigamy, he denied the charge and submitted false written testimony. At home in Amsterdam, by the summer of 1630, Lijsbeth Baerents

collected statements concerning her husband's doings from returning VOC employees. The last we hear of the case is a statement in Leiden of 1635 by the former Batavian *predikant* Abraham de Roy to the effect that Bloem had stowed away on a ship returning to the Netherlands.

A central problem in gathering material for this chapter has been how to find sufficiently detailed biographical data on artists who traveled to Asia. The sources available to us have been discussed above. However, only in incidental cases do they tell us why an artist decided to leave home on a risky foreign venture. These reasons can be divided into four categories:

- To become a painter at an Oriental court, such as those in Persia or India
- To work as a draughtsman or cartographer in the service of the Company
- To build up a new life in the Indies, involving at least some artistic work, after experiencing failure at home
- To work in Asia in other capacities after abandoning one's training as an artist.

Court Painters

Seldom did an Asian court actively seek out artists in Europe. The recruitment by an embassy of Shah 'Abbas I of Persia to Prague of the Haarlem artist Cornelis Claesz. Heda was an exception. As a rule, Dutch artists who worked for a Persian or Indian court did so after the court had requested that the High Government in Batavia make them available for that function. While some artists profited greatly from such a position, the slight chance of becoming a painter to the shah cannot be called a pull factor attracting artists in Holland to migrate.

One painter who successfully combined his position within the VOC with work for Asian

courts as an artist was Hendrick Arentsz. Vapoer. He was born in Delft to a father named Arent Henricxz. Delff, who was an uncle of the painter Jacob Willemsz. Delff. This uncle fathered three sons who were also painters and engravers. Of these three cousins of Vapoer, the engraver Willem Jacobsz. Delff is still well known for his own work as well as for the fact that in 1618 he became the son-in-law of Michiel Jansz. van Mierevelt, the foremost Dutch portrait painter of his time. This places Vapoer, who adopted his name from a polder near Rotterdam, in the heart of the artistic community of Delft, where he must have had his training.⁴¹ In 1611 he married Geertgen Cornelisz. Stuyling, whose brother Joost Cornelisz. Stuyling would serve as court painter in Morocco in the early 1620s. Joost Cornelisz. was probably related to Abraham Lambrechtsz. Stuyling, a painter who traveled to Asia in 1636 and died at sea in 1639.⁴² Soon after his marriage Vapoer entered the service of the VOC, which proved to be the start of a successful career as a merchant in India.

The only example that we have of Vapoer's work as an artist is a drawing in a letter that he sent from Lahore to Wollebrand Geleynssen de Jonge in Brootchia (received 14 November 1625) (fig. 8.5). The drawing depicts a medalion with a double profile portrait of an Indian man and woman. At the time this was a highly modern way to depict a couple, as it alluded to ancient Roman cameos. Half a year later Governor Herman van Speult wrote from Surat to Amsterdam that Vapoer was a painter and that he was very well received at court in Khambhat by the king and queen and other leading figures. "Because of his capability he profits from his art of painting, in which this nation shows a lot of curiosity, which is a real help for getting respect by the Grandees at Court."⁴³



Fig. 8.5: Hendrick Arentsz. Vapoer, *An Indian Couple*. Drawing in a Letter sent from Lahore, November 1625.

In 1626 Vapoer became chief (*opperhoofd*) of the office in Agra and in 1632 substitute director in Surat, where he died on 24 October of that year. His belongings were sent to Batavia on behalf of his heirs. There a clerk from the Castle took stock of the inheritance and found it to contain 20,000 guilders worth of diamonds and jewels, apparently acquired through illicit private trade. This prompted the biting comment: “there is little cogency to the account that this person might have earned this much with painting alone.”⁴⁴ The jewels were confiscated. Nevertheless, Vapoer died a rich man. His only son made it into the Rotterdam town council and his grandchildren could afford to live in a castle.⁴⁵

The ability of artists to win the favor of Indian princes through their artistic skills put them in a unique position to act as liaison between the court and Europeans in Asia. Other than the Chinese, but similar to the Persian shahs, Indian shahs and grandees expressed interest in Dutch painting. In 1626 Shah Jahangir explicitly asked the Company to allow one of his court painters to travel to Europe aboard a VOC ship in order to buy curiosities there.⁴⁶

The Company, wanting to protect its monopoly on trade, politely declined the request, thus denying the painters of Holland the opportunity to meet one of the great miniature painters from the Mogul court. Around 1625, Francisco Pelsaert, Vapoer’s predecessor as chief of the VOC office in Agra, reported that he had been asked by several influential people (*grooten*) to send from Holland “two or three paintings depicting battle scenes, done by a master with a delicate brush, since the Moguls prefer to look at everything from close by, also two maps of the whole world, as well as some water colors depicting drolleries or nudes.”⁴⁷ These important lines reveal to us that Indians were accustomed to study and enjoy (miniature) paintings in private and up close. This is quite different from the way the Dutch used paintings to decorate walls in public spaces, in the home or in other buildings.⁴⁸

Similar observations were later made in Japan, where gifts of Dutch paintings were turned down because they were too large to fit Japanese walls or because they showed nudes and could not be easily stowed away in order to avoid embarrassment (see the chapter by Kobayashi-Sato).

While “drolleries and nudes,” could be requested and delivered during Jahangir’s reign, a generation later the VOC staff was confused about what was permissible at the Mogul court and what not. Following a request by Shah Jahan (see plate 8.1), the son and successor of Jahangir, in 1651 Isaack Jansz. Koedijck, who had “expert knowledge of the art of painting,” was sent over to Surat.⁴⁹ From there the director wrote to the High Council in Batavia: “It has been reported to me as the truth that his Majesty (in accordance with Islamic law) is not an amateur of the art of painting.”⁵⁰ He promised not to take action before making enquiries with the court grandees (“*grooten*”). By that time, however, the High Council expressed its dismay

at having been asked to send a painter to Agra at all, as “We too have understood that the Great Mogul is not an amateur of figures.”⁵¹ Although Koedijck thus missed the chance of becoming a court painter, his career flourished. By 1655 he was the Company’s director in Surat and in 1659 he sailed home as admiral of the return fleet.

That the Dutch had been misled became apparent when Shah Jahan submitted a further request for two painters. In January 1657 the VOC responded by sending the petty nobleman Jorephaes Vosch and Abraham Emanuelz. van Meteren to Agra.⁵² Van Meteren was lodged in the palace of crown prince Dara Shikoh, Vosch with the *omrah* (*ammerouw*) Khan.⁵³

Dara Shikoh was an enlightened prince who strove for the harmonious co-existence of the various religions in his empire. He was also a patron of the arts. His younger brother Prince Aurangzeb, on the contrary, was a devout orthodox Muslim and a military man with little interest in the fine arts. The struggle between the two for the Mogul throne would bring the careers of Vosch and van Meteren as court painters to an early end. The conflict erupted when Shah Jahan fell seriously ill in Delhi at the beginning of September 1657.⁵⁴ The two Dutch painters may well have been present when that happened. On 15 May 1657, the two painters had reported from Delhi to Isaack Koedijck in Surat.⁵⁵ The great Mogul war of succession (1657-1661) ended with Aurangzeb as emperor. From then on there was no longer demand for Dutch court painters. The interpretation of Islamic law to which the High Council in Batavia had alluded in 1651 now became the law of the land.

As this reconstruction of events makes clear, esteem for the skills of Dutch painters and appreciation of European art in Mogul India came into play only when certain influential individuals developed an interest in them. Unfortunately, we know as little about their production as we know about that of Dutch

court artists in Persia. What we do know is that from the middle of the 1650s onward, in the Dutch Republic, interest in Mogul painting increased dramatically. By that time Rembrandt was copying Mogul court miniatures (see plates 8.2 and 8.3) and Willem Schellincks incorporated motives from miniatures into some of his own paintings (see plate 8.1).⁵⁶ That same Schellincks was so impressed by the quality of the miniatures that he saw, that in 1657 he published a long laudatory poem “Op de schilder-konst der Benjanen [On the Painting of the Hindus].”⁵⁷ Such enthusiasm is an expression of the openness toward and curiosity concerning the art of the Asian peoples that we also find expressed in print by artists such as Joachim von Sandrart and scholars such as Constantijn Huygens and Isaac Vossius, who all wrote about the refinement of Chinese art.⁵⁸ As natural as it may be to assume that the Dutch painters in Surat, Agra, and Delhi were instrumental in acquiring local artistic treasures and shipping them to Europe,⁵⁹ no documentary evidence of such activities has come to light so far.

Conclusion

During the VOC period, especially during the seventeenth century, a significant number of professional painters as well as mapmakers and skilled amateur draftsmen traveled to Asia. They had entered the services of the VOC as traders, sailors, or soldiers, but not as artists. After their arrival, however, some managed to become employed as mapmakers at the VOC headquarters, while others spend their time at a garrison or a VOC settlement in Asia. Having served out their contract they could settle as freeburghers and try to earn their living as artists.

Here they could receive commissions for portraits by the VOC, for example for the

so-called governor portraits, but also of/from private individuals. Although once would not compare the demand for art in Batavia with the Dutch art market, there existed a Batavia art scene, formed by Rembrandt's son-in-law Cornelis Suithoff and Rembrandt's daughter Cornelia van Rijn as well as the son (Reinier Fransz. Hals) and the grandsons of Frans Hals.

Furthermore a number of painters, such as Hendrick Arentsz. Vapoer, won the favor of Indian princes and started a career as court painters.

Appendix 1

Contract between Balthazar Wyntgis, merchant in the service of the VOC at Hoorn, about to sail to the East Indies aboard the ship Beets, and Herman van Vollenhoven, painter at Utrecht, to sell twelve paintings in Asia, dated 23 November 1628.

'Op huyden den drie ende twintichsten novembris older stile des jaers xvic acht ende twintich, compareerden voor mij, Nicolaes Verduyn, notaris, ende die getuygen hiernaer benoempt, sieur Balthazar Wyntgis, coopman tot Hoorn, ende wesende oppercoopman op 't schip de Beetz, met 'twelcke hij door Godes gratie vermeynt, nu eerstdaechs van Hoorn voors. te varen naer d' Oostindiën. Ende verclaerde ende bekende, voor hem ende zijnen erffgenamen gecoft ende tot zijnen contentemente op huyden, date deses, ontfangen te hebben van sr. Herman van Vollenhooff, schilder ende borger t' Utrecht, sekere twaelff stucken schilderijen, ende dat yder stuck voor twintich Carolus guldens, den gulden tot twintich stuvers gerekent. In minderinge van welcke somme hij, comparant, mitsdesen belooft, op morgen van Amstelredamme (derwaerts hij van den avont vermeynt te reysen) terugge te stuyren ende alhier binnen Utrecht aen handen van

den voorn. Vollenhoven te doen betalen die rechte eene helfte, wesende een hondert ende twintich [1] Carolus guldens. Ende voorts met soodane expresse conditiën, dat alsoo hij comparant d' voors. schilderijen mede naer die Oostindiën nemen ende aldaer op het voordelijcxte verhandelen, ofte aen eenige groote personaiges (op hope van rijckelijcke recompense vereeren sall, dat hij, comparant, gehouden sall zijn, sulcx hij bij desen belooft aen den voorn. Vollenhoven, zijnen erffgenamen ofte zijns rechts van desen hebbenden, te responderen ende te doen betalen, (ofte te laten genieten ende getrouwelick over te leveren [2], die rechte helfte van allen 'tgene hij daervan boven de voors. gereet [3] be- looffde penningen in eenigerwijs sall comen te becommen, sonder daervan yets achter te houden ofte te verswijgen in eeniger manieren. Sulx in goeder trouwen [4] ende onder eere ende vromicheyt bij desen belovende, des dan daermede de resterende wederhelfte der voors. cooppenningen, hiervorens aen den voorn. Vollenhoven bij desen belooft sullen zijn ende blijven gequitteert. Dan of 't gevele (des Godt verhoede) dat den voorn. sr. Wyntgis, comparant, deser werelt quame te overliden, alvorens d voors. schilderijen in 't geheel ofte deell bij den voorn. comparant, ofte door zijn ordre vercoft ofte aen yemanden in d' Indiën voors. vereeret waren, in sulcken gevalle sul- len zijns comparants erffgenamen gehouden wesen alsdan datelijck d' voors. resterende cooppenningen tot een hondert ende twintich gulden in greden gelde aen handen van voors. Vollenhoven voldoen.

Ofte sall den voorn. Vollenhoven andersinds vermogen, deselve penningen alsdan selffs te lichten ofte te doen lichten uutte penningen ofte gaiges die hij comparant opte voors. voiage sall comen te verdienen tot zijnen believe, hem, Vollenhoven, daertoe bij desen onwederroepelijck auctoriserende ende cum

potestate substituendi. Des alsdan de voors. schilderijen comen sullen ten prouffite van zijns comparants erffgenamen.

Verbindende hij, comparant, tot naercominge ende voldoeninge vandien, zijn ende zijner erffgenamen personen ende goederen, present ende toecomende, traictement ende gaige voors., deselve submitterende allen heeren hoven, rechteren ende gerechten, renunciërende d' exceptie van wanleveringe, veil rei non tradite (hem 't effect beduyt zijnde ^[5]), ende voorts generalijcken, van allen anderen exceptiën, relievamenten ende defensiën ter contrarie sonder arch.

Op ende van 'twelcke hij, comparant voorn., stipulerende in handen mijns notarij, versochte ende consenteerde, hiervan ten behouwe van den voorn. Vollenhoven, alhier mede voor ons comparerende ende denselven accepterende, verleent te worden acte, dewelcke is dese.

Actum te Utrecht aende Oudegrachte in de "Drie gulde Hoppesacken", ten huysse van Johan van Rijssen, ter presentie van sr. Balthazar van [der] Ast [painter] ende sr. Henrick Walhoff, als getuygen hiertoe specialijck versocht, ende welcke Walhoff oick mits desen belooft den voors. gereet bedongen penningen op morgen mede van Amsterdam te brengen, ende aen den voors. Vollenhoven over te leveren.

(In the margin:) Dient hier ter memorie, dat bij het passeren van desen, den comparant in presentie van den acceptant ende de getuygen, bij stipulatie in handen mijns notarij belooffde, dat zijne(?) ende de schilderijen in desen geroert, hier te lande aen nyemanden verthoonen nochte laten besichtigen sall, als wesende sulcx in dese handelinghe mede belooft, edoch versuymt, daerinne te insereren.

[signed] Balthazar van der Ast, Balthazar Wyntgis, oppercoopman op 't schipp de Beest, Hendrick Walhoff, C. Verduyn, notarius, 1628.

Notes:

1. Crossed out: "thien"
2. In the margin
3. Previous word crossed out: "betaelde"
4. Next words crossed out: "bij desen"
5. In superscript

Source: Het Utrechts Archief, Notary N. Verduyn, Uo09a013, fol. 329-329vo.

Previously published: C. A. de Kruyff, 'Een oppercoopman (scheepskapitein) kunsthandelaar,' *Utrechtsch Jaarboekje* (1892): 10-12.

Appendix 2

List of Artists Working in Asia (1585-c. 1720)

This list has been drawn from the online ECARTICO database, which is hosted by the Universiteit van Amsterdam (situation February 2011). It includes all known artists who were present in Asia, either as an employee of the Dutch East India Company or independently, during the seventeenth century. Due to the organizational structure of the Company, we often find individuals in more than one rank or occupation, as an outcome of their career in the VOC. For the same reason we usually find them present at more than one location, albeit most of them can be traced at least once in Batavia, the headquarters of the VOC in Asia. Occupations before departure to Asia are also included when found. Locations only for Asia (as well as places of birth and death when in Europe). As a consequence, individuals may not have been active as painter, draftsman, or cartographer in all the locations where we found them present at one time. Due to the fragmentary documentation, the graphs made for this chapter reflect only a minimum (even in those cases where the duration of specific professional activities and/or presence at a certain geographical location

has only been inferred or assumed if good grounds could be found in the documents).

References to the literature, as well as to published or unpublished documents can be found in the ECARTICO database. The orthography of names in the original sources is of an often bewildering variety. This list includes only standardized names, with the exception of some aliases. The database allows for queries on variants of names. Geographical names are modernized, except for a few cases, such as Batavia (today Jakarta) or Ceylon (Sri Lanka).

Hillebrand Boudewynsz. van der Aa (* baptized on 1661-03-22, Leiden; † 1717-01-02, East Indies)

Occupation(s): sculptor (1683), engraver (1698-1706), draftsman, midshipman (1710-1713), soldier (1714-1717).

Location(s): Batavia (1710), East Indies (1710-1712), Batavia (1712), Batavia (1715-1717).

Juriae Ambdis (* unknown; † after 1650)

Occupation(s): painter (1649-1650), draftsman (1649-1650), gunner (1648-1649).

Location(s): Persia (1648-1650), Qandahar (1649-1649), Baghdad (1650-1650).

Philips Angel II, alias: Philips Angel van Leiden (* c. 1618, Leiden; † between c. 1664-01-01 and c. 1664-12-31, Batavia)

Occupation(s): public servant, merchant, painter, author.

Location(s): Batavia (1645-1651), Persia (1651-1656), Indonesia (1656-1661), Batavia (1664).

Andries Beeckman (* unknown, Zutphen; † buried on 1664-08-09, Amsterdam)

Occupation(s): painter, draftsman, soldier.

Location(s): Batavia (1657-1657), Cape of Good Hope (1657-1657).

Frans Florisz. van Berckenrode (* between 1592 and 1601, Delft; † after 1640)

Occupation(s): cartographer, engraver, draftsman.

Location(s): Batavia (1625-1634).

Jan Huybertsz. Bloem (* baptized on 1595-09-28, Amsterdam; † after 1635)

Occupation(s): painter (1623-1634), inn keeper (1629-1634).

Location(s): Batavia (1629-1634).

Jacob Maertensz. Bol (* c. 1596, Schiedam; † before 1628-07-03, at sea)

Occupation(s): painter.

Location(s): Masulipatnam (1616).

Sybert Jansz. Boom (* unknown; † after 1669)

Occupation(s): cartographer.

Location(s): Batavia (1668-1669).

Hendrik van den Bosch (* unknown; † after 1736)

Occupation(s): painter.

Location(s): Indonesia (1692-1717).

Esaias Boursse (* 1631-03-03, Amsterdam; † 1672-11-16, at sea)

Occupation(s): painter, midshipman (1661-1663).

Location(s): Ceylon (1662).

Frederick Wilhelm Broeckhuysen (* unknown; † after 1695)

Occupation(s): draftsman (1690-1695).

Location(s): Batavia (1690-1695).

Cornelis de Bruyn (* between 1652-01-01 and 1652-12-31, Den Haag; † between 1726-01-01 and 1727-12-31, Utrecht)

Occupation(s): etcher, engraver, painter, draftsman.

Location(s): Levant (1678-1693), Persia (1701-1708), Batavia (1706).

Joris Joosten Carolus, alias: Laerle (* unknown, Brugge; † after 1636)

Occupation(s): visitor of the sick (1600-1603), navigator (1600-1601, 1614-1634), draftsman (1601-1603), cartographer (1601-1603, 1614-1635), skipper (1636).

Location(s): East Indies (1601-1603), Mauritius (1601), Bantam (1601-1602), Ternate (1602), Banda (1602).

Heinrich Claudius (* c. 1655, Breslau (Wrocław); † before 1697)

Occupation(s): draftsman (1681-), medical doctor.

Location(s): Batavia (1681-), Cape of Good Hope (1681-1683).

Gerrit Clinck, alias: Gerardo Clinck (* 1646, Delft; † 1693-07-02, Hougly (Hugli-Chuchura))

Occupation(s): painter (1663-1680), merchant (1680-1693).

Location(s): Ceylon (1686), Bengal (1686-1688), Ceylon (1690-1692), Bengal (1692-1693).

Jacob Jansz. Coeman (* baptized on 1631-07-17, Amsterdam; † between 1676-01-01 and 1676-03-09, Batavia)

Occupation(s): painter (1655-), visitor of the sick (1662-1676).

Location(s): Batavia (1663-1676).

Jan Jacobsz. van der Croos (* between 1654-01-01 and 1655-12-31, Den Haag; † buried on 1712-10-10, Amsterdam)

Occupation(s): painter, midshipman (1685-1685).

Location(s): Batavia (1686), East Indies (1699-1710), Batavia (1699).

Daniel Crul (* baptized on 1659-10-08, Amsterdam; † 1685-04-22, Ambon (town))

Occupation(s): midshipman (1678-1680), draftsman (1680-1685).

Location(s): Batavia (1679-1680), Ambon (town) (1680-1685).

Frans Jansz. Dancx, alias: Francoys Danks, alias: Schildpad (* 1636-05-06, Amsterdam; † between c. 1703-01-01 and c. 1703-12-31, Amsterdam)

Occupation(s): sculptor, etcher, court officer, engraver, painter.

Location(s): Indonesia (1676-1682).

David Abrahamsz. de Decker (* baptized on 1624-05-21, Amsterdam; † between 1655-01-10 and 1656-12-31, Batavia)

Occupation(s): painter.

Location(s): Batavia (1655-1656).

Pieter van Doornik (* unknown; † after 1667)

Occupation(s): draftsman (1666-1667).

Location(s): China (1666-1667), Batavia (1666), Peking (Beijing) (1667), Batavia (1667).

Lambert van Eenhoorn (* baptized on 1651-04-26, Delft; † buried on 1721-03-28, Delft)

Occupation(s): faience painter.

Location(s): India (1677), Smyrna (Izmir) (1682).

Philips van Eyck (* unknown, Amsterdam; † after 1696)

Occupation(s): draftsman (1688-1696), ship's boy (-1688), soldier (1686-).

Location(s): Batavia (1686-1687), Ambon (town) (1688-1696).

Rombout Faydherbe (* 1649-12-12, Mechelen; † between 1673-01-01 and 1673-12-31, Naxos)

Occupation(s): painter.

Location(s): Levant (1673).

Isaack Gilsemans (* c. 1606, Rotterdam; † 1646, Batavia)

Occupation(s): draftsman, architect, cartographer, clerk (1634-1646), merchant (1642-1645), supervisor ("fabriek") (1642-1645).

Location(s): Batavia (1634-1642), Hietto (Hitu Lama) (1635), Japan (1641), New Zealand (1642-1643), Tasmania (1642-1643), Ambon (town) (1642-1645), Mauritius (1642), Australia (1644), Batavia (1645-1646).

Antoni Jacobsz. Goetkint (* unknown; † before 1691-07-05, Ceylon)

Occupation(s): draftsman (1674-1677), sergeant (1674-1677), ensign (1677-), captain (-1691).

Location(s): Cochin (Kochi) (1674-1678), Ceylon (1691).

Gerrit Stevensz. van Goor (* c. 1645, Amsterdam; † between 1694-06-01 and 1695-06-01, Amsterdam)

Occupation(s): painter (1685-1695).

Location(s): Batavia (1674-1685).

Adriaen Arentsz. Gouda, alias: Goud A (* between 1628-00-00 and 1629, Delft; † 1667-01-10, Delft)

Occupation(s): painter (1660-1661), book keeper (1660-1661).

Location(s): Isfahan (1660-1661), Bandar Abbas (1660-1661).

Nicolaas de Graaff (* baptized on 1619-08-18, Alkmaar; † between 1687-09-02 and 1688-10-14, Egmond aan Zee)

Occupation(s): surgeon (1639-1687), draftsman, cartographer, magistrate ("schepen") (1674-1675), burgomaster (1680-1681), sheriff ("schout") (1681-1680).

Location(s): Batavia (1640-1640), Melaka (1640-1641), Batavia (1642), East Indies (1644-1645), Batavia (1669), Bengal (1669-1671), Ceylon

(1671-1672), Batavia (1676), Cochin (Kochi) (1676-1678), Bandar Abbas (1677), Basra (1677), Malabar Coast (1678), Batavia (1684), Macao (1684-1685), Batavia (1685), Bengal (1685), Ternate (1686), Banda (1686), Ambon (town) (1686).

Jan Regniersz. Hals (* baptized on 1664-04-22, Amsterdam; † after 1694)

Occupation(s): painter.

Location(s): Indonesia (1689-1694).

Jan Fransz. Hals (* baptized on 1658-07-23, Haarlem; † after 1718, East Indies)

Occupation(s): painter, sailor (1684-1685), musician.

Location(s): East Indies (1685-1718), Batavia (1685).

Reinier Fransz. Hals (* baptized on 1627-02-11, Haarlem; † buried on 1672-05-03, Amsterdam)

Occupation(s): painter, art dealer, merchant's assistant ("koopmansbediende") (1642-1645).

Location(s): East Indies (1642-1644).

Jan (Johannes), Ottensz de Hart (* baptized on 1633-03-15, Amsterdam; † after 1660)

Occupation(s): painter (1657-1660), junior merchant ("onderkoopman") (1660).

Location(s): Bandar Abbas (1657), Coromandel Coast (1657-1660).

Jan Lucasz. van Hasselt (* unknown; † after 1653)

Occupation(s): merchant, painter (1621-1630).

Location(s): Levant (1623), Isfahan (1623-1625), Isfahan (1628-1629), Batavia (1629).

Cornelis Claesz. Heda (* c. 1566, Haarlem; † after 1619-01-15, Narsapur)

Occupation(s): painter.

Location(s): Goa (India) (1608-1609), Bijapur (Visiapour) (1610-1619).

Albrecht Herport (* 1641, Bern; † 1730-01-06, Bern)

Occupation(s): painter, draftsman, soldier (1659-1668).

Location(s): Batavia (1660-1661), Taiwan (1661-1662), Batavia (1662), Cochin (Kochi), (1662-1663), Ceylon (1663-1666), Batavia (1666-1668).

Gerrit Hessels (* baptized on 1609-08-20, Amsterdam; † after 1637)

Occupation(s): public servant (1633-1637), cartographer.

Location(s): East Indies (1633-1637), Ceram Laut (Maluku) (1633), Batavia (1637).

G. Hofstede van Essen (* unknown, Essen; † after 1703)

Occupation(s): painter (1691-1703), draftsman (1691-1703).

Location(s): Levant (1691-1703), Aleppo (1691), Persepolis (1693), Turkey (1703).

Isaack Hogeboom (* unknown; † after 1693)
Occupation(s): cartographer (1685-1693), draftsman (1685-1693).

Location(s): Ambon (town) (1685-1693).

Herbert de Jager (* 1636-00-00 or 1642, Zwammerdam; † 1694-01-06, Batavia)

Occupation(s): draftsman, linguist, orientalist, junior merchant (“onderkoopman”) (1662-).

Location(s): Batavia (1662-1665), Isfahan (1665-1670), Coromandel Coast (1670-1680), Persia (1684-1687), Persepolis (1684), Batavia (1687-1694).

Hans de Jode (* between 1630-01-01 and 1630-12-31, Den Haag; † between 1662-01-01 and 1662-12-31, Vienna)

Occupation(s): painter, draftsman.

Location(s): Constantinopel (Istanbul) (1659).

Johannes de Jongh (* unknown; † after 1684)

Occupation(s): engraver, draftsman.

Location(s): Batavia (1684).

Engelbert Kaempfer (* 1651-09-16, Lemgo; † 1716-11-02, Lieme (Lemgo))

Occupation(s): medical doctor (1676-1716), draftsman.

Location(s): Isfahan (1684-1685), Bandar Abbas (1685-1688), Batavia (1689), Japan (1690-1692), Ayutthaya (1690), Batavia (1693).

Frans Jansz. de Keersgieter II (* baptized on 1671-02-01, Amsterdam; † 1706-05-03, East Indies)

Occupation(s): draftsman, corporal (1704-1706).

Location(s): Batavia (1705), East Indies (1705-1706).

Willem Willemsz. Kick (* 1579, Breda; † buried on 1647-10-17, Amsterdam)

Occupation(s): school master (1598-), notary (1602-), engraver (1603-), lacquer worker (1612-), merchant (1624-), gold leather worker (1647-).

Location(s): East Indies (1612).

Isaac Jansz. Koedyck (* c. 1617, Leiden; † between 1667-04-28 and 1668-03-17)

Occupation(s): merchant (1651-1654), painter (1651-), commander of the fleet (1658-1659), senior merchant (“opperkoopman”) (1654-1658).

Location(s): Batavia (1651), Ahmadabad (1652-1656), Surat (India), (1656-1658), Batavia (1658).

Joost Barentsz. Lampe (* baptized on 1596-05-26, Amsterdam; † after 1640)

Occupation(s): painter (1630-1640).

Location(s): Bandar Abbas (1630), Batavia (1639-1640).

Dirck Lievens (* between 1612-01-01 and 1612-12-31, Leiden; † between 1650-01-01 and 1651-12-31, East Indies)
Occupation(s): painter.
Location(s): Indonesia (1648-1651).

Jan Huygen van Linschoten (* between 1563-01-01 and 1563-12-31, Haarlem; † 1611-02-08, Enkhuizen)
Occupation(s): clerk (1580-1589), naval explorer (1594-1595), draftsman, cartographer, treasurer (1597-1611).
Location(s): Goa (India) (1583-1589).

Hendrick Boudewijn van Lockhorst, alias: Loekar (* unknown; † after 1648)
Occupation(s): junior merchant (“onderkoopman”) (1641-1644), painter (1641-1647).
Location(s): Batavia (1641), Persia (1644-1647), Batavia (1648).

Cornelis Matelieff de Jonge (* 1570, Rotterdam; † 1632-10-17, Rotterdam)
Occupation(s): draftsman (1606), merchant, magistrate (“schepen”), burgomaster, admiral.
Location(s): Melaka (1606), East Indies (1606-1608).

Georg Meister (* 1653-10-15, Brücken (Helme); † 1713-05-12, Dresden)
Occupation(s): gardener (1675-), sergeant (1677-1678), draftsman (1678-), botanist (1678-), landscape gardener (1689-).
Location(s): Batavia (1677-1682), Japan (1682-1683), Batavia (1683-1685), Japan (1685-1686), Batavia (1686-1687).

Abraham Emanuelsz. van Meteren (* baptized on 1623-01-12, Leiden; † between 1687-06-20 and 1690-03-14, Batavia)
Occupation(s): painter (1656-1657), corporal (1654-1656), junior merchant (“onderkoopman”) (1657-1675), book keeper (1663), senior merchant (“opperkoopman”) (1687-1690).

Location(s): Batavia (1654), Surat (India) (1656), Agra (1657), Shahjahanabad (Delhi) (1657), Batavia (1672-1675), Batavia (1687-1690).

Adriaen Minten (* unknown; † after 1631)
Occupation(s): painter, draftsman.
Location(s): Batavia (1627-1631).

Heinrich Muche (* 1649, Breslau (Wroclaw); † c. 1696, Breslau (Wroclaw))
Occupation(s): painter, soldier (1669-1672), draftsman (1672-1683), cartographer (1674-1675), soldier (1683-1696).
Location(s): Batavia (1670-1673), Japan (1673-1674), Batavia (1674-1683).

Jörg Franz Müller (* 1646-10-04, Ensisheim; † 1723, Rouffach (Rufach))
Occupation(s): gunsmith (-1669), midshipman (1669-), draftsman.
Location(s): Batavia (1670), Batavia (1681).

Dionys N.N. (* before 1680, Germany; † after 1700)
Occupation(s): painter (1700-).
Location(s): Isfahan (1700).

Johan Nessel (* unknown; † after 1660)
Occupation(s): cartographer (1650-1660), draftsman.
Location(s): Batavia (1650-1660).

Anthonie Netscher (* between 1679-01-01 and 1679-12-31, The Hague; † 1713-09-20, Batavia)
Occupation(s): painter, commander (1701-).
Location(s): Batavia (1701-1713).

Johan Nieuhof (* 1618-07-22, Uelsen; † 1672-10-08, Madagaskar)
Occupation(s): engraver, draftsman, merchant (1663-1665), author.

Location(s): Batavia (1655), China (1655-1657), Canton (Guangzhou), (1655-1656), Peking (Beijing), (1656), Canton (Guangzhou), (1657), Batavia (1657), Coylan (Quilon), (1661-1666), Cochin (Kochi), (1663-1665), Batavia (1667), Colombo (1667), Batavia (1669-1670).

J.J. de Nijs (* unknown; † after 1700)
Occupation(s): painter.
Location(s): Batavia (1700).

Joost Pauwels Noorwits (* baptized on 1623-01-12, Delft; † between 1653-06-01 and 1653-06-30, at sea)
Occupation(s): painter, merchant's assistant ("koopmansbediende") (1642-), junior merchant ("onderkoopman") (1648-).
Location(s): Batavia (1642), Taiwan (1642-1647), Batavia (1647-1648), Taiwan (1648-1652), Batavia (1652-1653).

Ernst Gotlief Nythard (* unknown; † after 1713)
Occupation(s): painter (1711-1713), draftsman (1711-1713), sergeant (1711-1713).
Location(s): Isfahan (1711-1713), Lahore (1711-1713), Batavia (1713).

Martin Palin (* unknown; † after 1700)
Occupation(s): painter, draftsman.
Location(s): Batavia (1680-1690).

Gillis Peeters II (* 1645-06-01, Antwerpen; † 1678-08-01, Batavia)
Occupation(s): painter.
Location(s): Batavia (1665-1678).

Jan Jansz. Percellis, alias: Steen (* baptized on 1687-08-27, Leiden; † 1718-12-11, Azië)
Occupation(s): dauber ("kladschilder") (1708-), sailor (1716-1718).
Location(s): Batavia (1717).

NN Romain (* unknown; † after 1655)
Occupation(s): painter (1655).
Location(s): Isfahan (1655), Bandar Abbas (1655).

Pieter de Ruijter (* unknown; † after 1700)
Occupation(s): soldier (-1695), draftsman (1696-1700).
Location(s): Ambon (town) (1694-1699).

Georgius Everhardus Rumphius (* 1627, Wölfersheim; † 1702-06-15, Ambon (town))
Occupation(s): draftsman, ensign (-1657), junior merchant ("onderkoopman") (1657-1662), merchant (1662-), midshipman (1652-).
Location(s): Batavia (1653), Ambon (town) (1653-1702).

Paulus Augustus Rumphius (* c. 1665, Ambon (town); † between 1706-01-01 and 1706-12-31, Ambon (town))
Occupation(s): draftsman (1686-1696), assistant (1684-1686), book keeper (1686-1687), secretary to the Council of Justice ("Raad van Justitie") (1687-1691) junior merchant ("onderkoopman") (1691-1699), merchant (1699-1705).
Location(s): Batavia (1685-1686), Ambon (town) (1686-1696), East Indies (1696-1705).

Abraham Saftleven (* between 1612-01-01 and 1613-12-31, Rotterdam; † after 1651)
Occupation(s): painter (1627-1649).
Location(s): Batavia (1629-1637).

Michiel van de Sande (* between 1583-01-01 and 1584-12-31; † between 1629-00-00 and 1635-10-27, East Indies)
Occupation(s): painter (1608-1623), captain (1629-).
Location(s): East Indies (1629).

J. van der Schee (* unknown; † after 1706)
Occupation(s): painter (1706), draftsman.
Location(s): Indonesia (1706).

Caspar Schmalkalden (* c. 1617, Friedrichroda;
† after 1668, Gotha)
Occupation(s): soldier (1642-1648), draftsman,
surveyor (landmeter) (1648-1652), secretaris
(1652-1668).
Location(s): Batavia (1646-1647), Banda Aceh
(1647), Batavia (1647-1648), Taiwan (1648-1651),
Japan (1648).

Hendrick van Schuylenburgh (* c. 1620, Mid-
delburg; † between 1689-01-01 and 1689-12-31,
Middelburg)
Occupation(s): painter.
Location(s): Hougly (Hugli-Chuchura) (1665).

Barend Christoffelsz van Siche (* baptized
on 1620-10-27, Amsterdam; † 1639, Persia)
Occupation(s): painter, draftsman.
Location(s): Batavia (1638), Bandar Abbas
(1639).

Christoffel van Siche IV (* 1642-05-18, Am-
sterdam; † 1693-10-15, East Indies)
Occupation(s): (wood-) engraver, midshipman
(1692-1693).
Location(s): Ceylon (1693).

Johannes Philippus Sipman (* 1666-09-03,
Darmstadt; † 1725-06-30, Batavia)
Occupation(s): midshipman (1690-), draftsman
(1692-1696), clerk (1694-1696), governor (1712-
1723), medical doctor.
Location(s): Batavia (1690-1691), Ambon (town)
(1694-1696), Ambon (town) (1699-1712), Makas-
sar (Ujung Pandang) (1712-1723), Batavia (1724-
1725).

David de Solemne (* unknown, Norwich; † af-
ter 1636)
Occupation(s): paymaster ("kwartiermeester")
(1614-1630), paymaster general ("kwartier-
meester-generaal") (1630), captain (1630-),
draftsman (1634-1635), magistrate ("schepen")
(1636-).
Location(s): Batavia (1630-1636), Japan (1633),
Taiwan (1633), Taiwan (1634-1635).

Marcelis (II), Gerritsz. Splinter (* baptized on
1637-09-29, Amsterdam; † after 1675)
Occupation(s): draftsman (1675).
Location(s): Cochin (Kochi) (1674-1675).

Harmen Evertsz. van Steenwijck (* c. 1612,
Delft; † after 1656-01-01, Delft)
Occupation(s): painter.
Location(s): East Indies (1649-1654).

Abraham Lambrechtsz. Stulling (Stulingh)
(* between c. 1592-01-01 and c. 1602-12-31, Delft;
† between c. 1639-10-01 and c. 1639-12-01, at
sea)
Occupation(s): painter (1626-1636).
Location(s): Batavia (1636), East Indies (1636-
1638).

Cornelis Bartholomeusz. Suythof (* baptized
on 1646-12-19, Amsterdam; † 1691-01-28, Bata-
via)
Occupation(s): painter (1670-1681), prison
warder (1690-1691).
Location(s): Batavia (1671-1691).

Michiel Sweerts (* baptized on 1618-09-29,
Brussels; † between 1664-01-01 and 1664-12-
31, Goa (India))
Occupation(s): etcher, painter, tapestry de-
signer.
Location(s): Aleppo (1662), Shiraz (1662), Isfa-
han (1662), Goa (India) (1664).

Johan Hendricksz. Thim (* unknown, Danzig (Gdansk); † between (at sea) 1696-07-22 and 1696-07-23, (North Sea)

Occupation(s): navigator (1661-), cartographer (1661-), merchant (1664-), commander (1686), governor (1686-1691).

Location(s): Batavia (1661-1663), Batavia (1665), Malabar Coast (1666), Batavia (1684), Ternate (1686-1691).

Jan Christiaensz. Toorzee (* unknown, Viborg; † 1709-04-13, Batavia)

Occupation(s): engineer, surveyor, draftsman, captain (1699-), cartographer, district chief (“dessave”) (1707-1709).

Location(s): Ceylon (1672-1682), Colombo (1682-1705), Batavia (1705-1707), Colombo (1707-1708), Batavia (1709).

Hendrick Arents Vapoer, alias: Delff (* before 1590, Delft; † between 1632-01-01 and 1632-12-31, Surat (India))

Occupation(s): merchant (1622), painter, senior merchant (“opperkoopman”) (1623-), administrator (“commies”) (1629-), head (“directeur”) (1632).

Location(s): Masulipatnam (1615), Surat (India) (1615-1617), Agra (1622-1623), Surat (India) (1622), Batavia (1623), Surat (India) (1624-1625), Khambhat (Cambaya) (1625-1626), Lahore (1625), Agra (1626-1632), Surat (India) (1632).

Dirck Daniëlsz. van de Velde (* unknown, Rotterdam; † after 1669)

Occupation(s): copyist, painter, sailor (“bootsgezel”) (1652-).

Location(s): Batavia (1652), East Indies (1669).

Justus de Verwer (* between 1626-01-01 and 1626-12-31, Amsterdam; † buried on 1689-11-12, Amsterdam)

Occupation(s): inn keeper, painter, wine merchant, engraver.

Location(s): East Indies (1651-1656).

Jan Louisz. Victors (* baptized on 1619-06-13, Amsterdam; † between 1676-09-14 and 1677-12-31, East Indies)

Occupation(s): painter (1642-1671), visitor of the sick (1673), visitor of the sick (1676-1677), merchant.

Location(s): East Indies (1673-1677).

Victor Jansz. Victors (* baptized on 1653-09-16, Amsterdam; † after 1700-12-21)

Occupation(s): painter (1676-), cartographer, draftsman, midshipman (1682-1683), merchant (1684), visitor of the sick (1696-1698), visitor of the sick (1700).

Location(s): Ceylon (1682-1683), Dirk Hartog Island (Western Australia) (1696-1697), Batavia (1697), Batavia (1700-).

Pieter Vingboons (* c. 1605, Amsterdam; † between 1644-01-01 and 1644-12-31, Negambo (Ceylon))

Occupation(s): cartographer, draftsman, engineer, merchant, publisher, senior merchant (“opperkoopman”) (1643-1644).

Location(s): East Indies (1640-1644), Batavia (1643), Ambon (town) (1643), Negambo (Ceylon) (1644).

Cornelis Vischbee (* unknown; † after 1667)

Occupation(s): cartographer (1666-1667), draftsman (1666-1667).

Location(s): China (1666-1667), Batavia (1666), Hangzhou (Hangchou), (1667).

Johan Vorsterman (* between 1643-01-01 and 1643-12-31, Zaltbommel; † between 1685-01-01 and 1685-12-31, Zaltbommel)

Occupation(s): etcher, painter.

Location(s): Constantinople (Istanbul) (1685).

Jorephas Balthasarsz. Vosch, alias: Jorephas Vosch van Roelingsweerd (* between c. 1611-00-00 and c. 1630, Wijk bij Duurstede; † buried on 1707-03-03, Doorn)

Occupation(s): painter (1656-1657), merchant (1657-1663), district chief (“dessave”) (1663-1665), commander (1665-1678), commander of the fleet (1684), lord of a manor (“ambachtsheer”) (1691-1699).

Location(s): Batavia (1647), East Indies (1648-1655), Persia (1656-1657), Surat (India) (1656), Agra (1657), Shahjahanabad (Delhi) (1657), East Indies (1657-1663), Jaffna (Jaffnapatnam) (1663-1678), Batavia (1678-1684).

Zacharias Wagenaer (Wagner) (* between 1614-01-01 and 1614-12-31, Dresden Neustadt; † buried on 1668-10-16, Amsterdam)

Occupation(s): architect, cartographer, draftsman, calligrapher, midshipman (1642-), assistant, merchant, governor (1662-1666).

Location(s): Batavia (1642-1653), Taiwan (1651), China (1653), Japan (1656-1657), Japan (1658-1659), Batavia (1659-1661), Cape of Good Hope (1662-1666), Batavia (1667-1668).

Frans Withoos (* baptized on 1665-06-16, Amersfoort; † between 1705-01-01 and 1705-12-31, Hoorn)

Occupation(s): painter, draftsman, painter in watercolors.

Location(s): Batavia (1684-1690, 1690-1695).

Notes

1. I warmly thank NIAS and its staff for the support and facilities; without that I could not have carried out this research. Harm Nijboer kindly helped me with the data processing. In archives and libraries, many others have helped me, as have friends and colleagues who provided me with interesting new material. I thank all of them. But most of all I thank my NIAS fellows without whose support and inspiration this chapter would not have been written.
2. See the contribution by Th. DaCosta Kaufmann, ‘Scratching the Surface: The Impact of the Dutch on Artistic and Material Culture in Taiwan and China’ in this volume.
3. V. Roeper, “‘Waren uit het koninkrijk van China’. Twee vragenlijsten met commentaar van Dirck Gerritsz.,” in P. Boon et al., eds., *Dirck Gerritsz. Pomp alias Dirck China* (Enkhuizen 2002), 25-28. I thank Diederick Wildeman for calling this source to my attention.
4. J. Braat, et al., ‘Restauratie, conservatie en onderzoek van de op Nova Zembla gevonden zestiende-eeuwse prenten,’ *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, 28 (1980): 43-79; J. Braat et al., eds., *Behouden uit het Behouden Huys: catalogus van de voorwerpen van de Barentsexpeditie (1596), gevonden op Nova Zembla: de Rijksmuseumcollectie, aangevuld met Russische en Noorse vondsten* (Amsterdam 1998).
5. J. W. IJzerman, ‘Hollandsche prenten als handelsartikel te Patani in 1602,’ *Gedenkschrift uitgegeven ter gelegenheid van het 75-jarig bestaan op 4 juni 1926 van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* (s.l. 1926): 84-109.
6. F. Vermeylen, *Painting for the Market: Commercialization of Art in Antwerp’s Golden Age* (Turnhout 2003). N. De Marchi and H. J. van Miegroet, ‘Exploring Markets for Netherlandish Paintings in Spain and Nueva Espana,’ in R. Falkenburg et al., eds., *Kunst voor de markt/Art for the Market 1500-1700*, *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, vol. 50 (Zwolle 1999), 81-111.
7. C. Viallé, “‘To Capture Their Favor’: On Gift-Giving by the VOC,” and Y. Kobayashi-Sato, ‘Japan’s Encounters with the West through the VOC: Western Paintings and Their Appropriation in Japan’ in this volume.

8. T. Screech, "Pictures, the Most Part Bawdy": The Anglo-Japanese Painting Trade in the Early 1600s,' *The Art Bulletin*, 87.1 (2005): 50-72.
9. On Van Vollenhoven, see M. J. Bok, 'On the Origins of the Flute Player in Utrecht Caravaggesque Painting,' in R. Klessmann, ed., *Hendrick ter Brugghen und die Nachfolger Caravaggios in Holland* (Braunschweig 1988), 135-141.
10. P. F. W. van Romondt, 'Het muntmeestersgeslacht Wyntgens,' *De Nederlandsche Leeuw*, 33 (1915): 299. Dagregister Batavia, 6 October 1634: "In plaetse vanden gemasacreerden fiscael Balthasar Wijntgens op de noortcust van Ceram, die van hier bij haere Ed. naer Banda was gezonden, omme het vacerende fiscaels ampt aldaer te becleeden ende het recht van de Comp[agni]e te bevaeren ende te mainteneren [etc.]" H. T. Colenbrander, ed., *Dagregister van het Kasteel van Batavia, 1631-1634* (The Hague 1898), 406.
11. L. S. A. M. von Römer, ed., *Epistolae Jacobi Bontii* (Batavia 1921), s.p.
12. See K. Zandvliet, *Mapping for Money: Maps, Plans and Topographic Paintings and Their Role in Dutch Overseas Expansion during the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Amsterdam 2002).
13. I stopped adding new data in February 2011. Since then I found one more name (Aernout van der Neer [Amsterdam 1661 – Edam Island (Damar-Besar, Bay of Jakarta) 1725]) and one anonymous reviewer was kind enough to bring that of Samuel Fallours (Gouda 1655-? [after 1712]) to my attention. I decided to no longer include these in this dataset, though, because this would not result in any significant changes in the observed patterns and trends. I expect future research to yield even more new names, as well as more biographical information on those already in the dataset. The majority of paintings, drawings, and maps produced in Asia by European artists remain anonymous and we may only hope that in the future more can be attributed to their makers.
14. J. de Loos-Haaxman, *De landsverzamelingschilderijen in Batavia: landvoogdsportretten en compagnieschilders*, 2 vols. (Leiden 1941).
15. H. Gerson, *Ausbreitung und Nachwirkung der holländischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Haarlem 1942, reprint Amsterdam 1983).
16. M.-O. Scalliet et al., *Pictures from the Tropics: Paintings by Western Artists during the Dutch Colonial Period in Indonesia* (Wijk en Alburg 1999).
17. Zandvliet, *Mapping for Money*. In 2002 Zandvliet and others presented their new views in the exhibition at Rijksmuseum 'The Dutch Encounter with Asia, 1600-1950.'
18. www.inghist.nl/retroboeken/generalemissiven/.
19. F. S. Gaastra, J. R. Bruijn, and I. Schöffer, eds., *Dutch-Asiatic Shipping in the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Den Haag 1979), www.inghist.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/DAS.
20. <http://vocopvarenden.nationaalarchief.nl/>.
21. Pieter van Dam's *Beschrijvinge van de Oost-Indische Compagnie 1639-1701*, Grote Serie, vols. 63, 68, 74, 76, 83, 96, eds. F. W. Stapel and C. W. Th. van Boetzelaer (The Hague 1927-1954).
22. www.tanap.net/.
23. Access is provided by, among others, the following websites: www.archieven.org; www.archieven.nl; <http://geneaknowhow.net/digi/bronnen.html>.
24. ECARTICO database Linking Cultural Industries in the Early Modern Low Countries, c. 1475-c. 1725; online: www.vondel.humanities.uva.nl/ecartico/persons/. For the dataset used for this chapter, see: DARASIA database (Dutch artists in Asia, 1580-1720); online: <http://www.vondel.humanities.uva.nl/darasia>.
25. Hendrik Adriaan van Reede tot Drakenstein, *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus, etc.*, 12 vols. (Amsterdam 1678-1703).
26. G. E. Rumphius, *D'Amboinsche Rariteitkamer, etc.* (Amsterdam 1705).
27. DaCosta Kaufmann, 'Scratching the Surface'; G. Swartz, 'Terms of Reception: Europeans and Persians and Each other's Art' in this volume. Only after our theme group had left NIAS and I finished the final draft of my article, I read Jos Gommans, 'Nederlandse schilders in de Oost: Een hypothese', in J. Th. Lindblad and Alice Schrikker (eds.), *Het verre gezicht. Politieke en culturele relaties tussen*

- Nederland en Azië, afrika en amerika. Opstellen aangeboden aan prof. dr. Leonard Blussé* (Franeker 2011) 66-85. In this article Gommans puts forward the hypothesis that artistic exchange between Asia and Europe could only take place between like minded court cultures. He especially points at Persia and India, where 'mannerist' religious, mythological and allegorical engravings by European (court) artists were sought after and where local court artists tried to incorporate European elements in their style. Gommans' qualitative analysis seems to be supported by my own, mostly quantitative analysis of the biographical and prosopographical data.
28. H. E. Niemeijer, *De samenleving van Batavia in de 17de eeuw* (Amsterdam 2005). Overview by M. North, 'Art and Material Culture in the Cape Colony and Batavia in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries' in this volume.
 29. Ibid.
 30. Because artists usually entered the service of the VOC in higher ranks, their life expectancy was much higher than that of the common soldier or sailor, as were their chances of eventually returning home to Europe. F. S. Gastra, *De geschiedenis van de VOC* (Zutphen 2001), 91.
 31. S. A. C. Dudok van Heel, *De jonge Rembrandt onder tijdgenoten. Godsdienst en schilderkunst in Leiden en Amsterdam* (Nijmegen 2006), 231.
 32. He was actually a dauber (*kladschilder*).
 33. In Ambon: father and son Rumphius, Cornelis Abrahamsz., Crul, Van Eyck, Hogeboom, De Ruijter, Sipman; in Batavia: Broeckhuysen, Withoos.
 34. An anonymous reviewer questioned the validity of my use of the term "artist" for "persons with very different competences." However, I believe that this is justified as long as we keep in mind that in Asia their role was often different from that of an artist in Europe. Whatever their actual activities, in the Asian context they were all in the position to have acted as possible mediators of various aspects of contemporary European visual culture (paintings, prints, drawings, maps, etc.). This capacity required the same type of knowledge and skills, whether acquired through professional training or not.
 35. Linear regression for painters: $y=0,06x-99,85$ ($r^2 = 0,64$); linear regression for other artists: $y=0,06x-94,03$ ($r^2 = 0,5$).
 36. For the recruitment of the VOC, see: F. S. Gastra, *The Dutch East India Company: Expansion and Decline* (Zutphen 2003), chapter 3.
 37. The polynomial curve suggests that those whose year of birth is unknown most probably belonged to the same age group.
 38. R. van Gelder, *Het Oost-Indisch avontuur: Duiters in dienst van de VOC (1600-1800)* (Nijmegen 1997), 125. The painter Albrecht Herport too claimed to have traveled out of curiosity after having read about Asia (*ibid.*).
 39. De Loos-Haaxman, *De landsverzameling schilderijen in Batavia*, 40. With references to earlier publications.
 40. Their banns were published in Amsterdam on 28 October 1623 (SAA, DTB 428, fol. 238).
 41. The genealogical information is derived from C. Gijsberti Hodenpijl, 'Geslacht Delff,' *De Nederlandsche Leeuw*, 9 (1891): 67f.; B. W. F. van Riemsdijk, 'De portretten van Jacob Willemsz Delf en zijne drie zonen,' *Oud-Holland*, 12 (1894): 233-236; M. G. Wildeman, 'Van der Graeff de Vapour,' *De Nederlandsche Leeuw*, 21 (1903): 15f.
 42. For Geertgen and Joost Stuyling, see N. Alting Mees, 'Aanteekeningen over Oud-Rotterdamse kunstenaars. III,' *Oud-Holland*, 31 (1913): 241-268, esp. 259-261. The genealogical connection with Abraham Lambrechtsz. Stulingh was reconstructed, in contradiction to that of Alting Mees, by P. J. Ritsema, 'Het Delftse geslacht Stuling,' *Gens Nostra*, 25 (1970): 353-367.
 43. "[...] en dat doordien hij boven zijne bekwaamheid de schilderkunst te baat heeft, daar deze natie zeer nieuwsgierig naar zijn, hetwelk ook een helpende oorzaak is, waardoor hij in het Hof bij de Grooten zoo wel gezien is." Quoted from P. A. Leupe, 'Nederlandsche schilders in Persië en Hindostan, in de eerste helft der 17de eeuw,' *De Nederlandsche Spectator* (1873): 260-263, 265-266, esp. 261.
 44. "[...] 't is seeckerlijc een sobere aenwysinge dat men segt dese persoon met schilderen veel gewonnen te hebben." H. W. van Santen, *VOC-dienaar in India, Geleynssen de Jongh in*

- het land van de Groot-Mogol* (Franecker 2001), 66, n. 101.
45. E. A. Engelbrecht, *De vroedschap van Rotterdam, 1572-1795* (Bronnen voor de geschiedenis van Rotterdam, 5) (Rotterdam 1973), 229-230. The husband of his granddaughter Geertruij Vapour van de Graeff bought Wulven Castle in 1696. It later passed to her brother Hendrick van der Graeff de Vapour. See: E. B. F. F. Wittert van Hoogland, 'Wulven,' *Genealogische en Heraldische Bladen*, 8 (1913): 396-399.
 46. Leupe, 'Nederlandsche schilders in Persië en Hindostan,' 260-263, 265-266, esp. 262, n. 3. We know this from a letter sent from Surat on 6 April 1626, one day after the letter in which Vapoer is mentioned in connection with the court at Khambhat. Unfortunately, the court painter remained unnamed.
 47. "2 a 3 schoone schilderijen daar een veldtslach, die van een meester die een zoet penseel had geschildert waer, wandt de mooren alles van dichte bij willen zien, met oock een a 2 caerten van de heele werelt, mede eenige schilderije van verlichterijen, bestaende in kluchticheden ofte naacte beelden." Quoted from D. H. A. Kolff en H.W. van Santen, *De geschriften van Francisco Pelsaert over Mughal Indië, 1627. Kroniek en Remonstrantie* (The Hague 1979), 272.
 48. He also noted that the English were successfully selling tapestries with Old Testament scenes to the Mogul court (ibid., 271). Apparently these were not considered offensive to Muslim eyes.
 49. "[...] experte kenis der schilderkunst [...]." Quoted from Leupe, 'Nederlandsche schilders in Persië en Hindostan,' 260-263, 265-266, esp. 263.
 50. "Soo wert meyn insgelijcken voor de waerheyt berecht, dat sijn Maij[esteij]t (gelyck sulcx de Moorsche wet oock medebrengh) geen amanteur van de schildercunst is [...]." Quoted from Leupe, 'Nederlandsche schilders in Persië en Hindostan,' 260-263, 265-266, esp. 263.
 51. "[...] bemercken mede dat den Grooten Mogol geen liefhebber van figuren is." Quoted from Leupe, 'Nederlandsche schilders in Persië en Hindostan,' 260-263, 265-266, esp. 263.
 52. Leupe, 'Nederlandsche schilders in Persië en Hindostan,' 260-263, 265-266, esp. 265-267.
 53. I have not been able to identify *omrah* Khan.
 54. Like Koedijck, Vosch had a successful career, He too returned as admiral of the return fleet, in 1684. He passed away in 1707 at Moersbergen Castle (Doorn). Van Meteren died in Batavia.
 55. The Hague, National Archive, VOC [1.04.02], 1224, Surat, fol. 256-257 ("Copia missive aen den president Isaack Koedijck door den coopman Joriphas Vosch en de onderkoopluijden Abraham Emanuel van Meetzen [=Meteren] en Johannes Elpen den 15 Maij 1657 uijt Sasianabath [=Shahjahanabad (Old Delhi)]"). I have not been able to consult the original letter.
 56. P. Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'Mogol-miniaturen door Rembrandt nagetekend,' *De kroniek van het Rembrandthuis*, 32.1 (1980): 10-40. For Schellincks's paintings in Moghul style, see S. Alsteens and H. Buijs, *Paysages de France dessinés par Lambert Doomer et les artistes hollandais et flamands des XVIe et XVIIe siècles* (Paris 2008), 42.
 57. Published in *Klioes kraam, vol verscheiden gedichten. De tweede opening* (Leeuwarden 1657), 351-353. The last stanza ("De konst is met geen gelt te koop [Art cannot be bought with money]") suggests that Schellincks wrote the poem to advertise a sale, as was done frequently in the Amsterdam art market (M. J. Bok, "Paintings for Sale": New Marketing Techniques in the Dutch Art Market of the Golden Age,' in idem et al., *At Home in the Golden Age: Masterpieces from the SØR Rusche collection* (Zwolle 2008), 9-29, esp. 24). In the same year of 1657 a "Mogul" play by the Amsterdam playwright Joannes Serwouters, son of the engraver Pieter Serwouters, was staged at the Amsterdam Theatre: "Den Grooten Tamerlan, met de doodt van Bayaset de I, Turks Keizer." P. Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'Het Witsenalbum: Zeventiende-eeuwse Indiase portretten op bestelling,' *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, 44 (1996): 167-254, here 176, 205 n. 22.
 58. T. Weststeijn, 'Portraits of China and Japan: The Case of the Dutch Golden Age,' in K. Yoshida and B. Durrans, eds., *Self and*

Other: Portraits from Asia and Europe, exhib. cat., National Museum of Ethnology (Osaka 2008), 274-278, esp. 275-276. Chinese prints and painting were also actively collected at the time.

59. For early collections of Mogul miniatures in the Netherlands, see Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'Het Witsenalbum,' 167-254, esp. Appendix 1. See also A. Bredius, 'Hindostan'sche teekeningen in Nederland in de XVIIe eeuw,' *Oud Holland*, 29 (1911): 139-142.

9 Scratching the Surface

The Impact of the Dutch on Artistic and Material Culture in Taiwan and China

Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann

Introduction: The Case of the Missing Chinese

The most prominent and probably the most famous artistic representation of seventeenth-century Netherlandish trade with the world appears on the façade of the Royal Palace on the Dam, the former Town Hall of Amsterdam. Sculpture on one pediment projects an image of Dutch success overseas, showing the products of the world being laid at the feet of a personification of Amsterdam.¹ But an interpretation of another lesser known monument in The Hague may help introduce a consideration of a different view of Dutch commercial and cultural relations. This is the ceiling of the *Eerste Kamer* in the Binnenhof in The Hague, a room also known as the *Trêveszaal*.

Paintings by Andries de Haen and Nicholaes Willingh executed in 1664-1665 on the ceiling of the *Eerste Kamer* constitute part of the decoration that accompanied the reconstruction designed by the architect Pieter Post. A suitably representative interior seems to have been desired for what was formerly the Assembly Hall of the Estates (*Statenzaal*) of Holland and West Friesland; it has been described as comparable to that of the *Burgerzaal* in the Town Hall of Amsterdam, and also that of the *Oranjezaal* of the Huis ten Bosch, which glorifies the House of Orange.² Like the decoration of the Amsterdam Town Hall, the paintings in the *Eerste Kamer* may be read as containing symbolic elements which relate

to general, contemporary situations. The end walls feature large allegorical easel paintings of war and peace by Jan Lievens and Adriaen Hanneman; these are probably meant to allude to the sort of major decisions that might have been determined by the Estates who met in the room. Although the imagery of the ceiling has not yet received much scholarly attention, it too suggests such a reading.

Many different groups of people are shown peering down from fictive openings in the ceiling. Several sorts of Europeans, including English, French, Italians, and Germans, appear among them, along with people from other parts of the world outside Europe. These include Native Americans, who may be spotted among a group of Spaniards shown with dark skin; they are identifiable as American Indians by the feathered headdress (often associated with America in the imagery of the traditional four continents) that one of them wears. Turbaned Turks and other *Oosterlingen* (as Easterners were called at the time),³ perhaps Persians, may also be seen in other separate groups on the ceiling.

Considering the original choice of theme one may infer that the ceiling was also intended to convey some sort of message. Whether the different peoples depicted were shown in order to suggest that the laws promulgated in this chamber could also be applied to other lands, or to suggest that there was universal curiosity about the welfare and doings of the Dutch, or to attest to the openness of Dutch affairs to

being viewed by the world, as may be indicated by a poetic description of 1668 by Jacob van der Does,⁴ or perhaps just simply to represent the parts of the globe with which the Dutch had commerce, in any case it seems that an association was to be established between the Netherlands and the peoples of the world at large.

It is, however, noteworthy that some important peoples are not depicted on the ceiling. Most conspicuously, Chinese are missing. It does not seem possible to account for their absence simply by reference, for example, to traditional representations of the continents where Chinese might not have stood for Asia.⁵ In addition to other Eurasian groups such as Russians who are also rarely represented in western European imagery of the seventeenth century, more than one Asian people besides the Chinese are in fact shown on this ceiling in The Hague.

The absence of Chinese seems especially significant in light of the events that had occurred soon before the ceiling was painted. Until the 1660s the Dutch East India Company (hereafter the VOC) had for several decades been intensely involved with China and especially with Taiwan, then known as the island of Formosa. However, in the mid-seventeenth century civil war in China accompanied the collapse of the Ming dynasty (1386-1644), and in 1661 the Manchu Kangxi (K'ang-hsi) emperor assumed the throne, an event that is also often taken to mark the definitive succession of the Qing (Ch'ing) dynasty. In that year Formosa was invaded by forces commanded by Zheng Chenggong (Cheng Ch'engkung) who is often called Coxinga. Coxinga was a Ming loyalist whom the Dutch regarded as a pirate. Coxinga soon conquered most of the island. On 1 February 1662 Fort Zeelandia, the most important Dutch stronghold, which is now located in the Anping district of the southern Taiwanese city

of Tainan, was surrendered after a nine-month-long siege. Dutch traders, officials, and settlers who had not died or been captured had to be evacuated from the island. A contemporary account by the last governor of Zeelandia, Frederic Coyett, described the Dutch failure to relieve Taiwan as "neglected Formosa."⁶ Despite later attempts to recapture it, Taiwan was irretrievably lost for the VOC.⁷

The loss of Taiwan had devastating consequences for the trade network established by the VOC in the South China Sea. It abruptly initiated a decline of the Dutch East India Company in the China market. The disruption of Dutch commerce with China in the 1660s created opportunities for their European rivals. In 1664 Louis XIV and his minister Colbert founded the *Compagnie française des Indes orientales* to compete with the VOC and the English East India Company, which was already a rival for the Dutch in eastern waters. This marked an upsurge of French initiatives to deal with China.⁸ In 1698 two private French companies were formed out of the *Compagnie française des Indes orientales*, one of which was specifically designated as the *Compagnie de Chine* to trade with China.⁹ Only during the course of the eighteenth century, and then to a more limited extent, when different commodities and another point of access were involved, did the VOC regain a substantial share in trade with China.¹⁰

In 1664, so soon after the Formosa disaster, it may thus have seemed inaccurate, impolitic, or simply too painful to depict Chinese among the peoples of the world. In any instance, while painters in The Hague showed other nations of the world literally admiring the Dutch, no such claim was made for China.

The case of the missing Chinese thus provides a symbolic introduction to this essay. In contrast to the imagery of the Amsterdam Town Hall, Dutch dealings with China do not

deserve such grand celebration, for they may not be counted among their most brilliant successes in terms of lasting effect, whatever may be the reasons for the absence of Chinese on the painted ceiling in The Hague. This observation not only applies to trade, but also to what here and elsewhere in the present volume is called cultural transfer or exchange, treated in relation to commerce between the Low Countries, especially the United Provinces, and other parts of the world. Cultural transfer applies here specifically to the evidence of material culture. In distinction to the use of spices or tea, this means finished objects, particularly what were regarded as luxury items in Europe, where such things later came to be called *objets d'art*, or works of art. Conversely, comparable items were called "superfluous things" in China during the Ming Dynasty, the end of whose regime provides the initial focal period for this essay.¹¹ China undoubtedly had a huge impact on European culture that was mediated through the United Provinces. Yet the converse is not true as far as it applies to the role of the VOC or Dutch culture in general on China (and Taiwan). There is simply less to be said about the impact of Dutch art, architecture, and more generally material culture on China and Taiwan, both in comparison with the Dutch presence elsewhere in the area from Cape Town to Japan, and even in comparison with the impact of other Europeans, including southern Netherlanders, in China.¹²

During the course of the first half of the seventeenth century the Dutch succeeded in replacing the Portuguese as the dominant presence in the China trade, much as they ousted their Iberian rivals from other locations in East and Southeast Asia, as discussed elsewhere in this book. It might be said that Amsterdam then became the new trade center for Chinese goods for all of Europe. But even this view, as suggested perhaps by the imagery on the

Amsterdam Town Hall (which however lacks depictions of Chinese) must be tempered. Even at its acme in the mid-seventeenth century the VOC did not control commerce with China. Trade from China was largely conducted in the first place by transport on Chinese junks, hence via vessels that did not belong to Europeans, and that accordingly were not directly under VOC command. Boats coming especially from the southeastern provinces of China carried goods to VOC entrepôts, among them for several decades Fort Zeelandia on Taiwan. Nagasaki (Deshima) on Kyushu in Japan was another entrepôt for the China trade, although at first to a more limited extent, becoming more important in this regard after the loss of Formosa. Most important for the China trade was, however, Batavia, now Jakarta in Indonesia. Goods might come directly to Batavia from China (often from Fukien province), or could also be shipped on from Formosa and Japan. In Batavia, and to a degree in Japan, goods from China might be used to satisfy local demands, or be shipped onwards to other destinations in Asia, or even farther to Europe.¹³

In contrast with what occurred elsewhere in Asia, Africa, and the Americas, it is significant that the Dutch never gained a separate foothold on the Chinese mainland. They were repeatedly driven away from Macao when they assaulted it, suffering a major defeat in 1622. They were never more than briefly able to hang onto the Pescadores, islands in the strait of Taiwan. The settlements including Forts Zeelandia and Provintia (Seckam) on Formosa that the VOC did succeed in establishing may be regarded as a sort of substitute for their failure at Macao; from 1624 the Dutch gradually gained control over a large part of the island of Formosa (Taiwan). However, as noted, all Dutch sites on Taiwan had to be abandoned by 1662, and this setback ended what had been the fulcrum of VOC trade within what has been called the

Asiatic Mediterranean, which stretched from Indonesia to Japan.¹⁴

In the eighteenth century the VOC at first sent a limited number of ships directly to China in response to the increasing European demand for tea. After trading through Macao and then situating several offices (called factories) on the mainland, the VOC established a more regular trading post in Canton (Guangzhou), which was very active from mid-century.¹⁵ Yet merchants from the United Provinces were merely some among the several European nations who were represented in Canton, where they were soon to be joined by traders from the new United States of America; all provided fierce competition for Dutch interests. Furthermore, foreigners present in Canton had to work through Chinese middlemen, eventually the Hongs, in any case, so that local Chinese merchants played an essential role in the trade between China and Europe that was conducted through Canton. Restrictions placed on foreigners resident in Canton also provide an indication of their status. Access to the rest of China from the Canton factories was restricted, as freedom of movement was limited for all foreigners resident there; direct contact with the Chinese government was also forbidden.¹⁶

It was therefore impossible for the VOC ever to obtain in the China trade the kind of monopolistic position for which it in general strove, and largely attained with Japan at least in comparison with other European nations. Control over commerce with China in goods like tea or porcelain was never to be gained, even when the VOC had a grasp on Taiwan (Formosa) and hence had its hands more closely on trade in objects such as ceramics during the seventeenth century.¹⁷ Continuing conversations with officials on the coast of China, especially in Fukien province from the seventeenth century onward were to no avail. Repeated efforts to send embassies to

the imperial court, including several for which there are more or less extensive accounts, which actually rendered visits in 1665, 1667 (sic), 1686, and 1795 to the Forbidden City in Beijing, also failed. The Dutch, more particularly the East India Company, thus never succeeded in obtaining their larger goals through diplomacy. They never achieved even the more limited aim of gaining free trade, open access to the Chinese market, either.¹⁸

These circumstances provide the background for considerations of cultural transfer between China (and Taiwan) and the Netherlands. While it may often seem true that the amount and effect of exchange may be asymmetrical in cultural interactions between different groups and civilizations, the ledger here appears to have been especially unbalanced. Ships of the VOC were eventually responsible for the transportation of many millions of pieces of porcelain back to Europe, according to one estimate more than 45 million.¹⁹ In addition to silk and tea, and other items coveted from China, including lacquer, the massive transfer of objects, especially of luxury items, as porcelain and lacquer initially were considered (before Chinese porcelain was replaced by more highly desired European porcelain in the later eighteenth century, and Chinese porcelain came to be manufactured as a comparatively cheaper product²⁰) exercised a huge impact on the material culture of the Netherlands as it did of other European lands, mainly from the seventeenth, and particularly during the eighteenth century. Chinese objects, porcelain in particular, were avidly sought out and collected, and ultimately porcelain was (re)invented in Europe itself.²¹ In 1726 Augustus the Strong of Saxony notoriously referred to the taste for porcelain as the *maladie de porcelaine*.²² The vogue for Chinese gardens, Chinese rooms, and imitation of all things Chinese grew. Chinese objects and images

affected many aspects of European arts and crafts, leading to a wave of imitations that is generically described as *chinoiserie*. In the United Provinces the taste for porcelain generated emulations in ceramics, most familiarly those made in the form of Delftware and Delft tiles, for example.²³ Similarly, the taste for lacquer also led to the production of European imitations in many places, including painted boxes that simulated lacquer. China also had an impact on much more than material culture, because many Europeans became fascinated by or at least appreciated many other kinds of things Chinese. These phenomena are well known and have been well studied.²⁴

Nevertheless, it is important to note that the Dutch were far from being in control of the effects, even on the commercial side, to which the endeavors of the VOC may have helped lead throughout many parts of Europe. As remarked, the VOC did not control trade in porcelain; it did not govern the production within China that was at its source; it did not begin this trade; nor even during the period of massive importation in the eighteenth century was the VOC the sole or predominant conveyor of ceramics to Europe. In China the actual production of porcelain was controlled by indigenous owners of the kilns, including the emperor, who owned many of the famous kilns in Jingdezhen.²⁵ Chinese and other Asians had carried on trade in porcelain for many centuries before European ships ever arrived in East Asia.²⁶ The Portuguese began and led other Europeans in intervening in the porcelain trade, which they dominated until the Dutch successfully competed with them, and they were never fully excluded from the intercontinental commerce in ceramics with Asia.²⁷ The wars in China that accompanied the collapse of the Ming dynasty were another factor that brought about the decline of Dutch trade with China in the later seventeenth century: the wars disrupted the

production of porcelain, and also of Chinese lacquer, and caused a boost in the production of porcelain and lacquer in Japan, where the slack was taken up – but trade was diverted to another direction.²⁸

Furthermore, even the tremendous effect that the trade in porcelain and other Chinese goods no doubt had on European material culture may be placed in the perspective of what this commerce may have meant in quantitative terms for the VOC. Trade in porcelain, considered as a commodity, never represented the bulk of merchandise imported from China, which largely consisted at first of raw silk and spices, and later tea. At first porcelain was not carried by the Dutch in large amounts. It has even been suggested that one reason for its export was that large porcelain vessels served as dry and safe places for spices during their transport, and certainly later porcelain shipments, in the eighteenth century, served as effective buffers for tea transports.²⁹

Similar estimates apply to economic questions. Data from the seventeenth century, when goods were also almost exclusively being carried away from China in the first stage of their journey by Chinese ships, indicates something of the value of porcelain at that time, before European production caused a collapse in its prices: in 1694 the amount of porcelain recorded as having been carried to Batavia (Jakarta) constituted less than 5 percent of the total valuation of goods conveyed.³⁰ Even the huge importation of porcelain to Europe that occurred especially during the eighteenth century in which the VOC participated to a good extent may be compared to the total volume of trade with China, distinct from the value of this trade.³¹ Gains made from the sale of porcelain, a measure of this value, did not constitute more than a modest portion of the total profits that the VOC derived at any time from the China trade. It has been estimated that porcelain accounted for only 5

percent of the total of all return shipments from China, and this amounted to only a very small percentage of total profits. The profits derived from the trade in porcelain were therefore never as favorable as those gained from spices or tea, and for that matter those from trade in lacquer were even less. From the late seventeenth century onwards the profitability of porcelain for the VOC also became increasingly questionable, notably so after large-scale production of European equivalents including porcelain had begun.³² The French experience with the trade in porcelain and lacquer mirrors the Dutch story.³³

The Dutch therefore assumed a role that had been started by others. They controlled neither the production of Chinese porcelain, nor the initial distribution of it nor other objects from China. This trade was not the most lucrative side of their commerce. At most the VOC played the part of mediators within Asia, an important point to which we shall return. As other essays in this volume may also suggest was the case, Intra-Asian trade conducted by the VOC with goods from other Asian lands, including in this case China, demonstrates that in this instance as in others Dutch commerce in Chinese commodities conducted with other Asian countries was more important than it was with Europe itself.³⁴

On the other hand, a large question looms: what in any event could the Dutch ever offer the Chinese in return? It is illuminating to read what a perspicacious Hollander had already recognized before the first ships were sent out directly from Holland to trade in East Asia. Some of the comments made by Dirck Gerritsz. Pomp, known as Dirck China because he had traveled to China and elsewhere in the East Indies with the Portuguese and Spanish, are very revealing in regard to what for the sixteenth-century Italian artist/biographer Giorgio Vasari were the *arti del disegno* (painting, sculpture, architecture), or what eighteenth-century writers

called *Beaux Arts* (the Fine Arts). In 1595 Pomp responded to a list of objects that it had been proposed might be brought to the kingdom of China in the expectation of great gain. He specifically said that it was senseless to send paintings and prints of landscapes or hunting scenes, because the Chinese painted themselves. He approved, or refrained from commenting on, shipping raw materials and the other sorts of things that the VOC embassies did in fact later bring to China as gifts, or otherwise traded on Taiwan.³⁵ Nevertheless, his advice seems to have been at least in part accurate, because some of the goods he approved of trading, including amber, were eagerly bought up in China.³⁶

The basic evidence from raw data for trade provides a clear sign that European interest in luxury objects or works of art, including paintings,³⁷ produced in China was not reciprocated by a Chinese taste for equivalent sorts of European items. Of course it is necessary to be careful about making generalizations about trade with Asia involving questions of both quantity and quality, because so much may have been carried unofficially, in private containers, as will be discussed below. Nevertheless, the records of what the Dutch supplied to China in return for Chinese exports indicate that they largely consisted of spices, mainly pepper, raw materials, including exotic woods and later tin, and, most important, bullion in the form of unworked silver.

If, then, the VOC never established a firm foothold in China, nor even for very long in Taiwan, if the general conditions, products, and contents of commerce indicate limited possibilities for the transfer of European luxury objects with China, if Chinese interest in such luxury goods seems to have been comparatively slight in any case, what might the Dutch impact on material culture in China have been? Could the impact of European art on Chinese culture and civilization, especially on material culture,

ever have been very great? At first glance, evidence for the transfer of Netherlandish, especially Dutch cultural goods, and for their impact on China (or Taiwan) before 1800 does indeed appear to have been relatively slight.

Yet consideration of this question within the more general context of Dutch cultural transfer in the regions of the Indian Ocean and East Asia offered in the present volume is illuminating: the evidence, both positive and negative, is revealing for several reasons. First, some traces may still be found for various sorts of the impact of material culture mediated through the Dutch in Taiwan and China. Second, even the limited response to Dutch contact such as it may be, and to the broader elements of European culture they might have offered, not only contrasts with what happened elsewhere, but with what was mediated by other Netherlanders (Flemish): this should cause reconsideration of the role of the VOC in general. Hence some insights may be obtained into the more general question of how or why the Dutch may have been more or less successful in their endeavors in the East, and consequently what favorable circumstances for cultural exchange may have been. In the end what at first glance might apparently appear to be the unrewarding topic of the Dutch impact on China thus allows for comments about larger conditions.

This essay proceeds to summarize and evaluate historical and archeological data related to the presence of the Dutch on Formosa (Taiwan). It suggests some direct and indirect traces of the possible impact there of the VOC, and of related Dutch endeavors, on material culture in Taiwan. It mentions the possible impact of Dutch demands and taste on the manufacture of Chinese goods that were to be exported to Europe. It suggests how some objects that had probably been brought by the VOC may have had an impact on production of similar sorts of items and their imitation in China. Then it turns

to further consideration of the other side of the question, that is, why the Dutch were not more successful, and did not have more of an impact in China. It suggests some evidence that may help account for why the Chinese may have lacked interest in Dutch objects and material culture, apart from a few sorts of items. Finally, it briefly contrasts the contribution of other Europeans, especially Flemish (southern Netherlanders) to Chinese civilization (and in this case contemporary evidence does allow us to draw a distinction between northern and southern Netherlanders). In conclusion, it offers some comments about what this may suggest about Dutch cultural transfer with Asia in general.

Dutch Cultural Impact on Taiwan

We may first turn to the place where the Dutch did establish, however briefly, a firm presence in the area of China: Taiwan (Formosa). Not much is left above ground anywhere on Taiwan to attest to the character of structures from the Dutch era. In the northern part of Taiwan, in the Danshui district northwest of Taipei, there stands Fort Santo Domingo. This was originally a Spanish building which was reconstructed by the Dutch, but which seems to have been rebuilt – and repainted – still later by the British. In the absence of thorough *Bauforschung* (building research) it is difficult to say what remains from the Dutch period of the seventeenth century. In southern Taiwan, Fort Zeelandia was also completely reconstructed, apparently from the ground up, by the Japanese during the period of their occupation of the island, which lasted from the end of the nineteenth century until 1945. Of all Dutch structures on Formosa, Fort Provintia (Seckam), now in the center of the city of Tainan, may be the best preserved of Dutch buildings, but it has been encased within a later Chinese temple (the Chikan Lou), and it has not been thoroughly



Fig. 9.1: View of Fort Seckam.

excavated, nor have the areas nearby where the Dutch probably lived (fig. 9.1). Only partial accounts of ongoing archeological excavations in Tainan, which might complement archival and illustrative records, have been published.³⁸

Nevertheless, some records of construction can be established through written documents, illustrations, and archeology. Fort Zeelandia was built on a regular geometrical plan that echoes that of many other Dutch forts overseas, with official and practical buildings adjacent, and

a town placed nearby. The fortification was deliberately situated on what was then easily accessible terrain so that cargoes could be loaded and unloaded without much difficulty nearby; as time would soon prove, this location was however not easily defensible. The later building of the fort, sometimes known as Fort Seckam, near the Dutch settlement of Provintia (hence it is also called Fort Provintia) seems to have resembled Zeelandia in plan, although it seems to have been smaller.³⁹ In addition, residences and warehouses



Fig. 9.2: James Thomson, View of Fort Zeelandia, 1871.

were laid out near the forts; their plans and appearance display similar characteristics to those found in other Dutch settlements in the East.⁴⁰ Dutch castles, towns, and the houses within them on Taiwan thus had a regular disposition. Furthermore, several decrees also determined that they were to be built in brick.⁴¹ Finally, it has also been established that some materials such as roof tiles were brought to Formosa.⁴²

A well-known photograph taken in 1871 by the Scottish photographer James Thomson also documents the appearance of a wall and portal in Zeelandia, before this part of the fort was torn or fell down (fig. 9.2).⁴³ It shows a building made of brick with an entryway that has been walled up.

This entryway has the form of a rusticated arch, with alternating horizontal and vertical blocks. It however also appears to be made of bricks, over which plaster may have been applied. Above the gateway is an inscription that states the name of the building and its date, although neither the date nor the authenticity of the inscription may be determined with certainty.⁴⁴

The most remarkable aspect of Dutch construction on Formosa is related to the use of materials: much of the permanent material (as opposed to wood, or mud) may have been transported from elsewhere, along, frequently, with the men who utilized them. Not only is this observation true for the documented transport

of roof tiles, but for stone: stone was brought from the dismantled Dutch factory at Hirado in Japan to be used to aid in building Fort Zeelandia.⁴⁵

Some bricks may have been made locally, and a map of the settlement of Provintia indicates the presence there of brick ovens,⁴⁶ which were perhaps even built by Chinese who had either settled on the island or who had come from elsewhere. However, much other building material, including bricks and other sorts of stone, was also imported, apparently often as ballast as documents indicate. Building materials were indeed also specifically requested to be shipped.⁴⁷ Along with materials came bricklayers, carpenters, and masons, who were involved in the actual construction of edifices.⁴⁸ The Zeelandia *Dag-registers* (the daily records of the Dutch factory) frequently note such shipments, which came from the Pescadores, from the Chinese mainland, and probably from Batavia as well, where brick kilns are also known to have existed. Stone is found in courses at the bottom of the brick walls at Zeelandia that has a metamorphic character unlike rocks found on Taiwan but that suggests a provenance from the Pescadores. Bricks made elsewhere than on Taiwan can also be discerned in Fort Zeelandia and probably in Fort Seckam (Provintia). Most strikingly, it can be demonstrated that some of the bricks that were used on Formosa had been transported there from as far as way as the Netherlands.

Despite the scanty remains of observable original materials, and the paucity of reports, ocular inspection of both Fort Zeelandia and of Fort Provintia provides evidence for the presence of Dutch-made bricks. These are especially visible at Fort Seckam (Provintia).⁴⁹ In contrast with Chinese-made bricks, the Dutch product may be characterized by a different size, and by the absence of fragments of coral or other marine creatures that may frequently be found in locally produced bricks. The Dutch also often use a thicker mortar, although like the Chinese

they seem to employ one that is made out of sugar, sand, seashells, and rice. Moreover, Dutch bond was used for laying bricks to build the forts: this is a process consisting of alternately laying headers and stretchers in a single course, in which the headers in the rows placed in the course immediately above lie in the middle of the stretchers in the course below. The process of laying bricks in alternating positions and courses in this manner points to the presence of Dutch masons, or at least of Dutch overseers for the building process.⁵⁰

Significantly, yellow bricks have also been uncovered (and many subsequently covered over again) in excavations at Fort Zeelandia. These bricks are indubitably Dutch in origin, because they may be recognized as “Ijsselsteenjes,” whose yellow color marks their provenance from the Low Countries. Dutch-made bricks like these (and of other colors) were spread in the millions throughout Dutch overseas settlements, where they served on the outward journey as ballast.⁵¹ However, as in other places where bricks had also been sent as ballast, such as the Baltic, they were then evidently used for construction purposes on Taiwan.⁵²

Considering the rounded shape (though broken off) suggesting an arch of what was the principal entrance to the fort at Provintia that is found within its encasement by the later Chinese Chikan temple, and its rough, unfinished appearance, it is possible to speculate that a more elaborate portal may also have been intended for at least one building on Formosa (fig. 9.1). Blocks of Westphalian (Baumberg) stone have been found in the wreckage of the ill-fated *Batavia*, the VOC ship that en route to the like-named town struck a rock in 1629 off the west coast of Australia and went down. Numbering on these stones, which were initially employed as ballast, has enabled the reconstruction of an arch, which has been set up in replica in the Shipwreck Galleries of the Western Australian Museum in

Fremantle, and also using the original materials at Geraldton. The portal in Australia has forms resembling those found in Serlio and other Renaissance architectural treatises, and it was probably destined for an entry portal for the fort in Batavia, Java (see plate 9.1). The stone visible in one of the existing portals from a seventeenth-century fort rebuilt by the Portuguese at Recife in Brazil also resembles that from Westphalia, and may thus originate from the antecedent Dutch fort that had been erected during the time of Maurice of Nassau-Siegen in Brazil (fig. 9.3).⁵³ In any case it could not have come from this region of Brazil, where no such stone may be found naturally. Hence, given what seems to have been the practice of shipping whole portals overseas during the period from c. 1630 onwards, it is possible that another such portal may also have been meant to be shipped to Formosa, too; it is possible that the disastrous conflict with Coxinga meant that it never arrived.⁵⁴



Fig. 9.3: Portal, Fort of São Tiago das Cinco Pontas, Recife, Brazil.

As the destruction of many buildings on Taiwan and their later reconstruction and even complete rededication (e.g. into the Chikan Lou temple) of others suggests, the actual reception of Dutch architecture on Formosa seems to have resonated slightly if at all with their Han Chinese successors on the island, not to mention the aboriginal inhabitants. Forts could continue to be used for military purposes; Coxinga also seems to have employed Dutch captives as surveyors.⁵⁵ In contrast with what happened in several other places in Southeast and East Asia, any further impact of Dutch architecture on local practices seems doubtful, however, especially after the conquest by the Qing dynasty in the seventeenth century.

Elsewhere traditional Asian media used for construction, including notably wood, may have been modified in emulation of European models. For example, in Siam the use of brick by Europeans stimulated local potentates to build similarly.⁵⁶ In Japan the use of brick also seems to have been inspired by Dutch professional works.⁵⁷ One might speculate that the use of brick in Chinese architecture might also have been similarly stimulated by the Dutch. Yet it may be recalled that the Great Wall and many older Chinese city walls were lined in brick, and that many houses in China were made of masonry; it may thus be argued that the idea that the Chinese built predominantly in wood is a modern myth that was championed especially by Japanese architectural historians, for they in fact often used brick and stone.⁵⁸ Hence caution about assumptions of the impact of Dutch on Asian construction practices seems in order. The Japanese twentieth-century reconstruction of Zeelandia in brick may even be interpreted as another Japanese demonstration that brick was foreign to the local environment. In any case, it is unlikely that Dutch buildings on Taiwan really changed Chinese construction

customs, except for the brief moment of their presence.

If Dutch building was never really influential, what may be said about other aspects of Dutch visual culture? It has long been known that Dutch paintings and even painters were to be found on Formosa. The inventory of the Dutch governor François Caron published in the nineteenth century contained a collection of images, and this has allowed for an analysis of the paintings and prints in his possession.⁵⁹ Twenty-eight pictures were located in the governor's house, the building that stood immediately in front of Fort Zeelandia. These included sixteen paintings of individuals or family members of the House of Orange; four paintings of geography and modern history, namely battle scenes; and eight paintings with religious subjects. Battle paintings, portraits, even religious works, are the kinds of pictures that were found in many other official VOC buildings and private collections strewn throughout Asia, as indicated by other contributions in this volume, where further commentary on the significance of their themes may also be found. The painter Joost Pauwels Noorwits (1623-1653) visited Formosa, where he executed a number of portraits that he sent back to Holland.⁶⁰

In the wake of the Dutch evacuation of Taiwan the paintings on the island were all probably removed, sent home, or lost; in any case none of them may yet be identified. The sole surviving identifiable picture that probably was painted by a Dutchman on Taiwan represents the minister Robert Junius preaching. This picture has been attributed to Noorwits, and it has also been suggested that the same artist, inspired by prints, may also have done many of the paintings in the governor's house. It has in addition been suggested that many prints, like those documented in the governor's house, were disseminated to other preachers

on the island, where they may have had an impact, and also that such prints were widely available.⁶¹

Yet while possible, these hypotheses are unlikely. Neither the painting of Junius, nor, unfortunately, its sole surviving photographic reproduction may now be located.⁶² While there is both documentary and material evidence for the shipment of Dutch prints eastwards in the early seventeenth century, this evidence does not allow us to determine if prints were ever effectively marketed in Asia.⁶³ The suggestions made by "Dirck China" cited above also make it improbable that either prints or paintings were intentionally transported by the VOC (or Dutchmen acting privately) other than to Dutch customers in Taiwan or China. The absence of their reception on the mainland (as opposed, perhaps to a different situation in Batavia) also makes it improbable that an indigenous clientele existed.⁶⁴ In any case, no evidence is to be found in the *Zeelandia Dagregisters* for such shipments of prints to Formosa. And even if such commerce did occur with Taiwan, it was probably carried on by individuals outside of the control of the VOC, and, because of the possible conduit (private chests), it must have been comparably limited.

To be sure, private commerce was effective in many other similar instances involving the circulation of goods throughout the region from Cape Town to Japan, whereby trade went on outside of "official" channels. This trade seems similar to what occurred in the instance of the British East India Company, where it is called company trade. As in the British case, in many cases it probably was conducted by individuals who had connections with the VOC. It has been noted that much of the trade in various sorts of goods with China that went through Batavia may have occurred in this form.⁶⁵ Porcelain often circulated through such private channels, as will be discussed below.⁶⁶

Nevertheless, further consideration of the painting showing Junius preaching and especially comparison with other similar depictions of Europeans preaching to indigenous people in situations outside Europe suggests that it is improbable that Dutch images were to be found connected with a religious, missionary context such as would have been the case on Formosa.⁶⁷ The use of images in the Reformed Church is in any event problematic, as is well known. In contrast, Franciscan missionaries in New Spain (Mexico), as illustrated in the *Rhetorica Christiana* of Diego Valadés, are shown preaching and teaching by pointing at images located inside churches and convents.⁶⁸ Throughout the Asian experience, Christian images were desired from Catholic missionaries, and there is evidence that there was also some attachment to images brought by such priests to Formosa as well.⁶⁹ Yet Junius is shown preaching without reference to images. Most important, not only did Dutch preachers like him combat Roman Catholicism on Formosa, but their efforts at conversion were also specifically directed against local idolatry, meaning the improper use of images for religious purposes.⁷⁰ Thus there seems to have been little reason why the Dutch would have used images for religious ends on Taiwan, and good reason why they would not have used them for missionary functions. Other circumstances also argue against the assumption that religious images were so used: no such images (aside from one illustrated frontispiece in a Bible) have been found which can be identified with a Taiwanese provenance, in contrast with the widespread preservation of Catholic images in an area in which Christianity was also for a time largely eradicated, such as occurred in Japan.⁷¹

It is not therefore in the realms of architecture, painting, or even in other sorts of more widely distributable images (e.g. prints) that the Dutch may have exercised an impact on

local material culture on Taiwan. Perhaps unexpectedly, the Dutch had an affect on both the symbolic and material aspects of the culture not of the Han Chinese who were immigrating to Formosa during the years Europeans were present and who ultimately replaced them as overlords of the island, but on those of the local population of aboriginal Taiwanese. In the first case this involves the distribution of staffs or canes (called *rottnang*) by the VOC, which were presented to local chieftains. After 1644, canes which had a silver knob inlaid with the VOC insignia were distributed from Batavia, and these objects became the sole symbol of Dutch authority with peoples on the island. Formosans readily adopted silver-headed canes as a sign of authority and control.⁷² These silver-headed canes retained their symbolic power even after the Dutch had long vanished. Remarkably, a chief's family from eastern Taiwan owned one until they presented it to the Japanese Crown prince when he visited the island in 1923; it seems as if the silver-headed cane was thought of as being returned to the then sovereign authority.⁷³

Other goods that were imported by the Dutch also seem to have had impact on local cultures: beads and pipes. These correspond to some of the sorts of trinkets of whose export "Dirck China" did approve. Objects made out of beads, including glass beads of European origin, were regularly utilized by the VOC and other Europeans (Spanish) in exchanges with the local population.⁷⁴ Along with glass, they seem to have become the objects most favored by Taiwan's aboriginal peoples. In Taiwan beads and pipes were exchanged for local products, most notably deer skins, which were desired in Japan.⁷⁵

Clay pipes are among the most frequent sort of remains encountered in the excavations at Fort Zeelandia and other sites around Tainan on Taiwan.⁷⁶ It is likely that when similar

objects are found elsewhere on Taiwan, one may assume that their source was Dutch, perhaps traded from the same settlements on the island. European pipes were imitated in other materials than their usual clay even after the Europeans had been driven off the island. Archeologists have indeed attributed pipes found in local digs of indigenous settlements to both Dutch and Spanish provenance.⁷⁷

Finally, the observation about the export of items from Dutch settlements and their subsequent impact may also apply to ceramics. Shards of Delftware, Haarlem majolica, other sorts of Delft stoneware, and Westphalian stoneware are abundantly visible in remains found in Zeelandia.⁷⁸ European ceramics were evidently appreciated by the indigenous population, because fragments of European pottery are often incorporated into locally produced ceramic objects.⁷⁹ Whether this practice of incorporation dates back to the Dutch period remains for further investigation by local archeologists and anthropologists.

China: A History of Missed Opportunities

The tremendous export of Chinese goods for the European market no doubt had an effect on production in China itself. The question is how to evaluate these conditions in relation to questions of cultural transfer. Consideration of the possible impact of Dutch (and more generally European) culture and the VOC on material culture in China must in the first instance recognize that the best-known aspects of European effects on the manufacture of Chinese objects, namely through the determination of the kinds of wares that were to be ordered or purchased when shipped, are connected directly with the making of artifacts by the Chinese themselves

for export. The assessment of market roles in this exchange must also take into account who actually derived profits from the production of ceramics: here a major share must obviously be granted to the Chinese.

The other side of supply is demand, and it is well known that in the seventeenth century the Dutch often specified the shape, form, decoration, and imagery of porcelain. Numerous records from the *Dagregisters* from Zeelandia as well as the existence of many surviving pieces attest to the character of this exchange between consumers and producers. Drawings and patterns were at times supplied to Chinese (and Japanese) merchants to submit to kilns to facilitate the manufacture of the types of pieces desired. These may be regarded as instances in which Chinese (and Japanese) producers of porcelain responded, at times directly, to market demands.⁸⁰ This process seems to represent the complement to the Dutch transformation of Delftware and other ceramics into forms that imitated Asian products: these mutual responses have been described as examples of *wisselwerkingen*; they continued into the eighteenth century.⁸¹

In the eighteenth century, when porcelain for the European market was literally mass produced, Chinese kilns seem to have anticipated their European clientele by producing imaginary scenes of life in China, or conversely of European subjects. This ceramic production may be related to the history of what is often called *Chine de commande*. This porcelain was specially ordered by foreign, particularly European clients. A striking instance of this practice involving Dutch clients is the production of porcelain with Dutch armorial bearings.⁸² Also remarkable are porcelain figurines that are portraits of clients.⁸³

The production of such porcelain sculpture represents one instance of the readjustment of traditional Chinese arts (and crafts) to the

international (intercontinental) market, the production of Chinese export paintings another. These paintings are often otherwise called China Trade paintings, after the circumstances in which they originated. They were produced, sold, and shipped primarily through Canton (Guangzhou), and came from local workshops with which European traders might have had direct contact. These pictures were executed in a variety of techniques and media, including watercolor, as *Hinterglasmalerei*, and even in oil. Chinese export paintings often incorporate European subjects, as well as local scenes or subjects. The style and pictorial devices they employ also often demonstrate a knowledge of Western images, which they seem to emulate in their use of perspective, modeling with shadows, cast shadows, foreshortening and other elements, as well as “traditional” Chinese features.⁸⁴

In addition to paintings and porcelain, many other goods, including, as is also well known, lacquer and silk were also made for individual clients. By the end of the eighteenth century all kinds of objects could be ordered on command or bought in Canton. Beyond such traditional exports as silk or lacquer, these included carvings on wood, ivory, and other materials; metalwork; and wallpaper.⁸⁵ Fans and perhaps more surprisingly furniture in fashionable forms could also be obtained by clients in Canton, who carried on their own private trade in such items there. These included not only *Hinterglasmalerei* and other sorts of paintings. Many more sorts of furnishings found Dutch clients.⁸⁶

However, it is difficult to ascribe to the Dutch a prime role in either the consumption or production of any of these goods, which were made after all for export by the Chinese themselves; most important, none of these sorts of items were made exclusively for Dutch clients or patrons. For example, specific forms and types of porcelain, as well as their decoration with coats of arms, as well as other similar

such items that were designed on command for Europe, were created for Europeans well before any Netherlanders even ventured into East Asian waters. The Portuguese had already long been involved in the trade in objects with armorial bearings, starting in the early sixteenth century.⁸⁷ English, French, and German patrons and collectors also favored them.⁸⁸ Furthermore, in the Dutch case, as has been noted for armorial porcelain, this trade remained in the hands of private traders, not the VOC. To reiterate, all these sorts of objects were products exported by the Chinese; while there may have existed a taste in China itself for the kinds of object manufactured for the Canton trade, it is difficult to estimate how much of an impact if any this production had on local material culture outside of court circles before the late eighteenth century.

Notwithstanding the difficulties attending interpretation, some specific cases of craft production do allow us to determine that East-West exchanges mediated by the VOC had a more lasting impact on Chinese material culture. It has recently been established that several craft techniques originating in Europe were adopted in China where they were used to produce objects that, while also admired by Westerners, were made primarily for local consumption. Painted enamels provide some of the best examples of this sort of reciprocal cultural exchange. During the earlier years of the Qing dynasty in the late seventeenth century the Kangxi emperor brought together craftsmen from a variety of workshops resulting in the creation of an innovative system for the manufacture of enamels. This involved the use of particular pigments, and the application of color, design, and other production techniques. These techniques had been introduced first by Westerners, and they were then emulated by Chinese artisans.⁸⁹ The enamels Chinese artisans produced, sometimes after Western

designs even specifically made by European artists, were probably first intended for the imperial court itself, since numerous examples are still visible in the successor collections to those of the emperor, now in the National Palace Museum in Taipei and in the National Palace Museum in Beijing. Of specific interest for present discussion is that by the later eighteenth century the production of painted enamels in China had evidently spread from ateliers working for the imperial court, because similar items could be obtained from local ateliers that would sell them through merchants in Canton. So it was that Dutch clients could by the end of the century obtain enamels (that are now in collections in the Netherlands) similar to those found in museums in the People's Republic of China and Taiwan, where they have an old provenance from China.⁹⁰

It may be that the VOC acted as the initial catalyst for the production of such objects in China. The Kangxi emperor is reported to have responded to a gift of weapons brought by the Dutch embassy of 1686 by urging the imperial workshops to produce objects that are described as *falang*, which may mean enamels, or something French, or of European sort.⁹¹ But the documents give no clear indication that the Chinese were imitating enamels brought by the Dutch. In fact, European enamels might often have previously been given by ambassadors or missionaries from other lands to Chinese recipients. Painted enamels in China certainly can be demonstrated to have been inspired directly by French works, which were most likely given by the French themselves.⁹² Moreover, since enamels in the Low Countries probably come from private collections assembled in the eighteenth century that arrived there through personal connections, it cannot be established the VOC, as opposed to private Dutch traders, served as the major conduit by which Chinese enamels arrived in the Low Countries, either.

A firm claim may nevertheless be made for the involvement of the Dutch, indeed specifically the VOC, in the adaptation and development of another craft technique that the Chinese did elaborate for local purposes from European sources. This involves another product that also provides evidence for reciprocal cultural exchange: the making of spheres with concentric levels within them. Balls containing concentric ivory spheres have been described as staples of the Chinese export trade in artifacts that is attested as early as the fourteenth century.⁹³ According to the testimony of an English traveler at the end of the eighteenth century, the Chinese had become by that time the world's best producers of such items in ivory. English artisans in Birmingham had apparently tried, but failed to imitate these particular Chinese products.⁹⁴ This is an excellent example of cultural interchange, because although the Chinese may have been said to excel at this craft, the source of the technique they probably used is evidently European.

The making of complicated concentric spheres in China may at first be attributed to the impact of Guandong ivory spheres, spheres that came from trade through Canton (Guangzhou, in Guandong province). While there is a long history in China of making objects with intricate openwork designs, for example in jade decoration, the intricacy of repeated patterns and the regular intervals at which holes are bored in ivory spheres that were manufactured from the seventeenth century onwards indicate the application of a technique that had not previously been used in Chinese crafts. Such features are however already to be found in ivory objects seen in European court collections of the mid-sixteenth century and later (where they are found, for example, in successor collections such as that of the Grünes Gewölbe, Dresden). Yet ivories of this type do not appear to have been produced by

the Chinese until the mid- to late eighteenth century. At this time they were made by ivory carvers in Guangdong who were working for the Qing court.

While Guangdong craftsmen used traditional lathes operated by foot, the emperor seems to have stimulated the application of a new sort of lathe employing the arrangement of a bed that was based on Western technology.⁹⁵ Palace records of the Qianlong era (1736-1795) indicate the probable source of inspiration for such ideas. They record the receipt of concentric wooden cups, which indeed may be compared to a set of surviving sets of nested wooden cups of European origin (Taipei, National Palace Museum) (see plate 9.5). Several nested ivory objects of European origin from the imperial Chinese collections are also known (Beijing Palace Museum) (see plate 9.6).⁹⁶ Because the particular European objects now in Taipei and Beijing were probably made in the seventeenth century, they may have arrived in China already earlier than the eighteenth century. In any case, the production of ivory objects produced at the Qing court using Western-style lathes are mentioned during the reign of the Yongzheng emperor (1722-1735), when such items may already have been made in China; they are also recorded in Qianlong era palace records; there also exist specific records of a Westerner who was involved in the manufacture of such objects in China.

It has however not yet been recognized that the VOC probably played a key role in the introduction of these European catalysts into China. The nested wood and concentric ivory objects now found in collections in Beijing and Taipei of the sort that may have inspired Chinese production may be attributed to artisans from mid- to late-seventeenth-century Nuremberg. They may be associated with objects made by members of the Zick family.⁹⁷ Nuremberg was a major emporium where locally produced as

well as wares made elsewhere were sold to customers throughout Europe.⁹⁸ Significantly, “Nuremberg wares” and “Nuremberg toys” were a staple of VOC trade.⁹⁹ Nuremberg manufactures of various sorts, including “toys,” mechanical craft objects, and other similar items with intricate designs were spread by the VOC and are found in places such as Cape Town, where they were appear in private collections, and as gifts for the king of Candy in Sri Lanka.¹⁰⁰ It is thus probable that such objects, which might also be considered toys in a certain sense, were also brought by the VOC either as gifts or as trade objects to China as well.

Dutch Gifts and Their Reception in China

The reason why some objects presented by the Dutch may have resonated in China and others not has to do both with their reception by the Chinese, as well as obviously what was made available by the Dutch themselves. Chinese responses can be reconstructed from surviving objects, and their possible origins; from what may be surmised about contemporaneous Chinese taste in general; from what can be determined especially about the gifts that the Dutch actually are known to have given to Chinese; and from what the expressed Chinese reaction to them in words and images is known to have been. As is discussed elsewhere in this volume, gifts formed a key site for cultural transfer throughout Asia, because they were a *sine qua non* for successful negotiations.¹⁰¹

Let us examine more closely the European objects just discussed as an example of such successfully mediated objects, the concentric spheres. The appreciation of these objects may be associated with several terms that have been discussed in the Ming discourse on material culture – assuming that the early Qing also took

over these late Ming notions about such “superfluous things.” Concentric ivory spheres have been specifically identified with the discussion of intricately made or finely wrought objects that are associated with the concepts of *ling lang* and *ling long*. They may also be regarded as rare, marvelous, or rich and strange objects, *qi*.¹⁰² The terms *gui gong* or *gui yi* have also been connected with concentric ivory spheres, but whether these terms mean devil’s work or devilish strange, deriving from the notion that no mortal hand could have executed such objects, or these terms simply mean foreign, in the sense that the origin of such objects was not Han Chinese, is a matter of debate.¹⁰³ In any case it would seem that another critical category, *shi wan* or *bao wan*, meaning contemporary bibelots or precious bibelots, might also be applicable to the concentric spheres.

The responses recorded to the gifts presented by four embassies sent by the VOC to the imperial court, as well as the choice and treatment of the gifts, also illuminate the limits that cultural understanding (or misunderstanding) on both sides placed on the reception of any sorts of objects made available by the VOC, or by other Dutch traders acting privately. The first Dutch embassy to the Forbidden City that was led by Johan Nieuhof in 1655 presented a variety of gifts to the emperor, the empress, and the empress’s mother; the leaders of the legation, Pieter de Goyer and Jacob Keyser, separately also presented objects to the emperor. Many of the gifts were comestibles, such as spices and wines; others were cloths; others were what might best be called trinkets, albeit, as “Dirck China” had suggested, made out of rare materials such as amber, coral, and crystal; and still others were weapons and armor. Aside from weapons and armor, there were relatively few manufactured objects: a silver “optick tube,” four “looking-glasses,” one great looking-glass, eight square, one suit of tapestry hangings, and

six carpets were given to the emperor. The empress received a large looking-glass; two quilts; some tapestry hangings; two tables described as “Italian Tables of white Marble Inlay’d with Pictures of divers Colours”; a crystal cabinet; a Cabinet of Wood “of divers Figures”; and “six little chests of divers pictures.” Her mother was given a large looking-glass a tortoise-shell cabinet inlaid with silver; two ebony cabinets; a crystal *scritore* [sic]; six “Italian Tables of white Marble Inlay’d with Pictures of divers Colours”; three painted carpets, and a cabinet made after the fashion of an eagle, and “Twenty One curious Pinctadoes of Methlajatam.” De Goyer and Keyser gave the emperor four looking glasses with painting; “four marble tables of divers colours”; a marble cabinet; and “two statues engraven with divers flowers.”¹⁰⁴

The reactions of the Chinese indicate that beyond a certain amount of curiosity, they did not respond to much of what the Dutch had to offer, especially in the way of manufactured goods. When the objects were taken out of the chests in which they had been carried, they asked about where they had originated, how they were made, how they had been obtained, what had been bought, and how long the journey had been. Specifically, the Chinese asked questions about the value of the cloths that had been given, and remarked that the weapons, saddle, amber, and coral would be particularly appreciated.¹⁰⁵

The gifts did not achieve their desired effect in any event. A contemporary critique by an English Jesuit, John Adams, notes one reason why. He states:

Three things there are, whereof the Hollanders have no scarcity, which had they brought, would have been powerful Advocates for them: the First is a Harpsichord, with a skillful Player on it; second a Trumpeter; the third some Engineers and Officers to Train up and Exercise Soldiers.¹⁰⁶

Further scrutiny of the items that actually were given suggests some more reasons why the Dutch may not have been successful. Not only were relatively few of these items actually Dutch, but many do not seem to have been selected with their particular recipients in mind. Many items were optical devices – and these we might assume might have been Netherlandish in provenance, if one considers the importance of the United Provinces for their manufacture. Yet these were the sorts of things that were given in Sri Lanka and Japan as well.¹⁰⁷ More striking still is that many items brought to China were either made in India – or would have been better sent there. The first category probably included painted cloths: a clue to their identification is the description of “pinctadoes” said to come from Methlajatam, which is probably Masulipatnam, the major entrepôt on the Coromandel Coast, where many such textiles were produced.

The numerous gifts of Italian marble tables described as having colored pictures are also noteworthy. They may be regarded as another category of objects, namely items appropriate for Indian patrons. The description of these items corresponds to furniture made out of *commessi in pietre dure*, that is, compositions consisting of images out of semi-precious stones (see plate 9.4).¹⁰⁸ Elaborate objects such as tables made in this manner had their origins in Florentine craftsmanship; surviving tables of approximately similar date are known, for example, from the collections of the Prince of Lichtenstein.¹⁰⁹ The statues with “engraven” flowers may have been other such *commessi in pietre dure*, and it is possible that the “other tables made out of divers colours” might have been similar sorts of objects. While the marble tables no doubt were thus appropriate as princely gifts, it is not known that such pieces were ever appreciated in China before a taste for such stone items developed, and this occurred only much later, in the nineteenth

century. However, inlaid stone objects would have clearly been appropriate for contemporaneous India, where inlaid stone had long been in favor. At the mid-seventeenth-century court of Shah Jahan objects with *pietre dure* decoration were very much in fashion for adornment, as is to be seen at many important sites in and around Agra and Delhi (see plate 9.5).¹¹⁰

On the one hand, this raises the possibility that the Dutch might also have purveyed such objects to the Mogul court in India; on the other, it also suggests Dutch thinking about gift-giving engaged in a sort of cultural conflation, whereby the rulers of India were misidentified with those of China. When one recalls that optical devices were also carried to Sri Lanka or Japan, one might even gain the impression that the Dutch were treating the gifts they were bringing to China in the way that many objects were categorized in early modern collections in Europe – that is, simply undifferentiated as *Indisch*.¹¹¹ The use of the Dutch word *Alkatyven* in the Netherlandish text describing the Nieuwhof embassy of 1655 is also suggestive in this regard, because this term, taken from the Arabic via Spanish, is used to describe carpets: one may think here of carpets that were deemed appropriate for Eastern potentates.¹¹² The Dutch may have regarded them as suitable for any *Oosterling*.

Something seems however to have been learned by the next embassy of the VOC, which paid a visit to the court of the Kangxi emperor in 1665.¹¹³ Directed by Pieter van Hoorn, the Dutch again came laden with many sorts of cloths, *naturalia* (coral, amber, rhinoceros horns, “unicorn horns”), arms, and other objects including eyeglasses and other glass and crystal objects, and a telescope for the emperor and his chief ministers.¹¹⁴ Again, however, little was brought that actually may have been made in Holland, or even in Europe for that matter. Aside from a globe, known from a contemporary drawing

of the presentation of the gifts,¹¹⁵ only copper mounts such as that for a “unicorn” horn seem to have attracted much attention among the manufactured goods. The emperor had a mandarin put questions to the Dutch legation, and from the description of their parley it is to be learned that the horn was mounted in a copper mount. This object is described as being among the “Bengale copper-works,” indicating that some other items made out of copper, perhaps meaning brass in this instance, as that is the alloy in which such pieces were in actuality produced, might also have had an Indian origin. Among these are pieces described specifically as a copper horse, a lion, and copper dogs. Otherwise specific inquiries were made about *naturalia*, namely gifts of rosewater, unicorn horn, and a cassowary.¹¹⁶

On this embassy the Dutch also brought living animals as gifts. A painting (Taipei, National Palace Museum, see plate 9.6) indicates imperial interest in them: according to its inscription, the emperor had this picture made by this court artist in 1665. It depicts horses and miniature zebu (again a creature from India, from which it is quite possible that the horses also came), together with their Dutch attendants. The lengthy inscription on this painting describes the animals and men in detail, seemingly treating them alike as curiosities.¹¹⁷ This suggests that the response to the animals (in addition to traditional imperial interest in fine horses) did not treat them as particularly Dutch, or even as especially European, but as generally what in Europe might have been called exotic – as the Dutch evidently appeared to the Chinese as well.

In 1685-1687 Vincent Paets led another embassy to the Forbidden City, on which several new sorts of gifts were presented along with the kinds of items that had previously been offered (e.g. ivory). In addition to coral, amber, and many weapons, the Dutch gave many cloths, especially of Indian and perhaps even Malaysian provenance. Goods identifiable as specifically

European were however limited to objects which may be determined to have been three telescopes (*manekykers*) and a table clock (*tafel horologie*).¹¹⁸

By 1795, the Dutch had apparently realized that in addition to the usual cloths, spices, and bibelots these latter sorts of objects, namely mechanical and optical devices, might indeed be welcome. As described by several sources, including notably Isaac Titsingh in a journal of 1794-1796, in addition to clothes, spices, and some exotic objects the embassy brought along for the emperor, his first ministers, and other mandarins not only several telescopes, but numerous clocks, watches, and other timekeepers.¹¹⁹ These gifts seem to respond to a taste for such products of “European ingenuity,” as they were called, at the Qing Court. The Qing dynasty emperors collected time pieces by the thousands.¹²⁰

But what the Dutch sent was presented in too shoddy a condition to make a good impression. The British legation that had come to Beijing laden with clocks and other such devices two years earlier was accompanied by a Swiss clockmaker, Charles-Henry Petitpierre-Boy, who could repair them if necessary. The Dutch made no such provision, nor did they check their objects soon enough before they were to be given. When they opened the mechanical pieces they had brought as gifts, they found that they were broken; there was not enough time for Petitpierre-Boy to repair them before they were to be presented to the emperor.¹²¹ In contrast, the English had impressed the Chinese specifically with the care they had taken to allow for such an eventuality; they had carried along spare material, and replaced some of the broken glass before handing over their gifts.¹²²

The Chinese took note, moreover, that the objects the Dutch offered were also inferior in both quantity and quality to those they had received from the English. Instructions given by the imperial court to supply reciprocal gifts, which were said, quite typically, to be more

munificent in any case than those initially received in their eyes as tribute, note the inferiority of Dutch presents quite specifically:

With regard to additional presents, we would observe that the tribute-articles this time presented by that country are ordinary and few in number and far inferior in value to what was presented by England when it for the first time came to Court to present tribute, but respectfully taking into consideration Our Sacred Ruler's extreme desire to treat people from afar with kindness and to let those who come with little depart with plenty, we suggest respectfully to bestow additional presents to the king of the said country, to the ambassador and to his suite and have accordingly drawn up a list, which we present herewith for our Majesty's approval.¹²³

The Dutch gifts thus came both too little and too late. Although the Dutch might previously have sent to China any number of mechanical pieces of their own manufacture, as well as having ready access to places of manufacture in Germany, as they had actually done elsewhere in Asia, they did not seem to take much care in how many they sent and what their quality was. Furthermore, by 1795 such gifts were truly superfluous in China. Lord Macartney, the leader of the English legation of the 1790s, had himself already noticed that many mechanical objects were present in the summer palace of the Yuan Ming Yuen north of Beijing.¹²⁴ The Chinese were no longer to be impressed by such gifts, if they ever had been, since by this time they owned many such items, and were fully capable of making more for themselves, including both mechanical devices and telescopes.¹²⁵ And so it is that in the famous reply to the plea to open trade relations sent by the Chinese emperor to the king of England, the Chinese ruler says that all kinds of precious things from "over

mountain and sea" have been collected here, things which your chief envoy and others have seen for themselves. Nevertheless we have never valued ingenious articles, nor do we have the slightest need of your country's manufactures.¹²⁶

Finally, it is a testimony to the few such objects purveyed by the Dutch to China that no identifiably Dutch clocks or mechanical devices are to be found in the remnants of the imperial collections in the museums of either Taipei or Beijing.¹²⁷

Southern Netherlanders versus the VOC

However, the large collection of European clocks and mechanical devices and other European-inspired objects still in the Forbidden City make it clear that the Chinese were by no means adverse to the reception or production of clocks and other mechanical devices. Western technology and science were of great interest in China. In addition, while European pictorial art seems to have enjoyed less of a reception, a scholarly debate exists about Chinese responses to Western prints and painting, too.¹²⁸

Although the general topic of European impact on material culture in China is much too large to consider more than briefly here, the case of Flemish involvement in both science and art place the Dutch failure in relief. Flemings (by which is meant people from the Low Countries below the great rivers, roughly equivalent to the present state of Belgium) may here be distinguished from the Dutch, because they often played the role of rivals both ideologically (in religion) and in commerce. The Oostende Company, which was briefly connected with the China Trade in the eighteenth century, illustrates the example of commercial competition with the VOC.¹²⁹ Ideological, that

is, religious, competition involves the role of the Jesuits (and other Catholic missionaries) in China.

From the time of Matteo Ricci, Jesuits enjoyed some noteworthy successes in China.¹³⁰ Indeed, some of the kinds of things that the critic John Adams, a Jesuit himself, says that the Chinese may have wished to receive instead of what the Dutch brought in the 1650s were brought by Ricci, notably a harpsichord. In the sciences, several members of the Society of Jesus later occupied the place of court astronomer in Beijing, among them Adam Schall, who was actually present at the imperial court, and was dressed as a Mandarin when the 1655 VOC legation came to Beijing.¹³¹ Another of these Jesuits was the Fleming Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688), a native of Pittem (now in Belgium) who died in China. Several astronomical objects still visible on top the ancient observatory in Beijing were made according to his designs, and are illustrated in contemporary Chinese prints. (As it turns out, they were fashioned after the instruments that Tycho Brahe had designed for his observatory at Uraniborg.¹³²)

The visual arts also reveal another story in which art from the southern Netherlands played a role. While it is not clear if any artist from the southern Netherlands actually worked in China, many Flemish prints clearly arrived there. They were shipped through Macao, or brought directly by priests, beginning with Matteo Ricci.¹³³ More than that: prints coming from places like Antwerp no doubt had an impact on what was produced by Chinese artists.¹³⁴ While this is not the place to enter into the vexed question of how much Chinese artists acting on their own initiative actually employed European models for their own paintings, it is probable that at least some of them did respond to European sources communicated through

prints. Among these sources are both works with religious subjects, and landscapes by Flemish artists. These latter images may have inspired Chinese painters to change the way that they depicted landscapes, one of the most traditional of Chinese genres, although this remains a point of debate.¹³⁵

Concluding Remarks

In addition to the general conditions discussed in the introduction to this essay, several reasons seem to exist for the relative Dutch success, or better put, their lack thereof, to make an impression on the material and visual culture of China and Taiwan. The particular examples (staff of office, beads, pipes) noted for Taiwan may be regarded as constituting a special situation. This sort of cultural transfer came from a Dutch position of domination; it is not comparable either to social or political circumstances they encountered elsewhere, where the Dutch usually did not have the upper hand. Nor is the cultural context of aboriginal absorption of Dutch material culture comparable to situations elsewhere, where more sophisticated luxury products were usually involved, as discussed in other essays in this volume.

As far as China is concerned, both external and internal factors played a role. The relative success of the Jesuits, and for that matter the impact of the Flemish prints they helped introduce, suggest that more than Chinese intransigence alone may have impeded Dutch impact. The previous presence and competition of other Europeans stood in the way of the Dutch. As the reactions of the Jesuits who encountered the Dutch both in 1655 and again ten years later suggests, Protestant interlopers were not always welcome.¹³⁶ European antagonists already in place at the imperial court and

elsewhere in China might have done all there was in their power to denigrate the Dutch, and they in fact did so in some cases. From a more positive point of view, the previous presence of the Portuguese in Macao, as well of the Jesuits there and at imperial Chinese court, may well have provided a conduit for what might have been sought from European culture before the Dutch ever arrived, and this conduit and the products it bore may have remained independent of what the Dutch may ever have had to offer. As the cases of astronomical objects, the harpsichord, and perhaps enamels mentioned above suggest, gifts brought by the Jesuits and other missionaries, or objects designed by them, may have already anticipated what the Dutch had to offer. The clocks and other objects brought by the English were also more attractive than the Dutch gifts. The story of the 1795 legation suggests that there were more reasons for the Dutch fiasco. The Dutch had themselves to thank for the failure of their gifts, and hence products of European material culture they purveyed, to make an impression. In part this may have been a matter of miscalculation: the Dutch did not treat the Chinese as a distinct people, but as might now be said, as an undifferentiated Oriental "other." This is suggested by the way that they presented similar bibelots to the indigenous people on Taiwan and to members of a highly sophisticated court in Beijing. In like, seemingly misguided manner, the Dutch carried gifts appropriate to India to China. All were treated as undifferentiated *Oosterlingen*. Unlike their Jesuit antagonists, the VOC seems to have made no special effort to appeal to the Chinese. This story contrasts with the history of the Jesuits, who were famous for their practice of accommodation: they learned Chinese and portrayed themselves as Mandarins.¹³⁷

Significantly, the sorts of things that the Chinese found of interest among the Dutch gifts were either *naturalia*, or often objects that were not made by the Dutch themselves. These reactions may stem from certain aspects of Chinese taste or curiosity, or aspects of especially Qing or personal (imperial) interest, but they also suggest a more general lesson about what might have been really effective in Dutch dealings in the Indian Ocean region and East Asia. The VOC acted as mediators both of European goods, and of objects (including animals and other natural products) transported from elsewhere in Asia as well. This observation applies in turn to the role that the Dutch, and indeed other Europeans, played in cultural exchanges within the Asian region itself. They transported goods from one region to another (see the Europeans holding the lacquer box in see plate 9.7). Here the example may be recalled of Persian interest in Chinese porcelain, and Persian production of imitations of Chinese ceramics. The Dutch replaced the Portuguese in the porcelain trade with Persia,¹³⁸ and also aided the export of Persian ceramics elsewhere. Though this subject needs to be investigated further, the creation of Persian ceramics echoing the characteristic *kraak* designs in blue and white made by the Chinese for the Dutch market provide some of the clearest examples of Dutch mediation in what was a cultural transfer from China to Persia.¹³⁹

To conclude: in the end the findings of this essay may not only echo what has been assumed by economic historians. It may also underscore what some of the other essays in this collection may demonstrate as well. The VOC exercised its most important impact on cultural transfer in the role of cultural mediator.

Notes

1. This view has almost become a cliché, as seen in the presentation without comment as a fitting conclusion, on the last page of L. Blussé and J. de Moor, *Nederlanders overzee. De eerste vijftig jaar 1600-1650* (Franeker 1983), 256.
2. See most fully for the decoration and interpretation of the room in J. J. Terwen and K. A. Ottenheym, *Pieter Post (1608-1669)* (Zutphen 1993), 163-172, esp. 169ff. Terwen and Ottenheym suggest that the ceiling paintings were carried out after designs by Post. See further *Eerste Kamer. Reflecties over de Vergaderzaal van de Chambre de Réflexion* (The Hague 1995), containing especially an account by K. A. Ottenheym, 'De Saal van de Staten van Holland,' 20-30, with remarks on the ceiling decoration, 28-29. The ceiling paintings are also briefly treated in the thorough account of the construction and decoration of the room by E. J. Nusselder, 'Vergaderzaal van de Eerste Kamer. 17de-eeuws interieurpragmatisme op herhaling,' in H. C. M. Kleijn, e. a., ed., *Interieurs belicht* (Zwolle 2001), 146-157; the ceiling is mentioned on 148, where the comparison with the *Burgerzaal* and the *Oranjezaal* is also made. My thanks to Margriet van Eikema for the reference to Nusselder, and to Marten Jan Bok for a general bibliography on Dutch ceiling painting of the seventeenth century, including putting me in contact with Dr. van Eikema.
3. This is the expression used by Terwen and Ottenheym, *Post*, 170.
4. Quoted and interpreted in Terwen and Ottenheym, *Post*, 171.
5. As for instance in an anonymous seventeenth-century painting in the Wassenaar City Hall, illustrated by Marten Jan Bok in an introductory lecture at the symposium held in January 2010 at the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study in Wassenaar at which a condensed version of the present essay was first delivered.
6. F. Coyett, 't *Verwaerloosde Formosa of Waerachtig verhael, hoedangig het eylant Formosa overrompelt, vermeestert ende ontweldight ist geworden* (Zutphen 1991, first ed. Amsterdam 1675).
7. The most recent account of "colonization" by the Dutch, Spanish, and Chinese in Formosa is Tonio Andrade, *How Taiwan Became Chinese: Dutch, Spanish, and Han Colonization in the Seventeenth Century* (New York 2008).
8. The dimensions of this initiative are most recently outlined and illuminated in *Emperor Kangxi and the Sun King Louis XIV: Sino-Franco Encounters in Art and Culture* (Taipei 2011).
9. See S. Castelluccio, 'La Compagnie Française des Indes Orientales et les importations d'objets d'art pendant le règne de Louis XIV,' in M. Favreau and P. Michel, eds., *Actes du colloque international sur L'objet d'art en France du XVIe et au XVIIIe siècle: de la création à l'imaginaire [...]* 12-14 janvier 2006 (Bordeaux 2007), 117-127, esp. 117.
10. See L. Blussé, 'No Boats to China: The Dutch East India Company and the Changing Pattern of the China Sea Trade, 1635-1690,' *Modern Asian Studies*, 30 (1996): 69. The fate of this trade and its resumption in the eighteenth century are well discussed in E. M. Jacobs, *Merchant in Asia. The Trade of the Dutch East India Company during the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden 2006), 179-199.
11. See for this notion C. Clunas, *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China* (Cambridge 1991). In the present essay I have not dealt with silk, because silk and other woven materials were often imported to Europe since antiquity, and continued to be so, not necessarily through Dutch hands.
12. If Dutch-Chinese relations are compared with those the Dutch had with other lands, which are discussed elsewhere in this volume, they cannot be considered to represent the most brilliant aspects of the "Dutch encounter with Asia"; for this concept see the overview presented in the exhibition catalogue *De Nederlandse ontmoeting met Azië*, ed. K. Zandvliet (Amsterdam 2002). For a good summary of Dutch relations with China over the centuries, including a section on the period of the seventeenth and eighteenth century with which this essay is concerned, see L. Blussé, *Tribuut aan China. Vier eeuwen Nederlands-Chinese*

- betrekkingen* (Amsterdam 1989). See also the other essays in the present book.
13. For seventeenth-century trade that passed through Formosa when it was in Dutch hands, see T. Volker, *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company as Recorded in the Dag-Registers of Batavia Castle, Those of Hirado and Deshima and Other Contemporary Papers 1602-1682* (Leiden 1954) (also as *Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde*, Leiden, no. 11); for Dutch eighteenth-century trade with China see C. J. A. Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*, trans. Patricia Wardle (The Hague 1982); for the role of Batavia in the China trade see L. Blussé, *Strange Company: Chinese Settlers, Mestizo Women and the Dutch in VOC Batavia* (Ph.D. diss., Leiden) (Proefschrift; also Dordrecht [as *Verhandelingen*, Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, 122 (1986): 97-155]).
 14. For this concept see F. Gipouloux, *La Méditerranée asiatique. Villes portuaires et réseaux marchands en Chine, au Japon et en Asie du Sud-Est, xvie-xxie siècle* (Paris 2009).
 15. As documented by the *Dagregisters* from Canton: see *The Canton-Macao Dagregisters, 1762*, trans. and annotated by P. A. Van Dyke, revisions by C. Viallé (Macau 2006); *The Canton-Macao Dagregisters 1764*, translation and annotations, C. Viallé and P. A. Van Dyke (Macau 2004).
 16. The limited place of the Dutch in the China tea trade of the eighteenth century, which was conducted through Canton, is pointed out by Jacobs, *Merchant in Asia*, 184-199. See further L. Blussé, *Visible Cities: Canton, Nagasaki, and Batavia and the Coming of the Americans* (Cambridge, Mass., and London 2008), esp. 54f.
 17. See Volker, *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company*, 75.
 18. For Dutch seventeenth-century efforts see J. E. Wills, Jr., *Pepper, Guns, and Parleys: The Dutch East India Company and China, 1622 [sic. 1662]-1681* (Cambridge, Mass. 1974); idem, *Embassies and Illusions: Dutch and Portuguese Envoys to K'ang-hsi, 1666-1687* (Cambridge, Mass. 1984); for later efforts, see F. Lequin, *Isaac Titsingh in China (1794-1796). Het onuitgegeven* *journaal van zijn ambassade naar Peking* (Alphen aan den Rijn 2005). The effects of these embassies in relation to material culture are discussed in the present essay. See also the essay by C. Viallé, "To Capture their Favor": On Gift-Giving by the VOC' in this volume.
 19. According to J. Kroes, 'Hoog Edelewelgebooren Heer en Neef. Bestellingen van Chinees porselein met Nederlandse familiewapens in de achttiende eeuw,' *Vormen uit vuur. Mededelingenblad Nederlandse vereniging van vrienden van ceramiek en glas*, 202 (2008): 7-19, esp. 7.
 20. For this point see Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*, esp. 193.
 21. I use the term "reinvention" here because (soft-paste) porcelain had already been invented in Europe in Grandducal Florence during the later sixteenth century, although this product had no immediate followers.
 22. Quoted and discussed most recently by D. Syndram, 'Jasper Porcelain, Gold Ruby Glass and Local Gemstones – On the "Transmutation" of Baroque Treasury Art,' in D. Syndram and U. Weinhold, eds., *Böttger Stoneware. Johann Friedrich Böttger and Treasury Art* (Dresden, Berlin, and Munich 2009), 58-60, 91 n. 2.
 23. See most fully for this subject M. S. van Aken-Fehmers, L. A. Schledorn, and T. M. Eliëns, eds., *Delfts aardewerk. Geschiedenis van een nationaal product* (Zwolle and The Hague 1999 and 2001), 2 vols.; see more recently Chr. Lahaussois, ed., *Delfts aardewerk* (Paris, Amsterdam, and Brussels 2008).
 24. For a good summary see L. Ledderose, 'Chinese Influences on European Art, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries,' in Th. H. C. Lee, ed., *China and Europe: Images and Influences in Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries* (Institute of Chinese Studies, The Chinese University of Hong Kong Monograph Series, 12) (Hong Kong 1991), 221-247.
 25. These points are made most recently in regard to Chinese control and the sixteenth-century antecedents by K. Seidl, 'Aus dem Fernen Osten,' in A. Auer et al., eds., *Fernsucht. Die Suche nach der Fremde vom 16. bis 19. Jahrhundert*, exhib. cat. Ambras (Vienna 2009), 59f.

26. See recently E. Ströber, 'Grote schotels van Chinees porselein in het Midden-Oosten. Gebruik, verzamelingen en handel,' in: S. A. Bosmans, ed., *Porseleintroutes. De verre reizen van Chinees porselein* (Amsterdam 2009): 6-15; see also idem, 'Chinese exportkeramiek voor Thailand. Bencharong, lai nam thong en gepolijste Yixing theepotten,' *Vormen uit Vuur*, 206/207 (3/2009): 64-71, esp. 65, for their early impact on Thailand.
27. See C. J. A. Jörg, *The Portuguese and the Trade in Chinese Porcelain: From the Beginning until the End of the Ming Dynasty* (Haren 2008); S. Bosmans, 'Voor kerk en thuis. Chinees exportporselein met christelijke voorstellingen,' idem, *Porseleintroutes. De verre reizen van Chinees porselein* (Amsterdam 2009), 56-63, esp. 57ff., for a most recent treatment of later Portuguese trade in porcelain, albeit with a religious theme.
28. For the disruption because of civil war, see Volker, *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company*, 59, and for the well-known consequences that this disruption had as an impact on porcelain production in Japan see Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*; for lacquer see O. Impey and Chr. Jörg, *Japanese Export Lacquer 1580-1850* (Amsterdam 2005).
29. See F. Ulrichs, *Die ostasiatische Porzellan-sammlung der Wittelsbacher in der Residenz München* (Munich 2005), 18; for the latter point Jacobs, *Merchant in Asia*, 189.
30. Valuation was placed at 29,034 guilders out of a total of 691,597; for these figures see Blussé, 'The VOC and the Junk Trade to Batavia,' 126.
31. See Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*, 93ff., reiterated more recently by N. de Biscop, *De Chinese verleiding. Chinese exportkunst van de zestiende tot de negentiende eeuw* (Brussels 2009), 21.
32. See the summary by Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*, 192f.; see also the comment by Ulrichs, *Die ostasiatische Porzellan-sammlung*, loc. cit.
33. Castelluccio, 'La Compagnie Française des Indes Orientales.'
34. See for example Y. Crowe, *Persia and China: Safavid Blue and White Ceramics in the Victoria & Albert Museum 1501-1738* (La Borie 2002).
- Volker, *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company*, passim, provides much archival data on these sorts of shipments of porcelain. See further L. Golombek et al., *Tamerlane's Tableware: A New Approach to Chinoiserie Ceramics of Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Iran* (Costa Mesa and Toronto 1996).
35. 'Waren die men met grote winst uit onze landen naar het koninkrijk van China zou kunnen brengen,' idem, schilderijen van landschappen, jachttafelen en prenten. *DG: Zegt dat dit niet zinvol is omdat zij self schilderen*," as cited in V. Roper, "'Waren uit het koninkrijk van China." Twee vragenlijsten met commentaar van Dirck Gerritsz.," in K. W. J. M. Bossaers et al., eds., *Dirck Gerritsz. Pomp alias Dirck China* (Enkhuizen 2002), 28. It is interesting to note, however, that despite the suggestion that the Dutch did not bring ivory because there was sufficient ivory transported from Goa by the Portuguese to China, ivory was nevertheless a component of the Dutch gifts to China (see below). Furthermore, repeated indications found in the Zeelandia *Dagregisters* suggest that ivory was frequently imported to China by the Dutch.
36. See the report in the *Generale Missiven van Gouverneurs-Generaal en Raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie. Deel II: 1639-1655*, ed. W. Ph. Coolhaas (The Hague 1964), 171.
37. These were traded throughout the regions touched by the VOC, and entered early into European collections, starting with that of Ferdinand of the Tyrol in Ambras, as indicated by contemporary inventories (see *Fernsucht*); not only the Ambras collections, but those in Braunschweig still contain such Chinese paintings, the latter coming from the collections established by the dukes of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel; see E. Ströber, *Ostasiatika im Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum Braunschweig* (Braunschweig 2002).
38. The researches carried on by Prof. D. Lee and his team from the university in Tainan have not yet been published. The investigations of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taipei, have resulted so far only in conference papers and one report by

- Lin Yi-chang, Chen Kuo-feng, Wang Su-chin, and Yan Ting-yu, 'An Archaeological Study of the 17th-Century Stratigraphy and Structures of the Fort Zeelandia,' 67-87, as well as several communications on pipes and shards; see further below, notes 69 and 70.
39. For the design of Zeelandia see K. Zandvliet, *Mapping for Money: Maps, Plans and Topographic Paintings and their Role in Dutch Overseas Expansion during the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Amsterdam 1998), 137-143; for the architecture of the Dutch settlements on Taiwan see C. L. Temminck Groll, *Dutch Overseas: Architectural Survey: Mutual Heritage of Four Centuries in Three Continents* (Zwolle 2002), 269-274; for the place of the Taiwan forts within the larger study of Dutch fortifications overseas see K. Zandvliet, 'Vestingbouw in de Oost,' in Gerrit Knaap and Ger Teitler, eds., *De Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie: Tussen oorlog en diplomatie* (Leiden 2002), 151-180.
 40. Zandvliet, *Mapping for Money*, 106-114, *passim*.
 41. Temminck-Groll, *The Dutch Overseas*, 269-274.
 42. *Ibid.*, 270.
 43. This photograph was exhibited along with other images by Thomson in an exhibition devoted to his work held in the Fine Arts Museum of Taipei in spring 2011; a reproduction of it is on permanent display in the newly opened National Museum of History in Tainan, where I saw it in November 2011. I am grateful to Prof. Kuo Chen for supplying me with a digital image of the wall with the portal.
 44. The inscription seems to read: "T CASTEL ZEELANDIA/GEBOUWT ANNO 1 [?]-80". This would make the inscription datable to the time of Cozinga's son, and not from the Dutch period *per se*, although it is known that Dutch still worked for their Chinese conquerors. Following archival references that suggest the fort was finished in 1630 (I have found no evidence to suggest that this is so, and the construction lasted longer), Prof. D. Lee reads (orally) the date as 1630, but I cannot see that the last digits read other than "80". In any case the extensive inscription indicating the name of the fort is unusual; it is not found in earlier images of the building and may be the result of a later addition that inserted the inscription into the façade at a much later date. Another argument that might support the assumption that the inscription was added later is the way that it cuts rather inelegantly across the top of the arch.
 45. My thanks to Cynthia Viallé for the following references:
 VOC Archives, The Hague, NKJ 765
 Nagasaki 10 october 1641
 Gescheept door Le Maire in *Orangienboom*, schipper Harman Sagelsen en boekhouder Barent Rosendael, naar Tayouan aan Traudenus schuitzilverer kamfer
 1460 viercante witte vloersteen
 687 glaasen, bestaende in 50 cassen, sijnde ijder geschilderde parcken mede voor een stx gereeckent, costen tsamen met d'ijseren roeden f3449:0:8
 Ongetaxeerde:
 240 stx witte grauwe vloersteen vande plaets in Firando
 1038 blauwe als witte gesleepe plaverij sten}
 156 halve dittos } van de eetsael ende portael in Firando
 2 anckers
 6 cassen met glaasen van d'affgebroocke woning in Firando
 7 bos ijsere roeden tot glaase ramen
 119 stx deuren ende versters van d'affgebroocken packhuijzen ende woningen
 2 stx groote poortdeuren
 29 stx stijlen van vensters.

 1636 voor 1637
 200 ramen van goet schoon fijn glas geschilderde
 200 ramen ongeschilderde ditto
 100 dito van slecht glas

 1635 voor 1636
 400 ramen fijne venster glas
 100 ramen slechte ditto

 Voor 1651
 Batavia 31 december 1649

- 30 cassen fijn vesterglas, om tot de kerck, het stadthuys ende nieuwe wooningen te gebruijcken als mede om tot een cento aen perticuliere vercocht te werden
100 casen Frans glas, voor de kerck, stathuijs ende andere wercken. Item geschildert glas, te weten het wapen van Batavia, ende het wapen van de Ed Oostindische Compa beijde inde kerkvensters gevoeght.
46. Groll, *The Dutch Overseas*, 273.
 47. J. L. Blussé, M. E. van Opstall, and Ts'ao Yung-ho, eds., *De Dagregisters van het kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan 1629-1662. Deel I: 1629-1641* (The Hague 1986), 10 19, 92, 251, 268, 374, 452; J. L. Blussé, W. E. Milde, and Ts'ao Yung-ho, eds., *De Dagregisters van het kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan 1629-1662. Deel II: 1641-1648* (The Hague 1995), 205, 477, 486f.; J. L. Blussé, W. E. Milde, and Ts'ao Yung-ho, eds., *De Dagregisters van het kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan 1629-1662. Deel III: 1648-1655* (The Hague 1996), 88; J. L. Blussé and N. C. Everts, and W. E. Milde, eds., *De Dagregisters van het kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan 1629-1662. Deel IV: 1655-1662* (The Hague 2000), 272, 275.
 48. *De Dagregisters van het kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan 1629-1662. Deel II: 1641-1648*, 151; *De Dagregisters van het kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan 1629-1662. Deel III: 1648-1655*, 91, 580; *De Dagregisters van het kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan 1629-1662. Deel IV: 1655-1662*, 138, 267. Mention is made of a "delinquent" *metselaer* in *De Dagregisters van het kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan 1629-1662. Deel I: 1629-1641*, 478.
 49. Liu et al., 'An Archeological Study,' 80, note the appearance of yellow bricks in a trench that I have subsequently observed. My own observations are based on personal inspections of the excavations on Fort Zeelandia and Fort Seckam (Provintia) in Taiwan, and the examination of materials found there and elsewhere in Tainan in what in January 2008 was known as the Cozinga Museum. Complete references must wait, however, for fuller publication.
 50. These observations are based on ocular inspection of Fort Zeelandia and Fort Seckam in 2008 and 2011, and on the basis of oral comments by Prof. D. Lee of Tainan; the reports of Prof. Lee and his team have still not yet been published.
 51. According to Robert Parthesius, 'De Batavia, een retourschip van de VOC,' in V. Roeper et al., *De Batavia te Water* (Amsterdam 1995), 89.
 52. See Th. DaCosta Kaufmann, 'The Baltic Area as an Artistic Region: Historiography, State of Research, Perspectives for Further Study,' in J. Harasimowicz, P. Oszczanowski, and M. Wislocki, eds., *Po obu stronach Bałtyku/On the Opposite Sides of the Baltic Sea* (Wrocław 2006), vol. 1, 33-39; idem, 'Art and the Church in the Early Modern Era: The Baltic in Comparative Perspective,' in K. Kodres and Merike Kurisoo, eds., *Art and the Church: Religious Art and Architecture in the Baltic Region in the 13th-18th Centuries/Kunst und Kirche. Kirchliche Kunst und Architektur in der baltischen Region im 13.-18. Jahrhundert* (Tallinn 2008), 20-40.
 53. See Th. DaCosta Kaufmann, 'Low Countries at the Crossroads: A Global View,' in K. de Jonge and K. Ottenheim, eds., *Low Countries at the Crossroads* (Turnhout 2014). I am referring to a portal in the Fort of the São Tiogo das Cinco Pontas in Recife, Brazil [see fig. 9.3]. For the portal from the wreck of the Batavia, see J. N. Green, *The Loss of the Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie Retourschip Batavia, Western Australia 1629: An Excavation Report and Catalogue of Artefacts* (Oxford 1989), 179-189; the *Batavia* was also carrying bricks, including yellow bricks, when it sank; see p. 190. For the use of Baumberg sandstone, see *Die Weser: Ein Fluss in Europa* (Holzminden 2000), vol. 2. The photo in plate 9.1 is of the portal as it was initially set up in Fremantle, before it was moved to Geraldton.
 54. After the presentation of a version of this paper in Taipei on 1 November 2011 Prof. Kuo Chen suggested that such a portal may have been intended for Zeelandia, as an arched entry appears there in the photograph by Thomson, discussed above. However, the very existence of this rusticated portal at Zeelandia makes it unlikely that another stone portal would have been necessary or could have been intended for this spot, and older images of Fort Zeelandia do not indicate that any portal is lacking on what can be seen of Zeelandia

- where another imported portal may have been fit. This contrasts with the situation at Provincia (Fort Seckam), where the curved (probably originally arched) portal within the Chinese temple lacks finish; the curvilinear portal in front of it was perhaps built by the Chinese after the Dutch portal did not arrive. More archeological research is obviously necessary. Nevertheless the shape of the portal at Fort Seckam does resemble one at Fort Vastenburg, 1775-1779, still visible at Surakarta (Solo) on Java, where I saw it in July 2012.
55. Zandvliet, *Mapping for Money*, 158.
 56. For a discussion of this issue in regard to Siam, see Kaufmann, 'Art and the Church in the Early Modern Era.'
 57. I am thankful to Yoriko Kobayashi-Soto for supplying me with unpublished notes on the introduction of brick into architecture in Japan in the nineteenth century.
 58. C. Y. Liu, 'Between the Titans: Constructions of Modernity and Tradition at the Dawn of Chinese Architectural History,' in J. Silbergeld, D. C. Y. Ching, J. G. Smith, and A. Murck, eds., *Bridges to Heaven: Essays on East Asian Art in Honor of Professor Wen C. Fong* (Princeton 2011), 185-210.
 59. See J. de Loos-Haaxman, *De landsverzameling schilderijen in Batavia. Landvoogdsportretten en compagnieschilders* (Leiden 1941), vol. 1, 151-152; K. Zandvliet, 'Art and Cartography in the VOC Governor's House in Taiwan,' in P. van Gerstel-van het Schip and P. van der Krogt, eds., *Mappae Antiquae. Liber Amicorum Günther Schilder* (Utrecht 2007), 579-594.
 60. See Loos-Haaxman, *De landsverzameling schilderijen in Batavia*, vol. 1, 43f.
 61. Zandvliet, 'Art and Cartography,' 590f. The source for this assertion is unclear in Zandvliet's otherwise excellent essay.
 62. The painting is known from a photograph which was in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam and has been illustrated. However, the photograph was lost and has not been located, even after intense searches in the History Department in 2009. The painting has long been lost.
 63. See J. W. IJzerman, 'Hollandsche prenten als handelsartikel te Patani in 1602,' *Gedenkschrift uitgegeven ter gelegenheid van het 75-jarig bestaan op 4 juni 1926 van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* (1926): 84-109; J. Braat, et al., 'Restauratie, conservatie en onderzoek van de op Nova Zembla gevonden zestiende eeuwse prenten,' *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, 28.2 (1980): 43-79 (summary 93-95).
 64. For Chinese collectors of paintings in Batavia see the essay by M. North, 'Art and Material Culture in the Cape Colony and Batavia in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries' in this volume.
 65. See Blussé, 'The VOC and the Junk Trade to Batavia,' 127-30. See further the essay by Viallé in this volume.
 66. See Chr. J. A. Jörg, 'Chinese Porcelain for the Dutch in the Seventeenth Century: Trading Networks and Private Enterprise,' in R. E. Scott, ed., *The Porcelains of Jingdezhen* (London 1993), 183-205.
 67. See Chiu Hsin-hui, *The Colonial 'Civilizing Process' in Dutch Formosa, 1624-1662* (Leiden and Boston 2008), 181ff.
 68. D. Valadés, *Rhetorica Christiana* (Perugia 1579) (facsimile reprint and Spanish translation, Mexico City 1989).
 69. *Ibid.*, 203-206.
 70. *Ibid.*, 211f.
 71. For this story in Japan see the reference in Th. DaCosta Kaufmann, *Towards a Geography of Art* (Chicago and London 2004), chapter 10. Bibles and prayerbooks were certainly sent in numbers to Taiwan. Some of these, including a Bible now in China with a provenance from Dutch Formosa about whose existence Prof. Kuo Chen has informed me, may have had frontispieces with printed images. This still does not alter the situation that such Bibles would have been for private use, that not all such books had either illustrations or decorated frontispieces, that the frontispieces did not serve a religious purpose as images did in a Catholic context, and that in any case they seem to have left no lasting impact or even trace on Taiwan itself.
 72. Hsin-hui, *The Colonial 'Civilizing Process'*, 117.
 73. I. de Beauclair, 'Dutch Beads on Formosa? An Ethnohistorical Note,' *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica*, 29 (1970): 388,

- cited by Hsin-hui, *The Colonial 'Civilizing Process'*, 266, n. 17. This story has continued to circulate on Taiwan, as I have learned from several scholars there.
74. Hsin-Hui, *The Colonial 'Civilizing Process'*, passim.
 75. See Wang Su-chin and Liu Yi-chang, 'The Import Networks of Tobacco, Tobacco Pipes, and Glass Bead Ornaments into Taiwan circa the Seventeenth Century: A New Phase of Exchange,' *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica* (2007): 51-90 (with English summary). See further Liu Yi Chang and Wang Su-chin, 'Smoking and Its Culture Imported to the Seventeenth Century Taiwan: The Preliminary Speculation from the Archaeological Backgrounds,' [in Japanese: 'The Introduction of Tobacco and "Smoking culture" to Seventeenth-Century Taiwan: Some Preliminary Conclusions Based on the Archaeological Evidence'], in *Exchanges between the VOC and Japan: A Survey of VOC Archaeological Remains and their Relation to the Trade in Luxury Goods VOC. Conference held on the Occasion of the 400th Anniversary of the Initiation of Dutch-Japanese Relations, 26 June 2010* (Hirado 2010), 47-65. I am grateful to Cynthia Houg for deciphering the Japanese titles, and for occasional help elsewhere with Chinese.
 76. This material, as cited in the previous note, also seems to be discussed by Liu and Wang, 'Smoking and its Culture Imported to the Seventeenth Century Taiwan,' 47-65 (in Japanese).
 77. For this evidence see the papers by Liu and Wang cited in notes 75 and 76. Proper publication of material associated with the Spanish is however still lacking.
 78. I was able to observe these finds in storage in January 2008. A fairly representative (but not complete) sample has subsequently been placed on exhibit in the recently opened Fort Zeelandia Museum, where I saw them on 3 November 2011. However the mass of the material excavated is no longer accessible.
 79. These are observable in many items in the collections of the Museum of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, Taipei, for example.
 80. The fundamental article establishing these practices is C. Viallé, 'The Records of the VOC Concerning the Trade in Chinese and Japanese Porcelain between 1634 and 1661,' *Aziatische Kunst*, 22 (1992): 6-34.
 81. See J. A. Jörg, *Oosters porselein. Delfts aardewerk. Wisselwerkingen* (Groningen 1983), and J. Berger Hochstrasser, 'Wisselwerkingen Redux: Ceramics, Asia and the Netherlands,' in A. Golahny, ed., *Points of Contact: Crossing Cultural Boundaries* (Lewisburg 2004), 50-79.
 82. For this subject see J. Kroes, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain for the Dutch Market* (The Hague and Zwolle 2007).
 83. See Kroes, 'Hoog Edelewelebooren Heer en Neef,' 7 and 9, fig. 4, further J. van Campen, 'Chinese bestellingen van Andreas Everardus van Braam Houckgeest,' *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, 53 (2005): ill. 18.
 84. For a general account of these paintings and for previous bibliography on them see R. van der Poel, *Rijk palet. Chinese exportschilderkunst overzee* (Doctoraalscriptie, Leiden 2008). Among previous works on the topics concerned especially recommended is C. Clunas, *Chinese Export Watercolours* (London 1984).
 85. A good visual overview of this material is provided in C. Clunas, ed., *Chinese Export Art and Design* (London 1987).
 86. Van Campen, 'Chinese bestellingen,' 18-41.
 87. See Ströber, 'Grote schotels,' and idem, 'Chinese exportkeramiek voor Thailand'; Jörg, *The Portuguese and the Trade in Chinese Porcelain*.
 88. For some German examples see Ströber, op. cit.
 89. See Shih Ching-fei, 'Evidence of East-West Exchange in the Eighteenth Century: The Establishment of Painted Enamel Art at the Ching Court in the Reign of Emperor K'ang-hsi,' *The National Palace Museum Research Quarterly*, 24 (2007): 45-78 (English summary, 78). Dr. Shih discusses these issues more in her book 日月光華: 清宮畫琺瑯, 臺北, 國立故宮博物院, 2011/*Radiant Luminance: Painted Enamelware from the Qing Court* (Taipei 2011).
 90. J. van Campen, "In 't vuur geschilderd". Geëmailleerde platen van koper en porselein uit de collectie J.Th. Royer (1737-1807),' *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, 50 (2002): 2-27; idem, 'Painted by Fire: Jean Theodore Royer's

- Chinese Enamel Plaques, Part II: The Copper Plaques,' *Antiques Magazine* (March 2004): 68ff. My thanks to Jan van Campen for these and other references, and for alerting me to the possibility of local uses.
91. This idea was suggested by Prof. Kuo Chen in Taipei (oral communication, 1 November 2011) on the basis of documents from the Chinese imperial archives whose evidence he claims to have confirmed in Dutch archives, but did not cite. References to some of the Chinese documents are made in Shih, *Radiant Luminance*. There, however, according to Huai hai ying ling ji 24 juan/Ruan Yuan ji. 淮海英靈集: 二四卷 / 阮元輯. Yangzhou, Daoguang 22 [1842] after receiving gifts of guns from the 紅毛國 (Hongmao guo), a Qing official 戴梓 (Dai Zi) was asked by the Kangxi emperor to make "fa-lang" objects and he presented the successful result in five days. This does not indicate that they were enamels, and there is no sure indication that the guns were enameled, or that the enamels were ever given by the Dutch. Dr. Shih has indicated (in correspondence) that she has independently come to the same conclusion, which she will publish. (I am grateful to Cynthia Houg for assistance in translating the Chinese texts.) See further below for the Dutch embassy of 1686 and its gifts.
 92. The objects exhibited in the recent exhibition and recorded in the catalogue *Emperor Kangxi and the Sun King Louis XIV* provide abundant evidence for this assertion.
 93. See Clunas, *Superfluous Things*, 85.
 94. See Shih Ching-fei, 'The Emerald-Jade Cabbage and the Ivory Sphere,' *National Palace Museum Monthly*, 288 (2007): 4-10. I am grateful to Anna Grasskamp for providing me with a summary of this article.
 95. This and the previous paragraph are based, with some further comments, on the important article by Shih Ching-fei, 'Concentric Ivory Spheres and the Exchange of Craft Techniques: Canton, the Ch'ing Court and the Holy Roman Empire,' *National Palace Museum Research Quarterly*, 25 (2007): 87-138 (English abstract, 122). I am grateful to Shih Ching-fei for sharing her initial insights with me directly in 2008 and 2011, and to Greg Seifert for providing me with an extended summary of her article.
 96. In addition to the ivory object in the Beijing Palace Museum published by Shih Ching-fei, at her suggestion curators in Beijing have discovered three more, which will have been published in the annual periodical of the Beijing museum, 紫禁城月刊 (*Zijincheng yuekan*) by the time the present essay has appeared.
 97. For members of this family see M. H. Grieb, ed., *Nürnberger Künstlerlexikon. Bildende Künstler, Kunsthandwerker, Gelehrte, Sammler, Kulturschaffende und Mäzene vom 12. bis zur Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Munich 2007), vol. 3, 1725-1727. I am grateful to Jutta Kappel (Dresden, Grünes Gewölbe) and Thomas Eser (Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum) for confirming this attribution, and to Dr. Eser for this bibliographic reference.
 98. See *Quasi Centrum Europae: Europa kauft in Nürnberg 1400-1800*, exhib. cat. ed. by H. Maué et al. (Nuremberg 2002).
 99. See the remarks by F. S. Gaastra, *De Geschiedenis van de VOC* (Zutphen 2006) (revised ed. 2010).
 100. For Cape Town see the inventory of goods left by IJsaac Meerkens of Amersfoort, drawn up 26 February 1711, including "twaalf Neurenburger klejne trompetjes ... een Neurenburger spiegeltje en een bril ... een dosijn Neurenburger mannetjes" (Cape Town, Masters of the Orphan Chamber, MOOC 8/2.53) (I am grateful to Michael North for this reference). For gifts in Sri Lanka see the reference of goods given "tot geschenk voor de koning van Candy" from 8 November 1758 (NRA, VOC 9926), including "Neurenburger poppen" and "door raders van zelfsspeelende instrumenten en dansende poppen," cited in L. J. Wagenaar, 'Knielen of buigen? De gezantschappen van de Compagnie naar Kandy na het vredesverdrag van 1766,' in C. A. Davids, W. Fritschy, and L. A. van der Valk, eds., *Kapitaal, ondernemerschap en beleid. Studies over economie en politiek in Nederland, Europa en Azië van 1500 tot heden. Afscheidsbundel voor prof. dr. P. W. Klein* (Amsterdam 1996), 446 and n. 9. See further Viallé, "To Capture their Favor" in this volume.

101. See more fully the essay by Viallé in this volume.
102. See Clunas, *Superfluous Things*, 85.
103. Clunas, *ibid.*, vs. Shih Ching-fei, 'Concentric Ivory Spheres and the Exchange of Craft Techniques.'
104. This list of gifts is included in the 'Epistle of Father John Adams their Antagonist,' included with the English translation of Nieuhof, *An Embassy from the East-India Company of the United Provinces to the Grand Tartar Cham Emperor of China ...*, trans. J. Ogilby (London 1671), 312-314. It is not present in the original Dutch edition, Johan Nieuhof, *Het gezantschap der Neêrlandsche Oost-Indische Compagnie, aan den Groote Tatarischen Cham, den tegenwoordige Kaizer van China* (Amsterdam 1665), nor in the German version of Nieuhof.
105. See Nieuhof, *Gezantschap*, 162.
106. See 'Epistle of Father John Adams their Antagonist,' 312.
107. See the essays by Viallé, "To Capture their Favor" and L. Wagenaar, 'The Cultural Dimension of the Dutch East India Company Settlements in Dutch-Period Ceylon, 1700-1800 – With Special Reference to Galle' in this volume.
108. See most comprehensively for this subject W. Koeppe, ed., *Art of the Royal Court: Treasures in Pietre Dure from the Palaces of Europe* (New York 2007).
109. See for such a table top in the collection of the Prince of Liechtenstein, J. Kräfner, ed., *Einzug der Künste in Böhmen. Malerei und Skulptur am Hof Kaiser Rudolfs II. in Prag* (Vienna 2009), 134-137, no. 37, and for another chest with similar decoration, *ibid.*, 138f., no. 38.
110. See especially E. Koch, *Shah Jahan and Orpheus: The Pietre Dure Decoration and the Programme of the Throne in the Hall of Public Audiences at the Red Fort of Delhi* (Graz 1988); and *idem*, *The Complete Taj Mahal and the Riverfront Gardens of Agra* (New York 2006).
111. See for example the many references in R. Bauer and H. Haupt, eds., 'Die Kunstkammerinventar Kaiser Rudolfs II, 1607-1611,' *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, 72 (1976): 17-43 (fol. 33-74).
112. I am grateful to Lodewijk Wagenaar for discussion of this idea.
113. See Wills, *Embassies and Illusions*, 38-81.
114. These gifts are indicated in lists published in O. Dapper, *Gedenkwaardig bedryf der Nederlandsche Oost-Indische Maetschappye, op de kust en in het keizerrijk van Taising of Sina* (Amsterdam 1670), 356-358.
115. See the drawing made in 1666 by Pieter van Doornik from the Atlas van Stolk, Rotterdam, illustrated in *Nederlandse Ontmoeting met Azië*, 116, with comment on 115.
116. These questions are most clearly indicated in the English version of Dapper, Arnoldus Montanus, *Atlas Chinensis: A Relation of Remarkable Passages in two Embassies from the East-India Company of the United Provinces to the Vice-roy Singlamong and General Taising Lipovi and to Konchi, Emperor of China and East Tartary*, trans. J. Ogilby (London 1671), 329, 334.
117. See J. Wills, Jr., 'Wat zegt een ceremonie? Gezanten van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie en het Qingrijk, 1666-1680,' in G. Knaap and G. Teitler, eds., *De verenigde Oost-indische Compagnie: Tussen oorlog en diplomatie* (Leiden 2002), 245: "De interessantste van de kostbare geschenken voor de keizer waren vier Perzische paarden en twee klein Bengaalse ossen. Een exotisch dier werd gezien als het ultieme symbol voor relaties met een verre en vreemde wereld, zoal bijvoorbeeld de giraffe die aan het begin van de vijftiende eeuw naar het hof van de Ming waren gebracht en de neushoorn voor de Paus in 1515." These animals are treated in a recent article in Chinese (I am grateful to Wei Wu for translating it for me, and to Lai Yu-chi for calling it to my attention): 王靜靈，圖像證史：荷蘭國人役牛馬圖》瑣談，故宮文物月刊 336期（2011年3月，頁88-99 (Wang Jingling, 'Illustrating History from Paintings: About *Hollanders Tending Oxen and Horses*'). Wang relates this painting to traditions of depictions of animals and especially horses in Chinese painting, but misses the exotic element that the image and the accompanying text seem to emphasize. For Europeans as exotic creatures see South Bank Centre, *Exotic Europeans* (London 1991). In a lecture delivered at a conference 'The Itineraries of Art

- Topographies of Artistic Mobility in Europe and Asia, 1500-1900' at the Museen Dahlem, Berlin, 24 May 2013, Eugene Wang discussed a papal gift of horses to a Yuan emperor and suggested that the imperial love for horses may be pushed back to the Tang tombs and indeed to the Bronze Age (Wang, 'Why Was There No Chinese Painting of Marco Polo? The Limits of Itinerancy-Themed Art Historical Inquiry').
118. See J. Vixseboxse, *Een Hollandsch gezantschap naar China in de zeventiende eeuw (1685-1687)* (Sinica Leidensia 5), (Leiden 1946), 30-32, for the lists of gifts. As noted above, Shih Ching-fei in a book also cites a Chinese source indicating that weapons, probably with enamel decoration, were also presented.
 119. These gifts are recorded in a list presented as a *Bijlage* to his diary by Titsingh, published in F. Lequin, *Isaac Titsingh in China (1794-1796), het onuitgegeven journal van zijn ambassade naar Peking* (Alphen aan den Rijn 2005), 214f.
 120. See C. Pagani, *Eastern Magnificence and European Ingenuity: Clocks of Late Imperial China* (Ann Arbor 2001).
 121. See Lequin, *Isaac Titsingh in China*, 125.
 122. See J. L. Cranmer-Byng, ed., *An Embassy to China. Being the Journal Kept by Lord Macartney during his Embassy to the Emperor Ch'ien-lung 1793-1794* (London 1962), 99: "The Great Mandarin attended, and seemed to be much struck with the attention manifested by our bringing several spare glasses for the dome of the planetarium, one of the panes of which happened to be cracked, and which, without such a precaution, could not be repaired in China."
 123. J. J. L. Duyvendak, 'Supplementary Documents on the last Dutch Embassy to the Chinese Court,' *T'oung Pao*, 35 (1940): 338f.
 124. See Cranmer-Byng, *An Embassy to China*, 95.
 125. Small Chinese telescopes from the Qing dynasty period with eighteenth-century enamel decoration are for example in the collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei: one was shown most recently in the exhibition 'Emperor Kangxi and the Sun King.'
 126. Cranmer-Byng, *Embassy to China*, 340.
 127. None is to be found in Taipei, where I have been able to make inquiries in the National Palace Museum and see what might be there. Despite personal efforts, and attempts at mediation, for which I thank Alfreda Murck, it has not yet proved possible for me to gain access to the storerooms and reserves of the Palace Museum in Beijing. Although it is possible that some identifiably Dutch (or German objects purveyed by the Dutch items) may exist in China, none is on display in the Forbidden City, nor recorded in the published catalogue of its clocks and other mechanical devices (e.g. Xiuhua Lang, Xiaopei Qin, and [Gu gong bo wu yuan], *Clocks and Watches of the Qing Dynasty from the Collection in the Forbidden City* [Beijing 2002]). Reports from the curators in Beijing communicated to me through Dr. Murck suggested that none has apparently yet been identified.
 128. A good general overview is provided by C. Pagani, 'Europe in Asia: The Impact of Western Art and Technology in China,' in A. Jackson and A. Jaffer, eds., *Encounters: The Meeting of Asia and Europe 1500-1800* (London 2004), 296-309, with notes leading to some of the extensive bibliography on these subjects on 373f.
 129. For this see recently De Bischof, *De Chinese verleiding*.
 130. Ground-breaking and perhaps sufficient to cite is J. Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci* (New York 1984). Ricci continues to accumulate literature, numbering over sixty books since the appearance of the first edition of Spence.
 131. For science in China see the many works of B. Elman, e.g. *On their Own Terms: Science in China, 1550-1900* (Cambridge, Mass. 2005). For the general question of European impact on the arts and sciences see D. E. Mungello, *The Great Encounter of China and the West, 1500-1800* (Lanham 2009).
 132. See for this topic A. Chapman, 'Uraniborg in Beijing: The Reconstruction of Tycho Brahe's Instruments in the Seventeenth-Century Jesuit Observatory,' in O. V. Krogh et al., eds., *Skatte fra kejserens Kina. Den forbudte by og det danske Kongehus/Treasures from Imperial China: The Forbidden City and the Royal Danish Court* (Copenhagen 2006), 270-277.
 133. As seems first to have been noticed by P. Pel-liot, 'La peinture et la gravure européennes en

- Chine au temps de Mathieu Ricci,' *T'oung Pao*, 20 (1920-1921): 1-18. For later cases of the adaptation of Flemish imagery in China through the agency of priests see P. Rheinbay, 'Nadal's Religious Iconography Reinterpreted by Aleni for China,' in T. Lippiello and R. Malek, eds., *Scholar from the West: Giulio Aleni S.J. (1582-1649) and the Dialogue between Christianity and China* (Nettetal 1997), 323-234; N. Standaert, 'Chinese Prints and their European Prototypes: Schall's Jincheng shuxiang,' *Print Quarterly*, 23/3 (2006): 231-253. This topic is now becoming increasingly the subject of scholarship, as in the ongoing researches of Lai Yu-chi.
134. As was first indicated by J. Jennes, 'L'art chrétien en Chine au début du XVIIe siècle,' *T'oung Pao*, 33 (1937): 129-133; idem, *Invloed der Vlaamsche prentkunst in Indië, China en Japan tijdens de XVIe en XVIIe eeuw* (Leuven 1943), 69-121.
 135. The strongest position on this matter is taken by J. Cahill, *The Compelling Image: Nature and Style in Seventeenth-Century Chinese Painting* (Cambridge, Mass., and London 1982). For other important views of the question, treating it positively, see M. Sullivan, 'Some Possible Sources of European Influence on Late Ming and Early Ching Painting,' in *Proceedings of the International Symposium on Chinese Painting* (Taipei 1972), 595-625; idem, 'The Chinese Response to Western Art,' *Art International*, 24 (1980): 8-31; Hsiang Ta, 'European Influences on Chinese Art in the later Ming and Early Ching Period,' trans. W. Teh-chao, *Renditions*, 6 (1976): 152-178; M. Kao, 'European Influences in Chinese Art, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries,' in Th. H. C. Lee, ed., *China and Europe: Images and Influences in Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries* (Hong Kong 1991), 251-305, with further bibliography. The problem is instantiated in the discussion around the Chinese-born Jesuit literati painter Wu Li, for which see most fully *Culture, Art, Religion: Wu Li (1632-1718) and His Inner Journey* (Macao 2006). In his art Western sources are hard to discern.
 136. See 'Epistle of Father John Adams,' and the reactions of Schall (sighing at the Dutch gifts) recorded in Dapper, *Gedenwaerdig bedryf*, and Montanus, *Atlas Chinensis*.
 137. See for a general, if flawed, account, G. A. Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542-1773* (Toronto and Buffalo 1999).
 138. An example of porcelain transfer to Persia via Zeelandia is seen in *De Dagregisters van het kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan 1629-1662. Deel I: 1629-1641*, 287.
 139. For example see Crowe, *Persia and China*, esp. 108-116.

10 The Dutch Presence in Japan

The VOC on Deshima and Its Impact on Japanese Culture

Matthi Forrer and Yoriko Kobayashi-Sato

On 16 March in the fifth year of the Kēchō 慶長 period (29 April 1600 in the European calendar), *De Liefde* drifted ashore onto Bungo, an eastern area of Kyūshū Island located in the southern part of Japan. The relationship between Japan and Holland began from that moment.

De Liefde was one of five ships which departed for eastern Asia in 1598 from Rotterdam by way of the Strait of Magellan to explore possibilities of trading. One ship among them returned to Holland without landing anywhere and three were unfortunately attacked by enemies along the way; even *De Liefde* barely reached Japan. Among its original 110 crew only 22 survived, which included Jacob Jansz. Quackernaek (?-1606), the captain; William Adams (1564-1620), an English specialist in navigation; and Jan Joosten van Lodensteyn (1557-1623), a high-ranking officer. They were all brought to Edo, the seat of the Shogun, and not only enjoyed the cordial hospitality of Ieyasu (家康, r. 1600-1616), the first Tokugawa Shogun, but also played an important role as agents between their countries, Holland and England on one side; Japan on the other side. Even today an area on the eastern side of the present Tokyo Station, which was given to Joosten van Lodensteyn as his estate by the Shogun, is still called Yaesu, after his name (the foreign name, Jan Joosten, was phonetically transliterated into “Yaesu” by the Japanese at the time). *De Liefde* was destroyed by a storm on the way from Bungo to the port of Uraga near to Edo, and only the wooden sculpture of Erasmus attached to its stern has survived.¹

Nine years later, the VOC sent two ships to Japan and began to trade in Hirado, a town located on the western side of Kyūshū Island. Except for a short interruption between 1628 and 1632, the Dutch stayed there until 1641, when ordered to move to Deshima, a small island off Nagasaki (see plate 10.1) which was artificially built in 1634-1636 to confine and control the Portuguese.² The reason the Dutch were made to evacuate Hirado was related to the numerals 1639 carved on the gable of one of their newly built warehouses.³ It was perceived as the Christian system for dating. Unlike the Portuguese who had arrived in Japan more than 50 years earlier, it was well known that the Dutch had no intention of spreading Christianity in Japan. However, it was a period of severe persecution against Christianity which would have forbidden the use of the Christian system for dating. The Shogunate expelled the Portuguese from Japan for good in 1639 and decided to transfer the Dutch to Deshima which was then vacant and so as to please the consortium of Nagasaki merchants who had invested in the construction of the island and its buildings. This was the final step in *sakoku* (鎖国), the isolation policy taken by the Tokugawa Shogunate; gradually through various announcements, Westerners were driven out of Japan and Japanese were prohibited from going abroad.⁴ Holland finally became the only country, together with China, to be allowed to trade with Japan, which resulted in a unique mode of mediation in terms of the cultural exchange between Holland and Japan, as is indicated in

the introductory essay by Kaufman and North of this volume.

Deshima was an island of about 15,395 m², connected to the mainland by a bridge. The twelve or thirteen Dutch persons working for the VOC were forced to live within it and were prohibited from going out without special permits. The chief merchant, *Kapitan* or *Op-perhoofd*, was replaced every year when new staff arrived with new cargo. Any Japanese who went to the island, except for officials, such as *tsūji* (通詞), or interpreters, were also closely watched.

The West Mediated by the Dutch on Deshima

Two sorts of trading were carried out via Deshima: official and private, known as *Compagnie* trade and *Kambang* trade, respectively. The latter was allocated to the Dutch staff of Deshima, the details of which cannot be traced because of the lack of documents. By contrast, the particularities of the former can be checked through the descriptions written in *Dagregisters* (1633-1860), diaries kept by the heads of the Dutch Nagasaki factory, and through the invoices and journals of negotiations, recording the items in the cargos shipped to Japan. With few omissions, the preservation of these three archives has enabled us to examine what was actually brought to, and accepted by, Japan.⁵ On the Dutch side, one of the main interests in trading with Japan was silver at the beginning, and copper in the later period; they could not always obtain adequate supplies, which led the Japan-Dutch trade to a critical state, especially around 1734-1735. The Heren XVII, the seventeen executives representing the VOC, sent a letter to David Drinckman, then the head of the Nagasaki factory, proposing they abandon trade with Japan. The proposal, however, was never carried out.⁶

A captain, a medical doctor, and a scribe of the Nagasaki factory were forced to do the Edo *sanpu* (参府), the trip to Edo, to have an audience with the Shogun. This compulsory travel began from 1609, though it was irregular. After 1633 it became a duty every year. The number of people participating in each trip amounted to 100-150, including Japanese participants such as *tsūji*. The return trip took about three months, and it cost the Dutch almost 3.7 percent of the yearly profits in their trade with Japan. Also included was the expense for the *Schenkagie*, gifts intended for the successive Shoguns and other high dignitaries. Usually the lists of expected gifts, called *Eijsch*, were submitted to the Dutch in advance from Japan's side, and the inventory of the gifts planned to be presented was made up just before the departure for the Edo *sanpu* of the Dutch. The documents recording the details of this whole process give us a glimpse into what material exchanges were expected and fulfilled between the two countries. Although the frequency of the trip was reduced to once every four years after 1790, the *Schenkagie* was still brought to Edo every year by *tsūji*.⁷

The trip was in principle the only chance for the Dutch to leave the tiny island of Deshima and see Japan and its people. What they experienced during the trip and in Edo was reported by the heads of the factory in the *Dagregisters*. These accounts are important sources for researching the details of the cultural exchanges between Japan and Holland. Medical doctors played an even more significant role as cultural mediators. The most influential were Engelbert Kämpfer (1651-1716) from 1690 to 1692; Carl Peter Thunberg (1743-1828) from 1775 to 1776; and Philipp Franz Balthasar von Siebold (1796-1866) from 1823 to 1830, whose descriptions of Japan were published in Europe and contributed to diffusing images of Japan as seen by Westerners.⁸ In general the Westerners who experienced the Edo *sanpu* appeared

to enjoy the trip. There was, however, one exception to the occasion, which took place during audiences with the Shogun. The Dutch representatives were required to participate in strange role plays, to dance, and to sing before the Shoguns and high dignitaries sitting in the audience, which made the Westerners feel extremely embarrassed.

The trips made by the Dutch were interesting opportunities for ordinary Japanese as well to see and understand the West and its people, although the extent was extremely limited. They had a chance to glimpse the appearance, costume, and behavior of the *kōmō* (紅毛), the Dutch with red hair, as they passed by on their route to Edo, as well as to see them when they stopped at their regular inns, such as Ebi-ya (海老屋) in Kyoto and Nagasaki-ya (長崎屋) in Edo. High officials sometimes visited the *kōmō* just to observe Western manners, hoping they might be lucky enough to taste Dutch sweets and wines, if offered. Scholars who were keenly interested in Western studies also frequented the Dutch to collect the latest knowledge in such areas as world geography, astronomy, medical science, and Western art, especially from medical doctors, including the ones mentioned above. They were called scholars of *rangaku* (蘭学), "Dutch Studies," and played a leading role in opening the eyes of Japanese to foreign developments beyond China, which had been from olden times the most authoritative cultural and political model for Japan.

Thus, Japan could access the outside world through the Dutch presence even during the isolation policy, though in a restricted manner. *Fūsetsugaki* (風説書), the current report on international movements, was obligatorily submitted to Japan by Chinese and Dutch fleets coming to Nagasaki and enabled Japan to be informed about what was going on outside the country to some extent. Sometimes Western books were officially presented to the Shoguns

and high dignitaries, and privately offered to people interested in them by the Dutch. They also served as essential sources for the Japanese to learn about scholarly developments in the West. To mention a few among them, the *Dag-registers* recorded the presents and requests of such books as an anatomy book in 1650, 1652, 1654, 1658, and 1659; Pliny's history of the animals and Jacob Cats's *Spiegel van den ouden en de nieuwen tijd* (first edition, 1632) in 1652; a herbal and some histories of war and other matters in 1652; Rembertus Dodonaeus's *Cruy-boeck* (Dutch version, 1644) in 1653, 1659, and 1682; a medical book in 1657; and Jan Jonston's *Naeukeurige Beschryving van de Natuur der Vier-Voetige Dieren...* (Dutch version, 1660) in 1663, 1717, and 1718.⁹

Japan became much more exposed to the outside world after the relaxation of the ban on the importation of books in 1720. Though it focused on Chinese books translated from non-Christian Western books, the new policy encouraged the importation and acquisition of scholarly books from the West, too.¹⁰ The eighth Shogun, Yoshimune (吉宗), who ruled at the time (r. 1716-1745), was keenly interested in Western sciences, especially the European calendar, and wanted Japanese to study from Chinese books such as *Tianxue Chuhan* (天学初函), a collection of writings on Heavenly teachings and various sciences by Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) and others, published by Li Zhizao (李之藻) in 1628. Although the importation of the whole collection to Japan had officially been prohibited in 1630, Yoshimune knew that some volumes in the collection were not Christian in content, but purely scientific and surely attracted his interest.¹¹ This scholarly openness of Yoshimune greatly changed the minds of some Japanese scholars and became a trigger for the rise of the *rangaku* and *ranga* (蘭画), Japanese paintings and prints rendered

in the Western artistic manner, after around 1740.¹²

Although our contribution to this volume is to address the results of the artistic exchange, such as *ranga* images, we will here focus on the *rangaku* briefly, because it not only mediated basic Western information to *ranga* painters, but also detached the significance of the Dutch presence in Japan. Jan Krans, head of the Nagasaki factory in Japan (1763-1764, 1765-1766), offered to Hiraga Gennai (平賀源内, 1728-1780), a notable teacher of *rangaku*, three of the eight Western books obtained by him between 1761 and 1769.¹³ Isaac Titsingh, another head of the factory in Japan (1779-1780, 1781-1782), is known to have corresponded for a long time with Kutsuki Masatsuna (朽木昌綱, 1750-1802), the lord of the Fukuchiyama fief, who was seriously interested in *rangaku*. Kutsuki was introduced in *Rotterdamsche Courant* in 27 November 1774 (fig. 10.1), as being the translator of the Dutch book, *Katechismus der natuur* (Amsterdam) by J. F. Martinet, which must have been given by Titsingh, though it is unclear which edition Masatsuna owned.¹⁴ Hendrik Doeff (1777-1835), who was forced to stay on Deshima from 1800 to 1817 because of the Dutch political crisis to be discussed later, compiled a Dutch-Japanese dictionary together with Japanese *tsūji*. Completed in 1833, *Doeff-Halma* was the first comprehensive dictionary of this sort and greatly contributed to the evolution of *rangaku* at the end of the Edo era, the most critical period for

Japan to prepare for the modernization of the country.¹⁵

End of a Dutch Monopoly

After all, Japan was not isolated during the Edo period. Of interest is the fact that the word *sakoku*, meaning isolation policy, was almost unknown to the people of the Edo era. It was used in 1801 for the first time by one of the *tsūji*, Shizuki Tadao (志筑忠雄, 1760-1806), when translating the lengthy title of one of the chapters in Kämpfer's *The History of Japan*, and some of the phraseology used in the text, such as “Van den tyd af dat het Ryk is opgesloten geweest [Since the country was closed].”¹⁶ Recent Japanese historians, however, prefer to use the word *kaikin* (海禁) [the ban on free navigation] to *sakoku*.

In 1795, Holland was occupied by France and was replaced with the Batavian Republic. In 1799, the VOC was dissolved. However, the Dutch in Nagasaki said nothing about this political change in their country to the Tokugawa Shogunate, and continued to show the Dutch flag on Deshima, trading through the shipping of merchandise from Batavia. After 1810, when Holland was annexed to France, no Dutch ships came to the island. The Dutch on Deshima weathered through this difficult period by hiring American ships to transport their goods. Meanwhile, England, which gradually

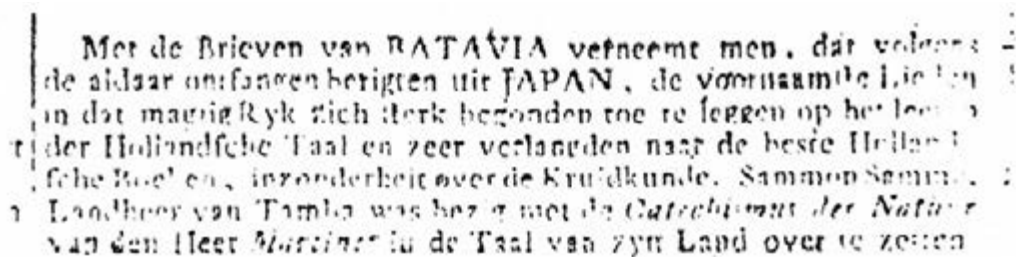


Fig. 10.1: From *Rotterdamsche Courant* of 27 November 1774.

became powerful, tried to seize Deshima twice: first in 1808, an English ship, the *Phaeton*, showing the Dutch flag, came into Nagasaki Bay; and in 1813, Thomas Raffles (1781-1826), the Lieutenant-Governor of Dutch East India, then occupied by England, plotted to capture Deshima. Both of them were dispelled through the clever negotiations held by the then head of the Dutch Nagasaki factory, Hendrik Doeff.

In 1817, Dutch ships reappeared in Nagasaki Bay and reported the recent independence of Holland to the Shogunate. However, the power game of Western countries pursuing colonies in

Asia didn't allow a Dutch monopoly in Japan. The Dutch king, William II (r. 1840-1849), therefore advised the Shogun in 1844 to abolish the isolation policy. This advice was not immediately taken, but it was finally accepted in 1855, when an American captain, Matthew C. Perry (1794-1858), arrived in Uraga with his "Black Ship" and forced Japan to open the country. Holland and Japan concluded an amity treaty in the next year, and Deshima was definitely closed in 1859. Between these two countries, a new mutual relationship was established which continues to the present day.

Notes

1. On loan to the National Museum, Tokyo by the owner, Ryūkō-in, Tochigi prefecture.
2. The Portuguese, who had ardently devoted themselves to the missionary work in Japan since their arrival in Japan in 1541, were watched carefully by the Tokugawa Shogunate, especially after 1612, when Ieyasu decided to persecute the Christians.
3. See Hiradoshi-shi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Hiradoshi-shi* (Hirado 2000).
4. The first edict related to *sakoku* was announced in 1616 to restrict the trading areas for foreigners to Hirado and Nagasaki except for the Chinese. In 1623 and 1624, England and Spain, respectively, were prohibited from coming to trade. In 1633, only ships with special licenses were allowed to trade and the Japanese who lived abroad for more than five years were prohibited from coming back. In 1635 foreign ships could sail only into Nagasaki and all Japanese living abroad were forbidden to return.
5. The original documents are kept in the National Archives, The Hague, while a copy of the document is preserved on microfilm and kept in the Shiryō Hensan-jo of Tokyo University, Japan.
6. See J. Feenstra Kuiper, *Japan en de buitenwereld in de achttiende eeuw* (The Hague 1921), 118-152.
7. As to the *Schenkagie*, see the contribution by C. Viallé to this volume.
8. E. Kämpfer, *The History of Japan* (London 1727); C. P. Thunberg, *Resa uti Europa, Africa, Asia, förrättad åren 1770-1779*, vols. 3 and 4 (Upsala 1788-1793); P. F. B. von Siebold, *Nippon* (Leiden 1832-1853).
9. See C. Viallé and L. Blussé, eds., *The Deshima Dagregisters*, vol. XI (1641-1650) (Leiden 2001), and vol. XII (1650-1660) (Leiden 2009); A.C. J. Vermeulen, ed., *The Deshima Dagregisters*, vol. I (1680-1690) (Leiden 1986) and vol. II (1690-1700) (Leiden 1987); and P. van der Velde and R. Bachofner, eds., *The Deshima Diaries: Marginalia 1700-1740* (Tokyo 1992).
10. In the decree Western books were not taken into consideration. Perhaps, because there were few Japanese who could read those books, they didn't need to be taken into account. See A. Ebisawa, *Namban Gakutō no Kenkyū* [A Survey of Namban Studies] (Kyoto 1958), 141-154; and O. Ōba, *Edo Jidai ni okeru Tōsen Mochiwatari-sho no Kenkyū* [A Study of Books Imported by Chinese Ships during the Edo Period] (Suita 1967), 32-46.
11. See Ebisawa, *Namban Gakutō no Kenkyū*, 259-300; and Ōba, *Edo Jidai ni okeru Tōsen Mochiwatari-sho no Kenkyū*, 32-46. As to the detail of *Tianxue Chuhan*, see the internet site

- of the Ricci Institute Library, University of San Francisco: www.usfca.edu/pacificrim/ricci/.
12. Aoki Konyō and Noro Genjō were ordered to learn Dutch by Yoshimune in 1740, and the latter partially translated the fauna by Jonston and the herbal by Dodonaeus, while Hiraga Gennai went to Nagasaki in 1752 to learn *rangaku*. The first *ukie* to apply Western geometric perspective is said to have been produced around 1739. See p. 288, note 36 of this volume.
 13. H. Johnson, *Western Influences on Japanese Art: The Akita Ranga Art School and Foreign Books* (Amsterdam 2005), 97-100.
 14. Martinet was acquainted with a niece of Titsingh. As to the friendship between Kutsuki and Titsingh, see F. Lequin, *De particuliere correspondentie van Isaac Titsingh (1783-1812)* (Alphen aan den Rijn 2009).
 15. See K. Matsuda, *Yōgaku no Shositeki Kenkyū* [A Bibliographical Study of Western Studies] (Kyoto 1998).
 16. The phrase referred to is found in E. Kämpfer, *De beschrijving van Japan*, 1733, 482. The title of the chapter translated by Shizuki is: "Onderzoek, of het van belang is voor 't Ryk van Japan om het zelve geslooten te houden, gelyk het nu is, en aan desselfs Inwooners niet toe te laten Koophandel te dryven met uytheemsche Natien 't zy binnen of buyten 's Lands." As to more details, see: A. Ōshima, 'Shizuki Tadao Yaku Sakokuron no Tanjō to sono Juyō [The Birth and Acceptance of the Isolation Policy Translated by Shizuki Tadao],' in *Rangaku no Frontier. Shizuki Tadao no Sekai* [The Frontier of Dutch Studies: The World of Shizuki Tadao] (Nagasaki 2007), 110-122.

11 From Optical Prints to *Ukie* to *Ukiyoe*

The Adoption and Adaptation of Western Linear Perspective in Japan

Matthi Forrer

In the 9th month of 1783, Shiba Kōkan (司馬江漢, 1747-1818) proudly launched a print depicting Edo's main river, the Sumidagawa, with people walking on its bank; the entrance and precincts of the Mimeguri shrine are seen in the distance. This was the first etching made in Japan in some one hundred years. The technique, first introduced into Japan by Portuguese Jesuit priests, had been totally forgotten after the expulsion of the Christians in 1612. Kōkan informs us in the following terms about the origins of his innovation:¹

Dutch books contain illustrations so realistic that we can still get an understanding of the contents simply by studying the pictures. This fact alone proves the brilliance and superiority of Western art.

And:

By employing shading, Western artists can represent convex and concave surfaces, sun and shade, distance, depth and shallowness. Their pictures are models of reality and thus can serve the same function as the written word, often more effectively.²

And he continues:

No one in Japan knew the proper method of making a copperplate. I therefore turned to the formula given in a book by a Hollander named Boisu. I consulted with Ōtsuki Gentaku [1757-1827], who assisted me in translating the

text, so that I could make copperplate pictures in Japan. In 1783, I made the first etching.³

Thus we know that Kōkan found the key to the reinvention of copperplate engraving in Egbert Buys's *Nieuw en volkomen woordenboek van kunsten en wetenschappen* (1769-1778), which indeed contains a good and detailed description of the technique of etching.⁴

In spite of Kōkan's brave efforts, the view of *Mimeguri* must – quite understandably – be regarded as only a poor first trial. He continued his experiments in the medium with varying success, but only some twenty years later can we speak of true mastery of etching in Japan. This was achieved not by Kōkan but by his older contemporary Aōdō Denzen (亜欧堂田善, 1745-1822). Denzen's etched night scene of two palanquin bearers on the Nihon Dike, leading to Edo's pleasure district of the Yoshiwara, *Yoshiwara dote no kei*, displays a command of etching, with a suggestion of mezzotint, comparable to that of Piranesi in his *Carceri* series of 1750 (fig. 11.1). The difference is that Piranesi was drawing on two centuries of European experience in the art of etching, while the Japanese artists had been at it for a mere twenty years.

Taking a closer look at the Denzen plate, we notice certain refinements that reflect knowledge of Western art. The small dark spot on the ground, where the lamp naturally casts no light, shows that the artist applied Western principles with respect to the representation of light and shade; curved lines are used to indicate the

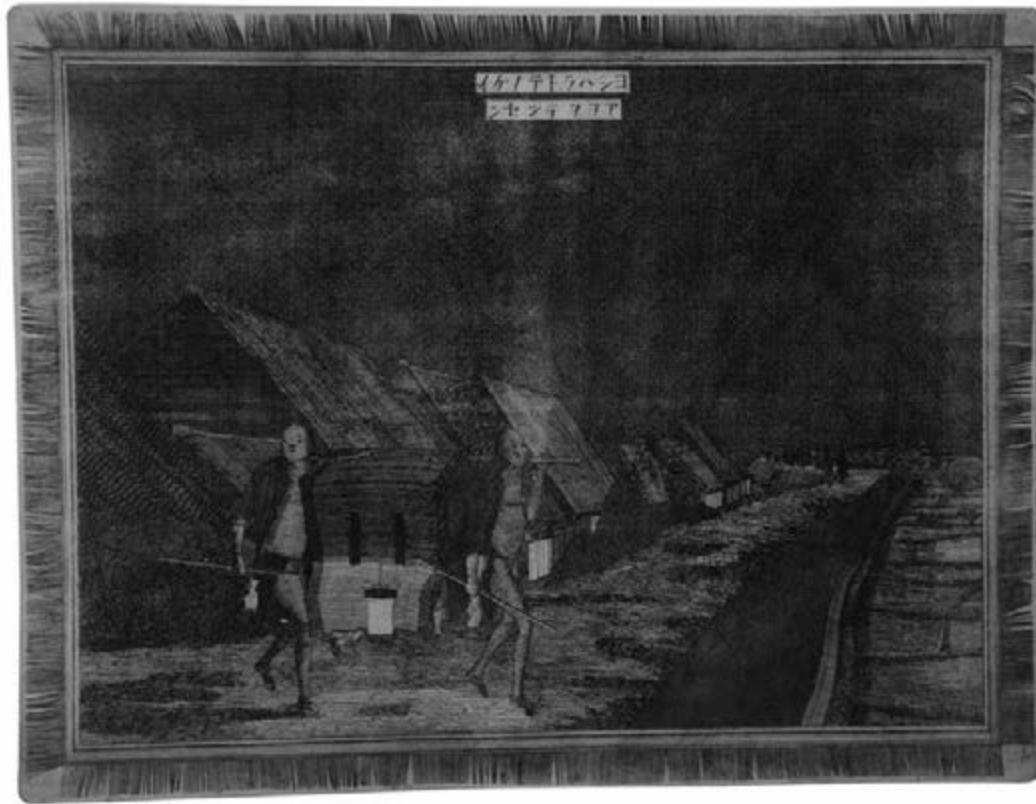


Fig. 11.1: Aōdō Denzen, *View of the Dike at Yoshiwara*, 1805-1810. Etching.

three-dimensionality of the figures. Moreover, the handling of perspective is almost perfect, with the horizon on the same level as the eyes of the two men. Proof of Denzen's understanding of the rules and principles of Western linear perspective can also be seen in other of his etchings, for example a coastal view of Shinagawa, to the south of Edo. The composition has a well-defined horizon and a vanishing point where all lines converge. The figures and houses as well as the hills decrease in height as they recede into the distance. An important distinction must be drawn between these two Japanese adaptations from Western art. The technique of etching was mastered relatively quickly, but the development that preceded Denzen's application of the Western principles of perspective took more than sixty years.

Denzen was not the only Japanese artist of his time to apply Western perspective in his designs. About 1805, Katsushika Hokusai (葛飾北斎, 1760-1849) designed two series of prints commonly dubbed "Yōfūga" (洋風画) [Pictures in the Western Manner]. Apart from such obvious "Westernizing" elements as "frames" around the images and horizontal rather than vertical lettering, Hokusai demonstrated such advanced mastery of Western perspective that he was able to play with it. In the *Ushigafuchi Slope at Kudan* there are two vanishing points – one for the right half, the other one for the left, to be viewed in that order. In *Mount Fuji seen from under Takahashi Bridge*, one might even speak of three viewpoints: one toward the canal from the boat in the foreground; one toward Mount

Fuji seen from the distant bridge; and one of the foreground, approximately as it would look to the man leaning over the railing of the bridge. Another European concept, the rendering of *chiaroscuro*, is here obtained by overprinting shaded areas. This is quite exceptional in Japanese woodblock prints, which normally have well-defined areas printed in one color only.

In this contribution, I will sketch the development of Western linear perspective in Japan from its first appearance around 1740 until the work of Denzen and Hokusai of the early nineteenth century. First, however, I will investigate various possible sources of early Japanese perspective prints, while discussing recent theories, especially in Japanese literature about their origin. Then I will discuss developments in the eighteenth century in Nagasaki, Kyoto, and Edo in an attempt to explain why it took the Japanese some fifty years to achieve sufficient grasp of “Western perspective” to be able to apply it “naturally” where and when they wanted. In this respect, it is well to recall that it only took the Japanese some two decades to explore the possibilities of etching at a remarkably high level. The interesting question why these two developments – etching and perspective – should come to fruition almost simultaneously will be touched on as well.

The First Western Perspective in Japan

As said above, the first awareness of Western perspective in Japanese art precedes by more than sixty years the time when artists such as Denzen and Hokusai would so impressively demonstrate their understanding of it. In the mid-1740s, people passing the shop of Okumura Genroku (奥村屋源六) at Tōri Shiochō (通塩町), Edo, must have been surprised to see some very large prints depicting the central

street of the New Yoshiwara (新吉原), the city’s entertainment area.⁵ Speculating about their reaction, we can imagine them thinking “Well, yes, that is also a way of envisioning *Nakanochō*” (中の町). With Ōmonguchi (大門口), the entrance gate to the Yoshiwara, figuring large in the foreground, one would see the brothels aligned on both sides of the crowded *Nakanochō*. Quite surprisingly for the Japanese viewer, however, the brothels close by the entrance were shown large, those further down the street considerably smaller. Moreover, the people walking down the street were smaller the further they were from the picture plane. For Japan, this was a totally novel way of representing three-dimensional reality on a flat sheet of paper.

It should be added that this is only one aspect of Dutch painting, printmaking, imagery, and artistic technique introduced into Japan during the centuries when the Dutch were the only European nation in formal contact with Edo-period Japan. In addition to the techniques of etching and the *chiaroscuro* print, the Dutch also introduced the Japanese to the Western use of picture frames and horizontal writing. Another feature of Netherlandish art in which the Japanese recognized an advantage to their traditional practices was naturalism. It must indeed be said that Japan, unlike most other countries where the VOC was active, displayed a keen and active interest not only in Dutch art and imagery, but also in technology and science, whether it originated in the Netherlands or was translated into Dutch from another Western language.

It may be going too far to claim that the view of *Nakanochō* is a totally novel form of representation. A number of earlier prints can be seen as precursors to the achievements of Hokusai. Among them are an interior of the Tomoeiya brothel (巴屋) as well as some views in the city’s kabuki theaters with actors on the stage.⁶ The

plays staged enable us to date some of these prints, such as the design showing the *kaomise* performances (顔見せ) held at the opening of the new theatrical season of the 11th month of 1743 at the Nakamura theater (中村座), or that of the New Year performances of 1744 at both the Nakamura and Ichimura theaters (市村座). These prints were designed by Okumura Masanobu (奥村政信, c. 1786-1764), who by 1744 was joined by Tanaka Masunobu (田中益信, dates unknown), the designer of an interior view of the Ichimura theater. Later in the 1740s more designers would follow in their footsteps, creating what by then had come to be known as “perspective views,” *ukie* (浮絵), of which Okumura Masanobu, probably justifiably, claimed to be the inventor. Although now – and then – generally known as perspectives, or bird’s-eye views, the term *ukie* used in the titles of most such prints literally translates as floating pictures, or “pictures coming to the surface,” possibly suggesting that, unexpectedly, the differences between the foreground and the background are seen differently. They were, indeed, different from the popular “prints of the Floating World,” *ukiyo-e*, that had been developed since around 1700, mostly showing single figures of actors of the kabuki theater in role, or courtesans of the Yoshiwara pleasure district of Edo, or even their male counterparts, the *wakashū*, as the principal subjects of *ukiyo-e*. However, views of both the stage and the interior of the theater, or of the crowds visiting the Yoshiwara and walking through its main street the Nakanochō were until then unseen. To couple this with Western linear perspective must undoubtedly have made them a double innovation. Most of the early prints featuring an unmistakable Western perspective were quite large, measuring 33.5 x 46.5 cm., some even 46.8 x 68.0. Although the new “tradition” in representing space was continued in the following decades, the subjects remained largely

restricted to views of the main street of the Shin Yoshiwara, Nakanochō, the Yoshiwara, or views of the stage and rooms of one of the three main kabuki theaters of Edo. The publishers of these prints were a handful only, foremost among them Okumura Masanobu himself, Okumura Genroku (奥村屋源六), and the firms of Izutsuya Sanemon (井筒屋三右衛門) and the Urokogataya (鱗形屋).

What I here call Western perspective is marked by a well-defined and recognizable horizon and an unmistakable vanishing point, sometimes even two or more vanishing points.

More importantly than its impact on immediate followers such as Tanaka Masunobu and a few others, the tradition started by Okumura Masanobu in Edo in the 1740s had a lasting effect on Japanese prints of townscapes, apparent in such later developments as these:

- From about 1760 on the Kyoto artist Maruyama Ōkyo (円山応挙, 1733-1795) painted quite a number of perspective views of Kyoto localities, apparently applying compositional schemes he borrowed from European optica (perspective) prints, as well as some designs based on Chinese examples.
- About 1767 the Edo print designer Utagawa Toyoharu (歌川豊春, 1735-1814) started a new development in *ukie*, mostly of Edo localities. Like Ōkyo, and perhaps in imitation of that colleague, he adapts schemes from European optica prints. The artist worked for a succession of publishers: Matsumura Yahei (松村弥兵衛, c. 1767-1770), Nishimuraya Yohachi (西村屋与八, c. 1770-1775) and from about 1775 for Iwatoya Genpachi (岩戸屋源八).
- About 1769 the Fuinsai (不韻齋) and Kokkadō (国花堂) firms or ateliers in Kyoto issued a number of rather small (c. 16.5 x 20.0) perspective views of Kyoto localities.

- From around 1770 Shiba Kōkan – signing his designs either Harunobu, thus appropriating the name of his teacher Suzuki Harunobu (鈴木春信, 1725-1770), or Harushige (春重) – applied Western linear perspective in a few prints of fashionably engaged townswomen in a style indeed suggesting a direct apprenticeship with Harunobu.
- Among the designs of *ukie* made by Utagawa Toyoharu in the 1780s (?) are views of the Canal Grande in Venice, a View of a Port in the Southeast of Holland (actually Delft), and others, obviously directly copied after Western optica prints (see plate 10.1).

The latter group in particular, the Toyoharu designs based on European optica prints, has given rise to the generally shared conviction that the Japanese derived their knowledge of perspective from this source. Recently, however, this assumption has been revised as other sources have come to be proposed.

The Introduction of Western Perspective in Japan: State of the Art

As the standard view has it, the development of Japanese perspective prints from the late 1730s was the direct result of the repeal in 1720 of the ban on Western imports of books and pictures by Shogun Tokugawa Yoshimune (徳川吉宗, r. 1716-1745). It was long believed that at that juncture the Dutch started importing large numbers of optica prints into Japan. More recently, however, Japanese authors have come to adopt the view that the decisive source came not from Europe but China, especially Suzhou prints.

According to Asano (1985), Western rules of painting were introduced by Christian missionaries in the sixteenth century but had

effectively no immediate impact on Japanese artists because Christianity was outlawed. Chinese and Western pictorial art were re-introduced to Japan through Nagasaki after the eighth Shogun, Yoshimune, lifted the import ban on books other than Chinese literature in 1720. It is generally accepted that Chinese woodblock prints which incorporated western perspective led to the development of *uki-e* in Japan.⁷

This is correct insofar that there had indeed been a strict ban on the import of foreign material that related to the Christian religion. However, the ban did not apply to European books on other than Christian subjects. These found their way to Japan all the time. The ban that was lifted by Yoshimune concerned the import of Chinese books. Chinese pictures had never posed a problem and were imported freely through the harbor of Nagasaki, the only Japanese port open to foreign ships. From 1697 on they were avidly studied and scrutinized by the official Guild of Connoisseurs of Chinese Painting, the *Karae mekiki* (唐絵目利), which was established in Nagasaki in that year.⁸ The question then remains: what were these imports from both Europe and China? More specifically, what exactly did the Japanese see in them? What struck them as interesting enough to be worthy of adoption? Why and how did they come to make their perspective prints? A related question is why Japanese artists chose the popular medium of woodblock prints for their initial forays into Western perspective.

The Pozzo Treatise on Perspective in Chinese

Most Japanese authors who adopt the view that Chinese rather than European prints first introduced the concept of Western linear

perspective into their country cite a written as well as a pictorial source. That is the Chinese translation, published in 1729, of *Perspectiva Pictorum et Architectorum* (1693) by the Italian artist Andrea Pozzo (1642-1709).⁹ This suggestion was probably first made by Julian Lee, but it does call for qualification. Why did the Chinese choose to translate Pozzo's book in the first place, when there were so many other manuals on perspective available at the time? The choice would seem to be connected to the fact that Pozzo was a Jesuit, and that his book was recommended for translation by another Italian Jesuit artist, Giuseppe Castiglione (1688-1766, in China 1715-1766). Castiglione worked under the name Lang Shih-ning at the court of various Chinese emperors, among them the Ch'ing Emperors Kang-hsi (r. 1662-1722), Yung-cheng (r. 1722-1736) and Ch'ien-lung (r. 1736-1796). The translator of Pozzo's *Perspectiva Pictorum et Architectorum*, Nien Hsi-yao (年希堯, d. 1738), was assisted in the job by Castiglione. The book appeared in print in 1729 as the *Shih-hsüeh* (視學). Although the text was available in Chinese from then on, it seems that the 1729 edition had no plates or illustrations. The illustrations that were apparently only added in the revised edition of 1735 still only amounted to a selection of the one hundred plates of the original. Although the prints chosen were apparently those that the Chinese editors thought to be "readily (?)" understandable, they were nonetheless adapted and considerably simplified. Graphs from other sources were added to further comprehensibility. Still, one wonders what the Chinese reader or the Japanese painters who are believed to have learned perspective from this work could possibly have understood reading passages such as this:

Now, if to the Spectator in A and B, we would have the farthest part of the Work seem to

recede from the Lines DE and GF, as much as the Square P does, whose Elevation is Q; draw from the Points A and B, the visual Rays to the extreme Points of the Square P and Q; noting the Sections they make with the Walls DE and GF; which by some is call'd the Veil, Transparent Medium, Section, Cloth, or Table: and you'll find RS equal to TV, XZ equal to YK; and so of the rest.¹⁰

These considerations – the absence of good illustrations and the denseness of the text – weaken the theory that the Chinese translation of Pozzo was a sufficient source from which Japanese artists could have learned perspective. There are other historical weaknesses in that argument. Even though the *Shih-hsüeh* could have reached Japan after the lifting of the ban on Chinese imports, there is no evidence that it actually did. Since no copy is present in any of the major libraries in Japan, it is a moot point if the book was ever imported at all. Nor is there any known reference to the principles laid down in Pozzo in any of the many Japanese treatises on painting. Since most of these were in turn based on earlier Chinese works, it must moreover be considered doubtful that Pozzo was taken very seriously even in China.¹¹

On the other hand, Věra Linhartová confirms that "Parmi les ouvrages que l'on vient d'évoquer, les traités rédigés et publiés par les missionnaires jésuites à Beijing sont restés inconnus au Japon du XVIIIe siècle."¹² Also the circumstance that a Japanese treatise dealing explicitly with Western perspective, the *Gato rikai* (画図理解, 1778) by Satake Shozan (佐竹曙山, 1748-1785), makes no reference whatsoever to Pozzo's work, may confirm this. Shozan pays respect to various Chinese sources of a rather philosophical nature, but what is most striking is his familiarity with Joseph Moxon's (1627-1700) *Practical*

Perspective, or, Perspective Made Easie (London 1670).¹³ We know that in writing his treatise on perspective Shozan depended heavily on sources provided to him by Hiraga Gennai (平賀源内, 1728-1780), who owned, or at least had access to Chinese works. This is apparent from his *Butsurui hinshitsu* (物類品隲, 1763), with illustrations by Maruyama Ōkyo), which includes copies not after Pozzo's *Shih-hsüeh* (1729) but rather – with improvements in perspective – after the Chinese work *T'ien kung k'ai wu* (天工開物, 1637) by Sung Ying-hsing (宋應星).¹⁴ Taking all of the above into account, it seems quite unlikely that Pozzo and his *Shih-hsüeh* had any influence at all in Japan, let alone that it was the main source for a wide group of painters in their study of perspective. The available evidence makes it even doubtful whether Chinese painters made use of Pozzo's book. They, however, in contrast to the Japanese, could have consulted Giuseppe Castiglione or other Jesuit painters for an explication of the manual.

The story behind the Chinese translation of Pozzo is worth recounting here. According to Cécile and Michel Beurdeley in their book on Castiglione, the Jesuit first had a far more ambitious plan in mind. Observing that Chinese painting was deficient in perspective, he proposed to the emperor that a school or even an Academy of Painting be founded “to rectify the Chinese ignorance” of perspective. The emperor was not convinced, so the plan was dropped. Wanting despite this setback to teach Chinese painters the principles of perspective, Castiglione then proposed that Pozzo's *Perspectiva Pictorum et Architectorum* be published in Chinese. The translator, Nien Hsi-yao, was a pupil of Castiglione's.¹⁵

Castiglione was not the first one to notice this “ignorance” of the Chinese painters. A century earlier Matteo Ricci (1552-1610, in China 1588-1610), one of the first Jesuits to

settle in China, had come to the conclusion that “They [the Chinese] know nothing of the art of painting in oils or the use of perspective in their pictures, so their productions have no life in them at all.”¹⁶ In 1641 the Portuguese Jesuit Alvarez de Semedo (1585-1658) expressed the same opinion.¹⁷

Jesuit Painters in China and their Influence upon Chinese Painting

As a Jesuit missionary in China, Matteo Ricci introduced some major works of Christian literature into the country, such as Jerome Nadal's *Evangelicae historiae imagines* (Antwerp 1593) and Plantin's polyglot Bible *Biblia regia* (Antwerp 1568-1572). He also brought in some important secular publications. These include atlases, such as Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Antwerp 1570) and Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitates orbis terrarum* (Cologne 1572), as well as works on architecture. Of the two books by Vitruvius known to have been brought to China by Ricci, one must have been his magnum opus, *De architectura* (1511 and many later eds.). An unnamed book by Palladio was most likely *I Quattro libri dell'architettura* (Venice 1570). Some of the plates in these books, notably the biblical illustrations in Nadal, were copied in Chinese bookplates. Among the known examples are copies after *Christ Appearing to the Disciples* (after Wierix)¹⁸ and *Peter Touching Christ's Wound*.¹⁹

It was not until the second half of the seventeenth century that serious efforts were made to interest the Chinese in the Western concept of perspective. The extent to which the Chinese were interested in actually employing it in their art is a matter of some controversy. Most of the sources speak of Western rather than Chinese initiatives. Foremost among the proponents of perspective training for Chinese artists were

the Jesuits. Quite a few of the missionaries sent to China by the Society of Jesus were artists or men very knowledgeable about art. One well-known incident concerns the failed attempt of Father Ludovicus, or Louis Buglio (1606-1682, in China 1648-1682), to impress the emperor with a present of three paintings, their perspective explained in a short booklet. The emperor was not interested. Father Buglio's efforts were however not altogether in vain. When he displayed copies of these paintings in the garden of the Jesuit mission in Peking, Chinese visitors do seem to have responded as he hoped they would: "They could not imagine how one could, on a single sheet, represent the halls, galleries, gateways, roads and alleyways so convincingly that at first glance the eye was deceived."²⁰ Some time later, Father Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688, in China 1659-1688), an astronomer and mathematician working at the Imperial Astronomical Observatory, is believed to have taught the elements of perspective to his colleague Chiao Ping-chen (act. c. 1689-1726). What we know for certain, in any case, is that Chiao applied parallel perspective of a kind in some of the plates in a new edition of the *Keng-chih t'u* (1696), a work on agriculture and weaving, with poems by both K'ang-hsi and Ch'ien-lung.

This may have been more striking to a Chinese viewer than to a European, as can be inferred from remarks by Zhang Geng, an eighteenth-century critic who would write about Chiao's prints: "His compositions give the effect of distance, the objects decrease in size from near to far with perfect accuracy [...] because he represented them according to the Western manner."²¹ In general, however, Chinese painters commenting on their own work tend to deny that they had undergone any Western influence, preferring to place themselves in the long Chinese tradition. A number of other Western artists are also recorded in China.

We know of a German painter named Johann Grueber (1623-1680, in China 1659-1660), who probably was not active as a teacher of painting, and the Italian Christopher Fiori (in China 1694-1705). According to Michael Sullivan, Emperor Kang-hsi actually requested that a specialist painter of architectural perspective come to his court. The man who was sent east was Giovanni Gherardini (1654-1725, in China 1700-1704).²² Kang-hsi, it is surmised, was indeed fascinated by perspective, but he was dissatisfied with the poor performances of Father Verbiest and his colleagues in this respect. We are poorly informed about Gherardini's activity in China. Besides having painted some portraits of the imperial family and continuing the tradition of teaching painting in oils, he seems to have occupied himself mainly in decorating the walls and ceiling of the Jesuit church. From later descriptions, these appear to have achieved the effect of three-dimensionality more through chiaroscuro than through linear perspective – as was, I am tempted to conclude, mostly the case in China. To what extent, we must ask, were these European painters given an opportunity to teach perspective to their Chinese colleagues? The Chinese seem to have been willing to allow Western perspective to be taught in their country, but that was the extent of their tolerance. Essentially, they considered perspective a form of cheating, not worthy of the name of art. The emperor, when declining Castiglione's proposal to establish an Academy for Painting, thought that the "imperfections of the eye were no reason to represent the objects of nature as imperfect."²³ Since the emperor's say in experiments in themes and styles were final, that was that.

There is more to the matter, however. The emperor was not only the dictator of styles and themes, he was also one of the major patrons of painting in the country. On his command, when European painters worked for the imperial

court, they collaborated with Chinese painters. The commissions on which they worked were large projects defined by the emperor. These tended to be depictions of important military, historical, or court events, such as scenes of pacification and warfare, the gathering of troops, celebrations and ceremonies, farming scenes, banquets, hunting scenes, and so forth.²⁴ Of great importance to our question was the form of the collaboration between the guest artists from Europe and their Chinese colleagues. Typically, the Jesuit artists were assigned the task of painting the faces, while the Chinese took care of the costumes, the setting, and the background. We may thus infer that whatever lessons the Chinese painters received were more concerned with mastering the technique of painting in oils and the application of chiaroscuro than perspective. The settings and backgrounds for these scenes, as the work of Chinese artists, complied, as they were intended to, with the Chinese concept of space.

Records kept at the Imperial Household Workshop confirm that most teaching by European painters concerned the technique of painting in oils rather than exercises in perspective, at least during the reigns of Emperors Yung-cheng and Ch'ien-lung. It is only in the tenth year of the latter's reign, in 1745, that there seems to be explicit mention of lessons in perspective. This occurs as an assignment to Shen Yüan, who would then in turn instruct the painters in the branch Academy.²⁵

The aspect of linear perspective that seems to have interested the Chinese above all others is the illusionistic effects to which it can be put to use. This was probably the feature that most intrigued them in the paintings that Father Ludovicus or Louis Buglio exhibited in the garden of the Jesuit mission and in the wall and ceiling paintings in Jesuit churches. Among the artists who executed these works were Ni I-ch'eng (Jacopo Niva, born in Japan

from Japanese-Chinese parents and trained initially by Giovanni Niccolo in one of the Japanese seminaries at Shiki or Arima) and his assistants, Giovanni Gherardini, and Giuseppe Castiglione.²⁶ Emperor Ch'ien-lung also recognized the value of these *trompes-l'oeil*, *tie-luo*, which suggested extended space or extra views in the rooms and corridors of his palaces.

Although Sullivan quite correctly reminds us to "be extremely careful [...] when we come to look for that influence,"²⁷ he does not always follow his own advice. He picks no bones about detecting European qualities in the works of Wu Bin (act. 1583-1626), even though "There is, to my knowledge, no clear evidence that Wu Bin ever met a missionary or ever saw a European picture." But these features in his work, Sullivan goes on, "would be difficult to explain in any other way."²⁸ Following a few more such examples, he concludes: "The fact that these seventeenth-century westernisms are confined largely to the Nanking School [...] suggests that the painters and scholars in the southern capital may have had freer access to the Jesuits and their libraries than did those of Peking."²⁹ This does not prevent him, however, from ascribing Western features to the work of Peking artists as well:

Certain eighteenth-century court painters, notably Leng Mei, Tsou I-kuei and Shen Yüan, show unmistakable signs of Western influence in their work. There were other seventeenth-century painters, such as Shang-kuan Chou, Lu Wei and possibly the curious Fa Jo-ch'en, in whom Western influence is less obvious but still discernable.³⁰

However, ten pages later he has to admit:

When we think of the intense interest that they aroused in the seventeenth century, we cannot help being surprised that their ultimate

achievement was so meagre. [...] The influence of Western art, if it did not peter out altogether, trickled like sand to the lower levels of the professional and the craftsman painters, where it stayed till modern times.³¹

Quite understandably, it must be said, when we read Tsou I-kuei's verdict:

The Westerners are skilled in geometry, and consequently there is not the slightest mistake in their way of rendering light and shade and distance. [...] But these painters have no brush-manner whatsoever; although they possess skill, they are simply artisans and cannot consequently be classified as painters.³²

In judging the potential impact of the teaching of the Jesuits in China, we must keep in mind that their work was limited largely to appointments in the Imperial Painting Academy and official commissions. This in itself makes it unlikely that they could have exerted influence on such popular products as the above-mentioned Suzhou prints. This print tradition did not emerge until the 1720s, and shows no trace of Western linear perspective until the 1730s. Even then it may be questioned whether we are dealing with a conscious application of Western perspective or rather a variant of Chinese perspective designed for the depiction of larger architectural constructions. As John Lust observes:

Complex foreign art techniques were offered the Chinese by the Jesuits and again by later Treaty Port illustration. Few Suzhou or Yangliuqing designers accepted the vanishing of linear perspective, that clashed with their own perspectives, and introduced an unfamiliar field of mathematics, but they arrived at viable compromises.³³

We are dealing with a form of imagery that was considered by the Chinese as well as the Jesuits fit only "for the lower classes and inhabitants of the countryside." This in itself rendered them unsuitable for export to Japan, so that they could hardly have been instrumental in the development of the earliest *ukie*. Suzhou prints of undocumented provenance are presently to be found in several Japanese collections, but they probably only came there much later. Concerning the incidence of Chinese popular prints in present-day repositories, Lust remarks:

Prints in Europe and Japan show that a flourishing and technically strong print trade had settled down in Suzhou by the later 17th century, of which the work of the Ding clan, one of high quality, seems by chance to be well represented, either on account of its quality or because it dominated the trade in the later 17th century.³⁴

However, he only cites the Kaempfer/Sloane collections in the British Museum (mainly of flower-and-bird subjects, *kachōga*), the Graphische Sammlung München, and the Dresden Kupferstichkabinett (founded in 1738), none in Japan.³⁵

Japanese Interest in Chinese Painting Concerns Naturalism First and Foremost

Japanese interest in Chinese painting was mostly focused on its naturalism. In many respects, China has always been an important role model for Japan, in the arts as well as other fields. The continuous import of Chinese paintings in the Edo period through the port of Nagasaki led in 1697 to the establishment of a Guild of Connoisseurs of Chinese Paintings, the *Karae mekiki* (唐絵目利), with Watanabe

Shūseki (渡辺秀石, 1642-1709) and his son Watanabe Shūboku (渡辺秀朴, died 1756) being the first Connoisseurs.³⁶ This guild was actually the immediate successor to the Guild of Connoisseurs of Paintings, the *Emekiki* (絵目利), established in 1629. The last Connoisseur of Chinese Paintings, Araki Senshū (荒木千洲, 1807-1876) was appointed as late as 1854. In the course of the centuries, the members of the guild avidly copied Chinese imports. Overviewing their activities, it becomes clear that their main interest lay in naturalism as they recognized it in paintings of plants, flowers, and birds, whereas they hardly copied paintings of typical Chinese subject matter, such as mythical figures or even Chinese idealized landscapes.³⁷ It was probably not coincidental that the Japanese gravitated to the facet of Chinese painting that owed the most to Jesuit painters. The interest of the Japanese painters was in all likelihood mostly practical, helping them to meet the demands of the companion guild of the *Goyō eshi* (御用絵師), the Nagasaki guild of painters charged with documenting all foreign imports in paint.³⁸ Moreover, although this is more difficult to prove, it fits in well with the development of the sciences in Japan – natural history in particular – which as we shall see below were increasingly dependent on faithful depictions in art.

The increasing interest in naturalism in early-eighteenth-century Japan would also bring to Japan the Chinese painter Ch'en Nan-pin (沈南蘋, 1682-1760). He arrived early in 1732 (in XII/1731 in the Japanese lunar calendar) and remained for almost two years, during which his foremost activity was to provide tuition to other Chinese painters, such as Kōkin (高鈞), Kōkan (高乾), Teibai (鄭培), and Ryōki (梁基).³⁹ Later, Sō Shigan (宋紫岩, dates unknown, a Chinese artist named Sung Tzu-yen who remained in Japan) would study

Ch'en Nan-pin's sketches after coming to Nagasaki in 1758 and transmit Ch'en's legacy to his pupil Sō Shiseki (宋紫石, 1715-1786). It was this Edo-born Sō Shiseki who would bring the Ch'en Nan-pin style of painting to Edo. There he quickly gained a major reputation with his naturalistic style of painting, counting Shiba Kōkan and Sakai Hōitsu (酒井抱一, 1761-1828) among his pupils.⁴⁰

As remarked above, Japanese interest in naturalism was not guided solely by practical considerations. It was also inspired by other developments in Japan that for the sake of simplicity can be termed "Dutch Studies," *rangaku*. Scientists involved in this sweeping endeavor actively studied Dutch and other European books dealing with a wide range of subjects, such as medicine, pharmacology, astronomy and the measuring of time, natural history and medicinal herbs. What intrigued these scholars in European books can probably be best summed up in Shiba Kōkan's words:

By employing shading, Western artists can represent convex and concave surfaces, sun and shade, distance, depth, and shallowness. Their pictures are models of reality and thus can serve the same function as the written word, often more effectively.⁴¹

Kōkan was not alone in this judgment. Large numbers of *rangakusha* and even larger numbers of amateur researchers created a lively market for reliable, naturalistic imagery for the communication of both knowledge and ideas. In the period from 1700 to 1750, at least 65 publications concerning plants, trees, flowers, and various kinds of animals were issued, mostly by Kyoto and Osaka publishers, plus countless manuscripts that were copied and circulated.⁴² Among the best-known Western books they turned to, beside Dodoens's

Cruydeboeck (Antwerp 1554) and Jonston's *Historiae naturalis de quadrupedibus libri*, [...] etc. (Amsterdam 1657), was Gerard de Lairese's *Groot schilderboeck* (Amsterdam 1707). Much of this development took place in the middle of the eighteenth century, coinciding with the first application of Western perspective in Masanobu's prints and its later diffusion.

Back to the Contributions of the Dutch

Nothing said so far explains how Western linear perspective came to be adopted in Japan. As we have seen, it is highly unlikely that the Chinese translation of Pozzo's treatise on perspective played any role in this process. As for the Suzhou prints that have been proposed by some as a significant source, it seems quite unlikely that these had reached Japan by the first half of the eighteenth century. Moreover, Western linear perspective is not apparent in these prints before the 1750s or 1760s, by which time it was already in practice in Japan.

This brings us back to the Dutch as the most likely source for the introduction of linear perspective into Japan. Admittedly, we cannot pinpoint exactly which Dutch model first inspired Okumura Masanobu around 1740 to design his novel *ukie* views of the main street of the Shin Yoshiwara, and the stage and rooms of the kabuki theaters of Edo. However, by investigating the possible role played by the Dutch in that development, we can at least avail ourselves of reliable documentation. This cannot be said of the theories concerning Chinese influence.

Earlier Developments

From a bookplate in Hasegawa Mitsunobu's (長谷川光信, dates unknown) *Ehon otogishina*

kagami (絵本御伽品鏡) of 1730, we know that people in Osaka enjoyed looking at pictures in a *nozoki megane* (覗き眼鏡), an apparatus for viewing (perspective?) scenes through glass lenses. In the text above the image the word *nozoki* would always appear.⁴³ On top of the peepshow illustrated in the bookplate is the representation of an elephant, probably intended to evoke something "outlandish" or "rare" to be seen in what the writing next to the picture calls an *ōkarakuri*. Indeed, *ōkarakuri*, sometimes specified as *Oranda ōkarakuri*, "Holland *ōkarakuri*," was the term by which such peepshows came to be known in Japan. *Ōkarakuri* shows seem to have been taking place at Kyoto's entertainment district of Shijō Kawara since 1718.⁴⁴ In 1711 there is mention in Chikamatsu Monzaemon's (近松門左衛門, 1653-1724) play *Meito no hikyaku* (冥途の飛脚) of a *nozoki karakuri*. The implication that optical boxes were in use early in the eighteenth century is however contested by the Japanese historian Oka Yasumasa. He argues that all these words refer to *karakuri ningyō* (からくり人形), boxes for viewing puppets or automata. It makes no difference if the device was fitted out with lenses, or whether the image passed through a simple hole.

Oka maintains that the practice of viewing perspective prints in special boxes is not documented earlier than 1752, in another bookplate by the same Hasegawa Mitsunobu, in his *Ehon kagamitogi* (絵本家賀御伽). That plate indeed has the unequivocal caption "Peepshow Showing Famous Places," *Meisho wo miseru nozoki*.⁴⁵ If Oka is right – and his argument seems plausible – this means that Okumura Masanobu was the first one to develop prints applying Western perspective and that these prints were meant to be seen as is, not via a peepshow or mirrored through a device known as a "zograscope" or "diagonal mirror" (see below).

The suggestion in the Japanese records that it was not until the mid-eighteenth century that

peepshow were being used to view perspective prints jibes nicely with documentation in the Netherlands. In the archives of the Dutch East India, the earliest relevant entries are these: a “perspective with painting for the Lord of Suruga” (*perspectieff met schilderijtje*, 1755/VIII/4)⁴⁶; a “perspective with 18 prints for the Lord of Sama (Saga?), and idem for the Lord of Shiga” (*perspectiv met 18 prenten*, 1759/VIII/1)⁴⁷; while the governor of Nagasaki apparently was given an “optical instrument and prints” in 1767.⁴⁸ There is an earlier reference to “camera obscura glasses” (*doncker camer glase*), which may however have been paintings on glass. Whatever they were, they did not enjoy an enthusiastic reception. When they were presented to the Lord of Chikugo in 1646 by the Dutch Opperhoofd Reinier van Tzum, the daimyo seems to have been less than delighted.⁴⁹ This did not deter the Dutch in the same year from giving a “perspective case” to the Shogun himself.⁵⁰ For the court journey of the following year, the train left Osaka on 1646/XII/18 “in the following order: first the two camels led by two men, then a cassowary in a wooden cage, two cockatoos, a civet cat, a large perspective case, and many more [...]” Even before the audience with the Shogun, on 1647/I/5, “Saburozaemon’s elder son came to see the Dutchmen and their rarities. They enjoyed the peepshow the most. [...]”⁵¹ The following day, on 1647/I/6, the Opperhoofd could note that “The perspective case drew the most spectators and the most admiration” at the court.⁵² On the occasion of the 1663 court journey, Opperhoofd Hendrick Indijck presented 21 pictures and 50 glass paintings to Shogun Ietsuna.⁵³ This seems to be the last mention of such imports until the 1740s.⁵⁴

The camera obscura introduced into Japan by the Dutch in the seventeenth century was probably a box-like device that would project an upside-down image of the outside world onto the wall of a dark room by letting in

light through a small opening. In Europe the underlying concept dated back to the times of Aristotle and Euclid and in Asia a century earlier, in the writings of the fifth-century B.C. Chinese philosopher Mo-ti. Roger Bacon (c. 1214-1294) suggested that the use of a lens would enhance the effect, an idea that was put into practice in sixteenth-century Italy by Giovanni della Porta (1535?-1615), who popularized the camera obscura in his country. The term “camera obscura” was coined by Johannes Kepler (1571-1630). In the Netherlands, the physicist Christiaan Huygens (1629-1695) provided the instrument with a mirror to correct the inversion of the image. He is believed to have introduced the camera successfully to many Dutch painters, even the great Johannes Vermeer. Giovanni Antonio Canaletto’s camera obscura is still preserved in Venice. Whatever its uses for facilitating the painting of views, it is however hard to say how the apparatus could help an artist understand the principle of evoking three-dimensional reality on a two-dimensional surface.

The Development of Western Optica Prints

In addition to etchings, woodblocks, paintings on glass and projections, another technique for creating perspective views was also imported into Japan by the Dutch. These are a medium known as the optica print. Optica prints are usually medium-sized etchings, black-and-white or colored by hand, that are meant to be viewed through a large convex lens backed up by a mirror in a diagonal position. Looking at the prints with the help of a device called a zograscope, in which the lens and mirror are mounted in the proper position, the effect of depth in the picture, which is nearly invariably a townscape or landscape, is considerably

enhanced. Although some writers trace them back to the early decades of the eighteenth century, they do not seem to be documented firmly until the late 1740s. Scholars who date the introduction earlier than that seem to be confusing optica prints with large-sized perspective prints of buildings, gardens, and townscapes, which like optica prints were also called “prospect.” These indeed were in circulation at an earlier date.⁵⁵ Prints of that kind are listed in 1717 in a catalogue issued by Henry Overton, and in 1731 on offer from John Bowles. True optica prints were probably first advertised in significant numbers by Robert Sayer, in his catalogue *Two Hundred and Six Perspective Views Adapted for the Diagonal Mirrour, or Optical Pillar Machine* (London 1753). A good description of what we now call optica prints is found in the Carington Bowles catalogue of 1784:

Sets of fine prints. Perspective views. The following Sets consists of a large Variety of perspective Views, containing remarkable Views of Shipping, eminent Cities, Towns, Royal Palaces, Noblemen and Gentlemans Seats and Gardens in Great Britain, France and Holland, Views of Venice, Florence, Ancient and Modern Rome, and the most striking public Buildings in and about London. Esteemed not only for Furniture, but are likewise much used, properly coloured, without Frames, for Viewing in the Diagonal Mirrours, or Optical Pillar Machines, in which Method of looking at them, they appear with surprizing Beauty, and magnify almost to the size of the real Building; any of them may be had separate. Price 1s. plain, or 2s. each coloured.⁵⁶

In her well-researched and interesting essay on zograscope, Erin Blake convincingly traces the beginnings of this optical device to the 1740s.⁵⁷ The earliest reliable mention is

found in the *St. James Evening Post* of 2-4 April 1747. Advertisements for both apparatus and prints peaked in 1749. An intriguing twist on the early years of optica prints is provided by the title of the 1753 Sayer catalogue, which speaks of “Perspective views [being] *adapted* for the diagonal mirror.” These dates line up surprisingly smoothly with the “perspective with 18 prints for the Lord of Sama (Saga?), and idem for the Lord of Shiga” that the Dutch brought to Japan in 1759. An introductory date in the 1750s excludes the possibility, which we doubted above on other grounds as well, that optica prints inspired Okumura Masanobu in the late 1730s. Not until the 1760s do we encounter unmistakable evidence for the influence of imported optica prints. As we shall see, that influence is detectable – probably not coincidentally – both in Japan and in Chinese Suzhou prints.

Okumura Masanobu's Sources

So far we have eliminated a number of possibilities for how Japanese artists learned linear perspective. We know that neither the Chinese translation of Pozzo nor the teachings of Jesuit painters active in Ming China were likely to have been available to Masanobu when he developed his *ukie* around 1740. Suzhou prints and popular European optica prints were not brought to Japan until after 1750. How then *was* the notion of linear perspective introduced into Japan?

Technical treatises on drawing and painting, such as *Het Schilder-boeck* [...] by Karel van Mander (Haarlem 1604), or the *Groot schilderboeck* [...] by Gerard de Lairesse (Amsterdam 1707) – both of which were known in Japan – could not have been a great help to Masanobu. These books require a much better knowledge of the Dutch language than

Masanobu could possibly have commanded. But even if he could have read the texts, he would not have come much further, since the plates in those treatises do not illustrate the use of perspective. For that matter, neither could the Japanese artist have derived much help even from books that deal more specifically with architectural drawing, such as *Variae architecturae formae* by Hans Vredeman de Vries (Antwerp 1601), or Hendrik van Houten's *Verhandeling van de grontregelen der doorzichtkunde of tekenkonst (Perspectief)* (Amsterdam 1705). These books too contain few illustrations that a beginner in the art could understand readily.⁵⁸

The most likely source for Okumura Masanobu will have been attentive study of simple illustrations. I am thinking of Dutch theater prints or church interiors of a kind that he could have found in any number of books that although they are not documented in Japan are likely to have been available there. In this category are popular histories of Amsterdam such as Joh. Isaacs Pontanus, *Historische beschrijvinghe der seer wijt beroemde coopstadt Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Iudocum Hondium, 1614); Olfert Dapper, *Historische beschryving der Stadt Amsterdam waer in [...]* (Amsterdam: Jacob van Meurs, 1663); Philipp von Zesen, *Beschreibung der Stadt Amsterdam, darinnen [...]* (Amsterdam: Joachim Noschen, 1664); Tobias van Domselaer, *Beschryvinge van Amsterdam, haar [...]* (Amsterdam: Marcus Willemsz. Doornick, 1665); Casparus Commelin, *Beschryvinge van Amsterdam, zynde [...]* (Amsterdam: Wolfgang, Waasberge, Boom, Van Someren and Goethals, 1693); or possibly also Roeland van Leuve, *'s Waerelds koopslot of de Amsterdamse beurs, bestaande in [...]* (Amsterdam: Jacobus Verheyden, 1723).

The availability of at least some of these works is corroborated by etchings made by Shiba Kōkan of the Huis-zitten Huis, obviously

adapted after a plate by Aōdō Denzen as well as the collection. Much later, Utagawa Kuniyoshi (1798-1861) would adapt one of the plates for one of the most impressive woodblock depictions of the night attack of the 47 rōnin in all of Japanese art.⁵⁹ The fact that later Japanese artists are known to have turned to these sources provides some substance for the assumption that Masanobu did so as well.

Influence of Okumura Masanobu's *Ukie* in Edo

From the early 1740s on, Okumura Masanobu's *ukie* views of the main street of the Yoshiwara and his interiors of Kabuki theaters found many followers. Clear examples are found in the work of Tanaka Masunobu (1744, 1745, after 1745, 1746), Torii Kiyotada (1744), Furu-yama Moroshige (late 1740s), Shigenobu (1747), Nishimura Shigenaga (1747, 1749, 1752), Torii Kiyotada (1749, c. 1750), Torii Kiyomitsu (1750s), Torii Kiyohiro (1757), and Torii Kiyotsune (1763, 1765). One is struck by the fact that these later *ukie* hardly ever depart from the first examples devised by Masanobu, which they copy faithfully. The furthest they go in varying the model, as Kishi Fumikazu has demonstrated, is that they show slight differences in viewpoint. They favor a higher viewpoint than Masanobu, which frees up more space for the visitors to the Yoshiwara or the audience at the plays. Essentially, however, nothing would change until the arrival on the scene of Utagawa Toyoharu in the late 1760s. It is as if the concept of Western perspective first developed by Masanobu managed to look novel for some two decades. In this regard *ukie* were not unique. Similar lagging is characteristic of the development of other forms of *ukiyoe* produced in Edo before the mid-1760s. Before going into greater detail on the contribution made by Toyoharu and the

vogue for the new kind of perspective print he created, let us first look at developments in Kyoto in the years between Masanobu and Toyoharu. As we shall see, innovations begun in Kyoto in the early 1760s are relevant to advances that took place in Edo later in the decade.

The Influence of Optica Prints in the *Megane* by Maruyama Ōkyo

In Kyoto, the leading figure to apply perspective in his designs was Maruyama Ōkyo. Around 1760 he began to paint pictures to be shown in camera obscura boxes, known as *megane*, for the Kyoto toy-seller Nakajima Kanbei (中島勘兵衛). We don't know exactly what they used. The zograscope is certainly a good possibility since Ōkyo was apparently able to see images "as they are" and "mirrored," and the zograscope would do that. However, it also seems likely that the toy-seller for whom he worked mostly sold the alternative simple wooden boxes with a slot in the back in which the pictures could be inserted – and changed – and fitted with a lens at the front, through which these pictures were viewed. The rich in Osaka may well have been buying the more expensive zograscope (fitted with a large lens and a mirror), but the main market was most likely the simpler boxes (fitted with a much smaller lens). The problem is that the apparatus don't seem to survive, at least not for the early 1760s and Kyoto. We know of these boxes for the 1750s being used by professional operators in the streets of Osaka and necessarily real large (but that is a different market from private households), we also know of a simpler box-like apparatus that Shiba Kōkan made himself some time (in Edo, and Osaka-Edo is like Amsterdam-Paris), and we know of a zograscope being used in Edo in the late 1760s, as recorded in a print

by Harunobu. The designs, executed in color on paper, are mainly views of noted places in Kyoto, such as temples and temple grounds. No foreign locales are depicted. It is not known for how long Ōkyo produced these views. In later years he preferred to forget that as an aspiring young artist he had made such everyday products. Current opinion among Japanese art historians is that he did not keep at it for more than two or three years and perhaps as briefly as a year or less. Unfortunately, none of the more than 80 *megane* attributed to Ōkyo can be dated precisely.⁶⁰ We don't even know if they were unique objects or if they were produced in series, which one would expect of pictures sold in a toy shop rather than by an art dealer. They were certainly paintings, but taking into account the normal survival rate for ephemera (they are apparently some kind of "toy-plates"), we cannot know how many of such views he produced and there certainly may be (or rather, must have been) duplicates, but the Japanese tendency is then to select one that is ascribed to Ōkyo, the others must be copies by some anonymous imitator, essentially since Ōkyo came to be regarded as an "artist" later, that is someone who only creates the same unique art-thing once a lifetime.

Whether or not Ōkyo was familiar with the *ukie* developed in Edo we do not know. A close investigation of his views reveals beyond doubt, however, that he was acquainted with European optica prints. It is even quite likely that his knowledge of linear perspective was based solely on his study of this kind of print. In addition, he seems to have had access to Chinese Suzhou prints, which by that time bear witness to familiarity with European optica prints.

The intriguing circumstance that Ōkyo was employed by a toy-seller suggests that his designs were being sold in combination with European peepshows. From the looks of it, it would seem that Ōkyo looked at European

prints in two ways, directly and mirrored in the zograscope. This enabled him to expand considerably on the rather limited application of Western perspective that predominated in the early *ukie* designed by Okumura Masanobu and his followers, which were based entirely on direct observation of Western models. Ōkyo achieved a major breakthrough when he realized that the designer of a print was free to place the vanishing point wherever he chose, and that more than one satisfying solution was possible. This can be seen in such European optica prints as *The Grand Walk in Vauxhall Gardens*, with the vanishing point to the far right, and the *Vue des Boulevard (2e Vue des Boulevard (sic) prise du premier Caffé près le Reservoir de la Ville* [Paris, Mondhard]), a very similar representation with the vanishing point to the far left.⁶¹ Ōkyo must have noticed that this trick would enable him to use the same design twice or even three times. His working method was much the same as that followed by the designers of European optica prints, who in the main production centers of London, Paris, and Augsburg incessantly copied each other's compositions.

Ōkyo soon had company. At the end of the 1760s the Fuinsai (不韻齋) and Kokkadō (国花堂) publishing firms issued some fifteen known views of noted places in Kyoto. It is tempting to assume that they were capitalizing on the popularity of Ōkyo's views, but our information at this moment is too scanty to arrive at firm conclusions in this regard. What we can say with certainty is that some of these prints include the word "*ukie*" in their title and that they include subjects beyond the confines of Kyoto. Among them are views in Osaka, the Tenjin festival in Osaka, a Dutch harbor, and the Battle of Yashima.⁶² The provinciality of Ōkyo's efforts was broadened a bit.

Ukie by Utagawa Toyoharu

From around 1767 Utagawa Toyoharu (歌川豊春) would take up the Edo tradition of designing perspective prints, laying the basis for a period of at least three decades of flowering. His foremost contribution was the exploration of new themes, especially views of famous places in Edo. Until then, the perpetuation of the artistic legacy of Okumura Masanobu had been limited largely to incidental contributions by masters of the Torii tradition and a few by Nishimura Shigenaga (西村重長, 1752). The most recent works in the Okumura manner were interiors of various kabuki theaters and views of the main street of the Yoshiwara – nothing new – by designers such as Torii Kiyomitsu (鳥居清満, 1750s), Torii Kiyohiro (鳥居清広, 1757), and Torii Kiyotsune (鳥居清経, 1763 and 1765). Toyoharu seems to have been familiar with the Kyoto tradition started by Maruyama Ōkyo as well as with the Kyoto prints issued by the firms of the Fuinsai and the Kokkadō. Indeed, in addition to focusing on noted places, especially temples and shrines, he also designed views in Kyoto and battle scenes. In all, he would design over a hundred perspective views, most of them having titles starting with the word *ukie* or "Newly published perspective print," *shinpan ukie* (新板浮絵). After starting with the publisher Matsumura Yahei (松村弥兵衛), Toyoharu moved on about 1770 to Nishimuraya Yohachi (西村屋与八) and about 1775 to Iwatoya Genpachi (岩戸屋源八). Part of Toyoharu's production was entirely traditional, with about fifteen prints of theater interiors and eight of the central street of the Yoshiwara. His greatest innovation was to introduce into the *ukie* repertory the famous places of Edo, which by then were a well-known theme. Later masters who followed in his footsteps were Kitao Masayoshi (北尾政美, 1764-1824), who

from around the late-1780s worked mostly with the publisher Tsutaya Jūsaburō (葛屋重三郎), Katsukawa Shunrō (勝川春朗, better known as Hokusai, 1760-1849), working with the publisher Nishimuraya Yohachi in the late 1780s, and Utagawa Toyokuni (歌川豊国, 1769-1825), working with various publishers from the early 1790s. None of these designers really escaped the influence of Toyoharu. Most of their designs simply copy earlier work by Toyoharu.

As we have seen, Maruyama Ōkyo took advantage of his link with the toy merchant Nakajima Kanbei to gain familiarity with European optica prints, thereby improving his grasp of linear perspective. Toyoharu too benefited from the availability of these outlandish prints in Edo in the last decades of the eighteenth century. By then, zograscope had found their way to Edo, as appears from a print of about 1767 by Suzuki Harunobu of two women of the merchant class viewing a print through such a diagonal mirror. Shiba Kōkan fabricated an apparatus of his own for viewing Western optica prints as well as possibly his own etchings. Anyway, in his later publications he advertised most of his single-plate etchings of views of Edo – produced from 1783 through 1787 – apparently intended to be viewed by means of zograscope – both the images and the Japanese titles of his prints being printed in reverse.⁶³

All we can say about *ukie* produced in Edo in the later 1780s and the 1790s is that most of them reproduce earlier compositions by Toyoharu. We do not know how many buyers of these prints looked at them through a viewing device – these would have been mainly members of the merchant class – and how many would just view them as prints, without the special effects obtainable with lens and mirror. The sheer volume of production, with print runs going into the thousands, makes it unlikely that the market was limited

to the carriage trade, merchants who could afford to buy peepshows. The same applies to the popular print series illustrating the eleven acts of the popular kabuki drama of the Forty-seven Rōnin, *Kanadehon Chūshingura* (仮名手本忠臣蔵). These prints too, of which there are quite a few examples dating from around the same period, notably designed by Sorobeku (or Kakō, a name used by Katsushika Hokusai) and by Kitao Masayoshi, feature a marked linear perspective.⁶⁴ While prints like these will undoubtedly have been bought by individuals, they are also believed to have featured in the acts of professional storytellers. These itinerant entertainers would seek out a ready audience at busy areas like the Nihonbashi in Edo, or at shrines and temples when they attracted the crowds on special occasions.

It is then not until the early 1800s that Katsushika Hokusai, probably for the New Year of 1804, designed as a private commission three *surimono* views of the town of Kamakura, the island of Enoshima from the distance, and the coast at Kanazawa.⁶⁵ All display a quite novel way of handling linear perspective. The effect is not as obvious as in the “traditional” *ukie*; it is adapted in a much more natural way to the traditional Japanese way of depicting landscape. The background does recede, but there is no clear vanishing point. Moreover, chiaroscuro is evoked by overprinting in graduated color areas first printed in black. To underline the Western aspects of the print, they feature a decorative border in imitation of the Western picture frame and the signatures are in horizontal syllabary script, reading “drawn by Hokusai,” *ho-ku-sa-i e-ga-ku*.

	Image	Western title	Japanese title	Signature	Date	Reproduction
View of Mimeguri, 267 x 388	mirrored	--	三回景 (reversed , in top margin)	芝門司馬江漢製作	天明癸卯九月(1783/ix)	French 33; 成瀬166; 外山344近代30; 西村2; 菅野105
View of Ochanomizu, 254 x 377	mirrored	--	御茶水景 (reversed , in top margin)	司馬江漢創製	甲辰春三月(1784/iii)	成瀬167; 外山344; 近代31; 菅野106
Shinobazu Pond, 252 x 368	mirrored	--	不忍之池 (reversed , in top margin)	日本創製司馬江漢	天明甲辰四月彫(1784/iv)	French 35; 成瀬168; 外山345近代33; 太田131; 菅野110,111
Oyajijaya at Hiroo, 273 x 388	?	--	廣尾親父茶屋 (reversed , in top margin)	日本創製司馬江漢画	天明甲辰四月(1784/iv)	成瀬169; 外山345近代32; 太田129; 西村17; 菅野107
European Hospital, 282 x 416	?	ZITeNHUYS (reversed , in top margin)	---	江漢峻製	-- C1784	French 38; 成瀬172; 西村22; 菅野112
Serpentine, Hyde Park, 276 x 407	?	Serhentine (in top margin)	--	江漢峻製	-- C1784	French 37; 成瀬173; 太田133; 菅野113
Lion in landscape, 254 x 385	?	--	--	--	--	成瀬170; 太田126; 成瀬172; 西村23; 菅野104
Evening Cool at Nakasu, 272 x 394	mirrored		中洲夕涼 (reversed , in top margin)	司馬江漢画	--	成瀬171; 外山347; 近代34; 太田132; 西村18; 菅野108
Toranomon, 130 x 154	mirrored	TOLANOMON (op lint)	--	司馬江漢画並刻	天明丙午(1786)	成瀬176; 太田134; 成瀬172; 西村24;
Enoshima, 250 x 380	mirrored	TNPERJENO-SIMA (op lint)	七里浜 (reversed , in top margin)	司馬江漢刻並画	丁未秋日(1787/autumn day)	成瀬178; 外山346; 近代36; 太田135; 菅野115
Ryogokubashi, 255 x 380	Ok? mirrored?	TWEELAND-BRUK (op lint)	--?	日本銅鑄創製司馬江漢写並刻	天明丁未秋九月(1787/ix)	成瀬177; 外山346; 近代35; 西村8; 菅野114
View of Mimeguri, 258 x 378	mirrored	MIMEGULI (op lint)	三回之景 (reversed , in top margin)	日本銅版創製司馬江漢画並刻	天明丁未冬十月(1787/x)	French 39; 磯崎241; 成瀬179; 近代37; 太田137; 西村16; 菅野116
Fuji from Yabe in Suruga Province, 268 x 388		--	駿洲八部富士 (reversed , in cartouche)	司馬江漢製	--	外山347; 近代38,39; 太田139,140; 西村19; 菅野118
Wakaura in Kii Province, 266 x 388		--	紀州若浦 (reversed , in cartouche)	司馬江漢製	--	近代40; 太田141; 西村20; 菅野119

These privately commissioned and distributed prints were apparently also seen by a publisher – most likely Sōshūya Yohei – who then commissioned Hokusai to design a series of similar views in the small *koban* format. Following the success of that venture, he commissioned

another series in the larger *aiban* format. This included *The Ushigafuchi Slope at Kudan* and *Mount Fuji Seen from under Takahashi Bridge*, mentioned at the beginning of this contribution.⁶⁶ In addition to such elements as a picture frame, titles and signatures written

in horizontal script and chiaroscuro printing, all of these designs bear witness to a thorough understanding of Western linear perspective and display an ability on the part of the artist to apply it freely to Japanese scenery. In this way, Hokusai laid the basis for later landscape prints that would employ these principles quite differently from the earlier *ukie*. Some were designed by pupils of his such as Shinsai (辰齋, 1764?-1824?) and Hokuju (北壽, dates unknown), others by himself, notably in his series of the *Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji* (富嶽三十六景, *Fugaku sanjūrokkei*). It is quite remarkable that a designer such as Aōdō Denzen would, along a very different path, reach a similar understanding of the principles of Western perspective in his etchings about 1805 – coincidentally (or not) around the same time as Hokusai.

Although we now know more about what did not contribute to the sources and beginnings of Western linear perspective in Japan, we still remain puzzled about what it was that inspired Okumura Masanobu to begin designing such novel “perspective prints,” *ukie*. We know that there was a first flowering in the 1740s, and

a second flowering some thirty years later, from the late 1760s until the 1790s, with a third flowering again some thirty-five years after that, when Hokusai designed his set of three *surimono* for 1804 and, probably the following year, his two print series. Not until twenty years later was Hokusai’s free application of Western perspective picked up, first by Shinsai and Hokuju, followed by Hokusai himself in his *Fuji* series of c. 1830-1834. As we have seen, it took more than sixty years for the principles of Western perspective to be assimilated in Japanese popular prints, whereas the foreign technique of etching was mastered in only twenty years. The difference need not reflect factors intrinsic to perspective on the one hand and etching on the other. The slower tempo of learning perspective may well have been due to the inadequacy of the available learning tools. Had the concept been introduced in the 1780s, at a time when European optica prints were widely available, the Japanese might quickly have acquired an understanding of the principles of perspective and their endless possibilities.

Notes

1. After the translations in C. French, *Shiba Kōkan: Artist, Innovator, and Pioneer in the Westernization of Japan* (New York and Tokyo 1974), 42.
2. French, *Shiba Kōkan*, 94.
3. French, *Shiba Kōkan*, 42f.
4. That is *New and Perfect Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*, 10 vols. (Amsteldam [Amsterdam], 1769-1778).
5. For a reproduction, see Kishi Fumikazu, *Edo no enkinbō* (Tokyo 1994), 10.
6. For a reproduction, see Kishi, *Edo no enkinbō*, 62.
7. See K. Veltman, *Literature on Perspective: Sources and Literature of Perspective*, vol. III, 123 [unpublished, but available through the internet.
8. In 1697, the Nagasaki Magistrate Kondō Fujiwara Bichū *no kami* appointed Watanabe Shūseki (1642-1709) and his son Shūboku (died 1756) to the position of *Goyō eshi* and *Karae mekiki* [Nagasaki Kenritsu Bijutsu Hakubutsukan, *Karae mekiki to dōmon* (Nagasaki 1988), 129]. Remarkably, from the late seventeenth century on Japan had been providing Christian images used by the Jesuits to spread their religion in China (see M. Ching Kao, ‘European Influences in Chinese Art, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries,’ in T. H. C. Lee, ed., *China and Europe: Images and Influences in*

- Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries* [Hong Kong 1991], 253f.).
9. A copy entered the Bodleian Library, Oxford, in 1834 as a bequest of Francis Douce (Douce. chin.b.2); a second, incomplete, copy is in the BN, Paris (M. Sullivan, *The Meeting of Eastern and Western Art* [Berkeley and Los Angeles 1989], 55).
 10. From the English translation of Andrea Pozzo by John James, *Rules and Examples of Perspective Proper for Painters and Architects, etc.* [...] (London 1693), the first figure.
 11. Indeed, Osvald Sirén in his *The Chinese on the Art of Painting* (Peiping 1936), makes no mention of Pozzo, rather citing Wang Shih-min who comments about the art-scene at Suzhou: "In Soochow at the time of Shên Chou, Wên Pi and T'ang Yin, there were still many famous works by masters of T'ang, Sung and Yüan and great connoisseurs who discussed them freely. [...] But then there appeared some superficial men who did not know anything about the old manners and simply tried to expound their own ideas. They transmitted seeds of false habits, which were taken up by their contemporaries, and caused a complete abandonment of the rules and traditions of the preceding generation, a tendency which nowadays has become more and more prevalent. It makes one sad to think of it." Sirén, *The Chinese on the Art of Painting*, 196.
 12. Věra Linhartová, *Sur un fond blanc. Écrits japonais sur la peinture du IXe au XIXe siècle* (Paris 1996), 408.
 13. Joseph Moxon lived 1627-1700. His *Practical Perspective, or, Perspective Made Easie* was published in London in 1670.
 14. See Naruse Fujio, *Satake Shozan* (Kyoto 2004), 23f.
 15. See C. Beurdeley and M. Beurdeley, *Giuseppe Castiglione: A Jesuit Painter at the Court of the Chinese Emperors* (Rutland and Tokyo 1971), 136ff.
 16. L. J. Gallagher S.J., *China in the 16th Century: The Journals of Matteo Ricci, 1583-1610* (New York 1953), 22f.
 17. A. de Semedo, *The History of that Great Renowned Monarchy of China* (London 1655), 56 (first Portuguese ed., 1641).
 18. See M. Sullivan, 'The Chinese Response to Western Art,' *Art International*, 24:3-4 (1980): 8-31, here 9.
 19. Jerome Nadal (1507-1580) was a Jesuit of the first hour who undertook this project of biblical illustrations with the cooperation of Bernardino Passeri, Marten de Vos, and Jerome and Anton Wierix. The book, with 153 plates, was first published in Antwerp by Christopher Plantijn and Martinus Nutius in 1593. Plantijn's *Biblia regia* is a large project resulting in an eight-volume publication, issued from 1568 to 1572. The atlas by Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598) was first published in Antwerp by Gilles Coppens van Diest, 1570. Georg Braun (1541-1622) and Franz Hogenberg (1535-1590) published the first part of their *Civitates* in Cologne, 1572. The foremost work of the Roman architect Vitruvius was first published in a Latin edition as *De architectura libri decem* in 1511, to be followed by many later editions and translations. Andrea Palladio (1508-1580) authored *I quattro libri dell'architettura*, published in Venice in 1570.
 20. J. Baptiste du Halde, *Description [...] de la Chine* (La Haye 1736), III, 269 (see Sullivan, 'Chinese Response,' 12); Kao, 'European Influences in Chinese Art,' 257.
 21. See Sullivan, 'Chinese Response,' 14.
 22. Ibid., 14.
 23. See Beurdeley, *Giuseppe Castiglione*, 138.
 24. See Kao, 'European Influences in Chinese Art,' 264.
 25. Ibid., 265f.
 26. Ibid., 257.
 27. See Sullivan, 'Chinese Response,' 16.
 28. Ibid., 18.
 29. Ibid., 19f.
 30. Sullivan, *Meeting of Eastern and Western Art*, 67.
 31. Ibid., 79.
 32. Ibid., 80.
 33. See J. Lust, *Chinese Popular Prints*, Handbook of Oriental Studies, 4: China (Leiden, New York, and Cologne 1996), 144.
 34. Ibid., 53.
 35. Ibid.
 36. It seems likely though that the *Emekiki* (絵目利), probably operating since 1629,

- performed a similar function. See Nagasaki Kenritsu Bijutsu Hakubutsukan, *Karae mekiki to dōmon* (Nagasaki 1998), 11.
37. As would seem to have been the case from the comprehensive overview presented in *Karae mekiki to dōmon*.
 38. Often, the tasks of the *Karae mekiki* and *Goyō eshi* were combined in the same person, as for example in the case of Watanabe Shūseki and his son.
 39. Tsuruda Takeyoshi, *Sō Shiseki to Chin Nanpin. Nihon no bijutsu* 326 (Tokyo 1993), 18ff.
 40. For a comprehensive overview of the works of Japanese followers of Ch'en Nan-pin, see *Edo no ikoku shumi: Nanpinfū tairyūkō*, Chiba City Museum of Art (Chiba 2001).
 41. French, *Shiba Kōkan*, 94.
 42. See Uchida Masuzō, *Nenpyō Nihon hakubutsugakushi* (Tokyo 1989).
 43. See Oka Yasumasa, *Megane shinkō* (Tokyo 1992), fig. 11, 104 for a reproduction.
 44. See Toyama, Usaburō, *Tokugawa jidai no yōfū bijutsu* (Tokyo 1977/1978), vol. 1, 79.
 45. Oka, *Megane shinkō*, 96ff.
 46. *Negotiejournaal* NFJ 927.
 47. *Negotiejournaal* NFJ 931.
 48. See Deshima, *Marginalia*.
 49. *Dagregister Versteeghen* 1646/XI/3. NFJ 60, 256.
 50. *Dagregister Versteeghen* 1646/XI/3. NFJ 60, 244. Although a "perspective case" is not necessarily a camera obscura, it was probably called that since it was by then in use by many painters as an aid in making drawings with a marked linear perspective.
 51. *Dagregister Versteeghen* 1646/XI/3. NFJ 60, 262.
 52. *Dagregister Versteeghen* 1646/XI/3. NFJ 60, 264.
 53. Oka, *Megane shinkō*, 45; Y. Isozaki, *Edo jidai no ranga to ransho* (Tokyo 2004), vol. 1, 486.
 54. Michael North kindly pointed out to me that the Dutch also imported such devices into Cape Town: "an Optica mirror with its plates" (1793).
 55. See, for example, K. Kaldenbach, *Optica prints* (www.swaen.com/optica.html).
 56. For the Sayer catalogue, see E. C. Blake, 'Zograscopes, Virtual Reality, and the Mapping of Polite Society in Eighteenth-Century England,' in L. Gitelman and G. B. Pingree, eds., *New Media, 1740-1915* (Cambridge, Mass. 2003), 1-30; the text from the Carington Bowles catalogue is here cited after Kaldenbach, *Optica prints*.
 57. Blake, 'Zograscopes, Reality, and the Mapping of Polite Society.'
 58. See Matsuda Kiyoshi, 321 (Matsuura Seizan), 399 (1808), 400 (1821), 403 (1808), 405 (1808), 448f (bound with *Algemeen middel tot de Practijcke der doorzicht-kunde of tafereelen* (Amsterdam 1664).
 59. See Suzuki Jūzō, *Kuniyoshi* (Tokyo 1992), 63 for an illustration.
 60. This figure is based on a count of the reproductions in Toyama, *Tokugawa jidai no yōfū bijutsu*, vol. 1, 327, 332-373.
 61. R. Sayer, *A View of the Grand Walk &c in Vauxhall Gardens Taken from the Entrance* (London 1759).
 62. For some reproductions, see Toyama, *Tokugawa jidai no yōfū bijutsu*, vol. 1, plates 262-271 and Kishi, *Edo no enkinbō*, 61.
 63. For an illustration of the peepshow made by Kōkan, see French, *Shiba Kōkan*, fig. 34, or Oka, *Megane shinkō*, fig. 20, p. 140.
 64. See *Theatre Prints of Chūshingura: Theatre Prints from the Tsubouchi Memorial Theatre Museum of Waseda University* (Tokyo 1994), 2, 325-328 and 330-335.
 65. For reproductions, see *Hokusaiten*, Tokyo National Museum (Tokyo 2005), plates 116-118.
 66. For reproductions, see *Hokusaiten*, plates 67-74, and M. Forrer, *Hokusai* (Munich 2010), 63 and 87.

12 Japan's Encounters with the West through the VOC

Western Paintings and Their Appropriation in Japan¹

Yoriko Kobayashi-Sato

The objective of this article is to reconstruct the role of the Dutch as a cultural bridge between Japan and the West. First I will focus on the transmission and reception of some of the better-documented Western paintings that were imported by the Dutch factory in Deshima. Then I will examine the activities of the Akita *ranga* school, which was not only the first in Japan to take the Western manner of painting seriously, but also became a model for transcultural remediation, as in the meaning mentioned by Astrid Erll in this volume.²

Initial research was conducted mainly in the National Archives in The Hague, where a number of VOC documents were studied for what they could tell us in this regard. The second stage involved a comparison between imported visual materials and Japanese works of art. The examples chosen were paintings by two artists belonging to the Akita *ranga* school and handwritten treatises on the Western manner of painting by one of those painters, Satake Shozan. These two analyses are intended to contribute to a better understanding of how Dutch mediation induced a certain key shift in the mental world of Japan. At the beginning of this process, the Japanese considered their culture to be oriented toward China; when they had more opportunities to learn Western culture directly, some Japanese gradually redefined themselves in relation to it. This tendency became fully apparent only after the re-opening of Japan, at the beginning

of a new era, the Meiji period, in 1868, and has contributed to the modernization of Japan until recently in the form of both implicit and explicit cultural memories.

Japan's Encounter with Western Paintings

Japan's premodern age is generally understood to coincide with the Edo period, from 1600 to 1867, when the country was ruled by the Tokugawa Shogunate (徳川幕府). A key moment in the relationship between Japan and the West occurred toward the beginning of this period. The third Tokugawa Shogun, Iemitsu (家光, r. 1623-1651), had grave concerns about the spread of Christianity within his country. To counter this development, in 1635 he forbade the Japanese from going abroad and in 1639 drove out almost all foreigners from Japan. Trade was permitted only with the Dutch and Chinese and, after 1641, it was to be conducted only in Nagasaki under strict government control. The import of any item with Christian content was forbidden. Particular attention was paid to Christian books translated into Chinese, which the Japanese could easily read. From that moment on, foreign influence in Japan was extremely limited. This applied to art as well as other fields. Previous adaptations to Western art that took place when Portuguese missionaries brought Christian images to the country in

the latter half of the sixteenth century were totally abandoned and rapidly forgotten.³ These measures, however, did not amount to total cultural isolation. It is this aspect that made the whole process of transcultural mediation in Japan so unique and interactive, as I will discuss later.

We learn from the VOC archives that Western paintings were occasionally given as gifts to successive Shogun and other high dignitaries. This was notably the case in two time frames: 1634-1641, when the isolation policy was being implemented; and 1715-1740, during the reign of the eighth Shogun, Yoshimune (吉宗, r. 1716-1745). As far as we know, not a single one of the gift paintings has survived. Their effect cannot in any case have been very great, since they were seen only by a few members of the Japanese elite. There is no indication that these paintings played an essential role in the appropriation of the Western style by Japanese artists. For all these circumstances, these gift paintings sometimes offer us valuable information related to cultural exchanges between the

West and Japan. We can sometimes learn the details concerning the size, subject – battle scenes, seascapes, landscapes, flowers, birds, animals – and appraised value of many of them. We also know whether or not they were accepted by the Japanese recipients for whom they were intended.

One such document provides an interesting account of three large oil paintings being given to the third Shogun, Iemitsu, in 1640, just one year after the isolation policy came into effect. They were recorded as follows, with the appraised values in guilders, when they arrived at Hirado in 1639 (see fig. below):⁴

The subjects were all splendid illustrations of Dutch victories against the Spanish.⁵ They would also have introduced the Shogunate to excellent examples of Dutch painting in the contemporary international style. The value of the three pieces was recorded as 700, 1,000, and 750 guilders, not including the cost of making the works presentable. This suggests that they were quite sizable pieces, larger than the 92 x 67 cm, the format of the paintings forming

1:stc	<i>schilderij zijnde een scheepsstrijdt van de grave van Bossu cost voor fatsoen</i>	700,- 50,- 750,-
1:stc	<i>dito zijnde de slach van Vlaenderen cost voor fatsoen</i>	1000,- 60,- 1060,-
1:stc	<i>dito zijnde een batalie te paerde voor fatsoen</i>	750,- 50,- 800,-

1 pce.	painting of Count of Bossu's naval battle [1573] making presentable [total]	700,- 50,- 750,-
1 pce.	painting of the Battle of Nieuwpoort [1600] making presentable [total]	1000,- 60,- 1060,-
1 pce.	painting of cavalry skirmish making presentable [total]	750,- 50,- 800,-

the series of *The Passion of Christ* that one of the most popular and expensive Dutch painters of the time, Rembrandt, painted in the 1630s for *stadholder* Frederik Hendrik, for which he was only paid 600 guilders apiece.⁶ The three pieces given to Iemitsu were not only presumably large, they were probably also executed by artists of a certain prominence. One Dutch artist whom we know to have supplied the VOC with large, expensive paintings for Japan was the seascape painter Abraham de Verwer (c. 1585-1650). In September 1639 he was paid 1,200 guilders for the painting *The Battle of Gibraltar in 1607*. The canvas was offered for sale first to the Shah of Persia in 1640, and then to Japan in 1641. It was finally sent to the King of Siam, who turned it down because of its high price.⁷ Although his name is not mentioned in connection with the gift to Iemitsu in 1640, he may well have been responsible for the “painting of Count of Bossu’s naval battle.” In 1621 he painted the same subject in a monumental canvas 340 cm. wide, now in the Rijksmuseum.⁸

Despite these efforts, the gift paintings do not seem to have delighted the Shogun as much as might have been expected, although they were accepted. François Caron, the head of the Dutch factory in Nagasaki at the time, reported to headquarters in Batavia in 1640 that paintings of this kind should no longer be sent to Japan as gifts.⁹

The document does not tell us why Caron was disappointed with the Japanese response to the Dutch gift. One reason may have had to do with the Japanese custom of displaying paintings of which the Dutch, locked into their enclave in Deshima, would not have been familiar. The Japanese had a long cultural tradition that centered on enjoying paintings in formats that fit by size, subject, and material in certain parts of a dwelling. For example, a *kakejiku* (掛け軸), a hanging scroll was hung in a kind of alcove known as a *toko-no-ma*

(床の間) and seasonally replaced with another. Paintings of specific subjects were attached or painted onto *fusuma* (襖), papered sliding doors with wooden frames, or on *byōbu* (屏風), folding screens, while always considering the function of the space where they were to be placed. Except for illustrated handscrolls known as *emaki* (絵巻), they were all physically attached to some part of the house, where they would match perfectly with the Japanese architectural and living style. Even if Western oil paintings were valuable and interesting from a Western point of view and must have amazed the Japanese, the Japanese would have had no place to exhibit them harmoniously within the Japanese home context. The moral of the story is that isolated examples of art are not likely to be immediately understood in other cultural settings.

In 1734, nearly a hundred years later, two paintings were brought into Japan through the Dutch factory in Nagasaki as a part of the extraordinary gifts given to Shogun Yoshimune. Not only their subject and appraised value, but also their size were described in detail in the documents.¹⁰

*2 schilderijen verbeeldende d'eene een veldslag
hoog 7 voet bt 10½ voet bruijne lijst verguld en 't
dito leeuwe en honde gevegt hoog 7 voet bt 9 voet
4½ duim de lijst als boven 123.50 371.10.*

[2 paintings representing a battle, 7 feet high x 10½ feet wide [c. 219 x 330 cm], gilded brown frame and ditto lion and dog fighting, 7 feet high x 9 feet 4½ inches wide [c. 219 x 295 cm], frame as above 123.50 371.10.]¹¹

Again, one of the paintings was a large battle scene. A hundred years had been long enough to forget the previous lesson. The appraised value, 371 guilders (123.50 talers) for the two paintings was significantly lower than that of the gift that

arrived in 1639. This time around the initial response was more positive. The paintings were approved by the Nagasaki governors, along with the rest of the extraordinary gifts to the Shogun for the year 1735. However, just before their dispatch to Edo, the Dutch were informed that the Shogun had turned down all of the extraordinary gifts outright. An interpreter in Nagasaki surmised that the reason was a matter of protocol: the Shogun, he told the Dutch, regarded the gift as a reciprocal gesture to a present he had given the Dutch in response to their presentation to him of some horses, and he thought that enough was enough.¹² There is however reason to suppose that there was more at stake. The incident took place during a serious conflict between the Dutch and the Tokugawa Shogunate concerning the quantity of Japanese copper to be made available for export.¹³ To improve this state of affairs, the headquarters of the VOC decided to submit a petition to the Shogun together with the extraordinary gifts. This must have been the reason why the Dutch eagerly tried to present the refused gifts or a part of them as well as the petition again in 1736 and 1737, which were also turned down.¹⁴ Even had they been accepted, however, the Shogun would have had no space to hang such huge objects. Although Edo Castle exceeded the size of most samurai residences, these monumental paintings, probably painted in oil on canvas, were completely unsuited to a setting within a Japanese architecture of wood and paper and the Japanese way of displaying art works.

The Dutch may have thought there was good reason to include these two paintings among the extraordinary gifts. As we will see below, some ten years earlier Yoshimune himself had requested a present of five rather large paintings. The VOC might therefore have expected that a gift of large paintings would please him. However, they may not have known that two

of the five paintings were passed on by the Shogun to other recipients immediately after he accepted them. No mention of the other three has ever been found.

Aside from formats, there were also certain subjects in Western art that bothered the Japanese as it may be inferred from an entry of 25 October 1739, in the diary kept by the head of the Dutch factory in Nagasaki. The beginning of the story dates back to 26 October 1736. At the very moment when the Dutch learned to their annoyance that the aforementioned extra gifts had again been refused by the Shogun, the governor of Nagasaki, Kubota Tadatō (窪田忠任), asked the Dutch to give him 25 European paintings of specified dimensions depicting flowers, birds, and landscapes.¹⁵

Vijffentwintigh extra fraaije schilderijen zo met bloemen, gevogelte als landschappen van 6 a 7 duim, die niet te bekomen sijnde van 2 a 3 voeten in't vierkant rijnlandse maat.

[Twenty-five highly attractive paintings with flowers, birds as well as landscapes of 6 to 7 inches [c. 16 to 18 cm] or if they are not to be had, of 2 to 3 feet square [c. 63 or 94 cm], in Rhenish measure.]

The governor's preference was for small paintings, if available. Three years later, on 10 June, five paintings arrived. In September they were carried to his house: two were paintings of flowers as requested, while two were portraits and a fifth was a *Sleeping Venus*. For paintings "of 6 to 7 inches" or "of 2 to 3 feet," their recorded total value, 600 guilders, was not inexpensive.¹⁶ These were certainly not cheap gifts.

Nonetheless, Kubota seemed displeased. To begin with, he received a mere fifth of the number of paintings he had requested. Only one month after receipt of the five paintings, Kubota submitted a new demand for fifteen

paintings. A second reason for his dissatisfaction seems to have been the subject of the *Sleeping Venus*, which in his moral judgment would have been unsuitable. This can be surmised from the wording of the new demand.¹⁷

15 peeses schilderijen, bestaande in bloemen, vogeltjes, landschappen, man- en vrouwen portretten, dog zedig, 7 a 8 duijmen in 't vierkant, al waren deselve op papier geschildert.

[15 paintings consisting of flowers, birds, landscapes, and portraits of men and women, but decent, 7 to 8 inches square [c. 18 or 21 cm], even if they were painted on paper.]

The words *dog zedig*, meaning “but decent,” possibly hint at Kubota’s perplexity when he received the *Sleeping Venus*. Although the *Sleeping Venus*, usually a nude woman, was a popular mythological subject among Europeans, there was no tradition during the Edo era to appreciate a painting depicting a naked woman in public. It is easy to imagine how embarrassed Kubota would have been when the painting was unpacked in front of his men who were looking forward to seeing a rare gift from Holland. Next time, he told the Dutch, he would like to have more decent paintings. The paintings newly requested by Kubota in 1739 are of interest not only for their subjects but also their size. Kubota’s preference was for small paintings, even if they were on paper. This sounds very much as if he intended to make *kakejiku* with them, or to paste them onto a *byōbu*. However, there is no documentation to support this idea, so the supposition remains speculative. Nor has documentation yet been found confirming that Kubota ever received his newly ordered fifteen paintings. Whatever the case, this incident illustrates once more that misunderstanding and mutual manipulation

were unavoidable in the reception of objects coming from very different cultural contexts.

Reception of the Five Dutch Paintings Presented to Yoshimune

In the 1730s, during Yoshimune’s reign, the Dutch brought the two huge paintings mentioned earlier to Nagasaki, a move that can be seen as a reflection of a policy shift in Japan. The same could be said of the strong interest in Western painting displayed at the same time by Kubota. As described in the introductory essay on the VOC in Japan, Yoshimune’s progressive way of thinking had led him in 1720 to relax the ban on the import of non-Christian books. This triggered the birth and development of *ranga* (蘭画), paintings rendered in the Western manner, as well as *rangaku* (蘭学), or “Dutch Studies.” *Ranga* painters and *rangaku* scholars, together with *tsūji* (通詞), translators in Nagasaki, subsequently managed to amass Western books and knowledge, assimilated Western culture, and played the most important role in hybridizing Western and Japanese culture.¹⁸

As mentioned above, Yoshimune’s request for five Western paintings from Batavia or from Holland was made in 1722. Although this order, which is described in detail in VOC documents, is well known among art historians, I address it afresh because of its importance to our topic.¹⁹ The order:²⁰

5ps schilderijen met olijverw op doek geschilderd waar van

3ps ider 9 voeten hoog en 4 voeten breed in maniere als volgt

1ps met een tijger, een oliphant en een paard etc.

1ps met een pauw een loerij, een vogel struijs en een rijger

1ps met allerhande Hollandse bloemen

zps ieder 4 voeten hoog en 9 voeten breed in maniere naar volgende.

ips met een jagt van hartebesten, haasen, en conijnen, en daar een parthij menschen, honden en paarden bij zijn

ips daar twee legers tegens malkanderen in gevegt zijn en daar in een casteel bij verbeeld staat.

[5 pces. oil paintings painted on canvas of which

3 pces. each 9 feet high and 4 feet wide [c. 282 x 125 cm], in the following manner:

1 pce. with a tiger, an elephant and a horse etc.

1 pce. with a peacock, a lorie, an ostrich and a heron

1 pce. with all sorts of Dutch flowers

2 pces. each 4 feet high and 9 feet wide [c. 125 x 282 cm], in the following manner:

1 pce. with a hunting scene of deer, hares and rabbits and a group of people accompanied by dogs and horses.

1 pce. with two armies fighting each other, with a castle.]

These paintings were sent from Holland via Batavia and arrived in Nagasaki in 1726, four years after the order was placed. They were luxurious gifts: their total value was put at 2,850 guilders, not including the cost of expedition. The most expensive one was appraised at 900 guilders.²¹ The then head of the Dutch factory, Joan de Hartogh, reported that the paintings so intrigued a number of Japanese officers in Nagasaki that they questioned him about them until five o'clock in the evening, asking the names of the flowers and other particulars. He was glad when they finally left.²² Yoshimune accepted the paintings, but when he granted de Hartogh an audience in 1727 he failed to mention them.²³ Since the Dutch had done their best in choosing these five paintings, this must have disappointed de

Hartogh. His diary entry on the day of the audience stated that the Japanese were generally inclined to conceal their interest. Yoshimune's actual reaction to the paintings is not known. What we do know is that a Dutch riding instructor saw two of them by chance in 1735 in the Gohyakurakan Temple (五百羅漢寺) in Honjo, on the outskirts of Edo.²⁴ It seems that Yoshimune gave them away as gifts soon after receiving them.

As it happens, we know exactly which two of the five paintings given to Yoshimune he donated to the temple. We find woodcut illustrations of them in the appendix of a book *Hyakka-Chōzu* (百華鳥図) published in 1729. One depicts the flower painting, the other that of the birds.²⁵ The illustrations are produced based on the paintings in Gohyakurakan Temple and dated by the inscription "On the day of the full moon of May of the year *Kyōho Boshin* (享保戊申五月望), corresponding to 23 June 1728 of the European calendar. Yoshimune donated the newly acquired Western paintings before that date, probably to celebrate the recent completion in 1725 of the Gohyakurakan Temple, his favorite sanctuary.²⁶ The temple belonged to a Chinese Buddhist sect known as Ōbakushū (黄檗宗) and it had a strong Chinese influence. The two Western paintings and the temple would both have been viewed as exotic.²⁷ This would have been another reason for Yoshimune to donate such unorthodox gifts to this particular temple.

The Gohyakurakan Temple was one of the pleasant canonical sights in and around Edo, and it attracted many tourists. The two paintings were thus exposed to and undoubtedly admired by many Japanese visitors. The copies and the inscription mentioned above and below not only support this view, but also give us an insight into the reception of the paintings.

此左右二畫紅毛人之繪而所扁干總羅漢寺壁上也蓋/ 至筆法精絕者即雖本邦及中華名画殊不相類然而/ 賦彩象形宛然逼真珍花異禽如笑似語傳移摸寫之間/ 妙悉無不臻惟恨未識五采所施斯為何物矣嗟乎可謂/ 一時奇觀而非庸工所比也/ 吾嘗有感即描写其大体藏/ 之篋笥今因石中子講附於卷後以令好事者便覽焉/ 享保戊申五月望 財峨寫

[The paintings illustrated on the right and left side were painted by a Dutchman and hung on the wall of the Gohyakurakan Temple. The brushwork is so perfect that it is unsurpassed even in Japanese and Chinese masterpieces. The coloration, modeling, and form are so true to life that it was as if the flowers were smiling at me and the curious animals were talking to me. While making these copies, I continuously felt an exquisite aura. Unfortunately, I do not know how all these effects were achieved. It is wonderful to behold, a creation impossible for a painter of mediocre ability. I was impressed so profoundly that I made rough copies and put them in a case. Setchūshi has now produced the woodblock prints based on them to be printed at the end of this book to show them to lovers of art.

On the day of the full moon of May of the year Kyōhō Boshin [23 June 1728 of the European calendar] Saiga.]

Saiga, who wrote this appreciation, was particularly impressed with the realistic color and modeling of the paintings and their minute detail. He believed that their powerfully realistic effect was made possible by Western techniques. This passage is one of the first indications during the period of closure that the Japanese were impressed by Western paintings.

The two bird and flower paintings are known to have impressed Japanese painters on several occasions. The bird painting probably was the model for *A Peacock and Ostrich* (1777) by Sō

Shiseki (宋紫石, 1715-1786), an artist who had learned the Shen Nampin school of painting.²⁸ This realistic style, introduced by the Chinese painter Shen Nampin (沈南蘋, 1682-after 1760),²⁹ was loved by scholars of *rangaku*, culturally oriented high dignitaries, and rich merchants. They saw in the Chinese style of Shen Nampin a connection with the realistic manner of Western painting. This composition helps us to understand how Sō Shiseki came to appropriate the Western paintings in the Gohyakurakan Temple. The artist lived next door to Sugita Genpaku (杉田玄白, 1733-1817), the author of the first serious Japanese book on anatomy, *Kaitai Shinsho* (解体新書, 1774), a translated version of *Anatomische Tabellen* by Johan Adam Kulmus (1689-1745).³⁰ Moreover, he illustrated a book, *Butsurui Hinshitsu* (物類品騭) [Collections of Rarities], published in 1763 by Hiraga Gennai (平賀源内, 1728-1780), a physician and teacher of *rangaku*, whom Genpaku knew well.

The connection goes further than that. One of the birds featured prominently in the Dutch painting is a peacock, a favored motif among artists of the Shen Nampin school. Knowing this, we can regard Sō Shiseki's work not just as a copy, but more as a fusion between Western art and his own style, which originated from China.

Twenty years later, in 1796, two other artists, the Ishikawa brothers, Tairō (石川大浪, 1762-1817) and Mōkō (孟高, 1763-1826), went to the Gohyakurakan Temple to copy the flower painting (see plate 12.1).³¹ The brothers tried their utmost to render the oil painting accurately, including its signature and date, *W. van Roijen 1725*, on the plinth of the vase. This was undoubtedly inscribed on the original painting, which is now lost. 1725 is one year before the five paintings, including the flower piece, arrived in Japan. Yoshimune received a brand-new painting from the Dutch.

What attracted these two artists most can be inferred from a dedication in the upper right-hand corner of the composition. It was written by Ōtsuki Gentaku (大槻玄沢, 1757-1827) one of the main members of the *rangaku* school:

此薰松軒石川君以江戸本所羅漢寺所藏阿蘭陀油繪花鳥/掛軸兩軸中第一圖所摸寫写本圖蓋/德廟所檀施云考瓶中文太西洋一千七百二十五年微兒列模/方魯伊疊者所圖也遡今茲丙辰七十有一年矣石川君好事/士也善画兼巧西洋畫法今弟孟高君亦巧画兄弟相謀一日/詣寺請住持僧相與莫之往来五日而卒業是圖也花草之形菓/廡之狀以至禽鳥蟲蛾之文色澤逼真位置極精繁爛陸離/宛然若坐名園之中而馥郁芬芳襲人衣袖也嗟寫生之巧/實可謂奪造化之工矣以余修西學画成之後使余題其事/於上余展開之把玩不措稱贊之餘画以應其需云爾/寬政丙辰冬至 磐水 大槻茂質識

[The painting shown here is a copy by Tairō Ishikawa, alias Kunshoken, after one of the two Dutch *kakejiku*, flower and bird pieces, respectively, hung in the Gohyakurakan Temple in Honjo.

They are said to have been given to the temple by the Shogun family. The inscription on the vase informs us that the original flower piece was painted by Willem van Roijen in 1725 of European calendar, that is, 71 years earlier. Tairō, a highly cultured Samurai and skilled in painting, was well acquainted with the Western technique of painting as was his younger brother, Mōkō. One day the Ishikawa Brothers, after discussing it with each other, went to the temple and asked the priest to let them copy the painting. After five days' work, they finished the copy you see here. The forms of flowers and leaves, seeds and fruits, as well as the details of the small animals, birds, insects, and butterflies are depicted in

colors true to life, composed so perfectly and shining so wonderfully that one feels as if one were sitting in the middle of a splendid garden, perfumed with the sweet smell of flowers. In this way, the painting surpasses even the marvel of nature by so completely representing every detail true to life. After they finished the copy, I, a scholar of *rangaku*, was asked to write this dedication. While writing, I enjoyed it so much that I could only appreciate it, and reply to their request.

On the day of the winter solstice of the year Kansē Hēshin [1796 of the European calendar]. Written by Bansui, Ōtsuki Shigekata.]³²

Gentaku, also called Bansui or Shigekata, lavishes unreserved praise on the Ishikawa brothers, even though their composition was a rendering of a Dutch original, using the paper and pigments related to traditional Japanese technique. He considered their work to rise above the level of a mere exercise since they displayed an ability to convey modeling, three-dimensionality, light and shadow, while achieving a realistic representation of the motifs.

It is remarkable that Gentaku mentions the first name of the Dutch artist as *Willem* (微兒列模), although it is copied just as *W* by the Ishikawa Brothers.³³ It suggests that information concerning the painting had been handed down among *ranga* painters and *rangaku* scholars. The original two paintings were still attracting the interest of art lovers in 1796, 70 years after being donated to the temple. The date on the copy, 1725, and its quotation in the dedication by Gentaku are also intriguing. In 1640, the Shogunate ordered the newly built Dutch warehouses in Hirado to be demolished because the numeral 1639 carved on the gable of one of them referred to the Christian system for dating. The climate had certainly changed by the end of the eighteenth century.³⁴

Unfortunately, both of the original bird and flower paintings donated to the temple were severely damaged by careless handling during a severe typhoon around 1826 and disappeared soon after.³⁵

The introduction of Western art into Japan by the Dutch at first much confused the Japanese, but then gradually won them over. In the process, Western prints and the Japanese artists' attempt to adapt their technique played a more important role than the limited number of imported Western paintings. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that the two paintings offered by Yoshimune to the Gohyakurakan Temple contributed to introducing and popularizing the Western style of painting to the Japanese. The individuals involved in this campaign were scholars of *rangaku* and painters of *ranga*. The scholars were individuals like Gennai, Genpaku, and Gentaku; the painters, the Ishikawa brothers, Sō Shiseki, and probably Odano Naotake (小田野直武, 1750-1780). Naotake, who was a pupil of Gennai and undoubtedly became acquainted with Sō Shiseki through Gennai, became the leading painter of the Akita *ranga* school, the first serious school of Western-style painting. The two paintings we have discussed, few as they are, nonetheless can be seen as influential models that encouraged Japanese *ranga* artists to appropriate Western art in a creative way.

The Birth of the Akita *Ranga* School

Copperplate prints in Western books, which were more accessible than imported paintings, also helped *ranga* artists to better understand the Western manner. One of the artists mentioned above, Naotake, was a leading figure in this development. As a samurai painter from the Akita fief in the north of Japan, he

began his career as a *ranga* painter by copying Western copperplate prints. As Matthi Forrer shows in this volume, Japanese printmakers of *ukie* images (浮絵) displayed a keen interest in Western artistic techniques, particularly central linear perspective, much earlier than the painters of the Akita *ranga* school.³⁶ This is explainable by the circumstance that the printmakers were part of popular culture and were therefore less constrained by traditional Japanese artistic rules than painters. The painters of the Akita *ranga* school who were intrigued by the Western manner were obliged to accommodate it within those rules.³⁷

Why, then, did Western techniques and styles in Japanese painting find their earliest development among the artists coming from Akita rather than from Edo or Nagasaki? In my view, it could be due to the fact that Akita was the most important site of copper production in Japan. The Dutch made huge profits by selling copper purchased from Japan, mainly to India. They could not always secure enough copper for their needs and repeatedly had tough negotiations on this issue with the Tokugawa Shogunate.³⁸ According to Gustaaf Willem van Imhoff, Governor-General in Batavia from 1743 to 1750, *dat is bruyd, waarom wij dansen* [Copper is the bride, therefore the Dutch dance].³⁹ In 1764, for example, the Tokugawa Shogunate informed the Dutch factory in Nagasaki that because of a decline in production they would be allocated only 1,000,000 pounds of copper in the next year, 375,000 pounds fewer than the previous year.⁴⁰ An entry of 18 September 1764 in the Nagasaki diary reported that the lord of the Akita fief "had surrendered his lands to the Shogun for a few days to prove that he really could not deliver more copper."⁴¹ This *daimyō* (大名, lord of a fief) was none other than Satake Shozan (佐竹曙山 1748-1785), patron of the Akita *ranga* school and himself an artist painting in the Western style. It is

to be expected that he would be interested in the culture of a country that was so obsessed with the valuable mineral resource from his fief. Interestingly, another *daimyō*, Shimazu Sigehide (島津重豪, 1745-1833), lord of the Satsuma fief and owner of important copper mines there, was also fascinated by *rangaku* and *ranga*. The two *daimyō* were acquainted with each other because it is documented that the former presented the latter with a painting by his subject Naotake.⁴²

It was also Shozan who, in 1773, invited the aforementioned scholar Gennai to look for further deposits of copper in his fief.⁴³ This appointment was crucial in forming the Akita *ranga* school, because it is believed that Gennai met Naotake in Akita and is said to have instructed him on this occasion in the basic principles of Western artistic techniques and painting styles.⁴⁴ At the time, students of *rangaku* were the most knowledgeable people in Japan concerning these techniques. Probably as a result of this encounter, Shozan ordered Naotake to leave for Edo at the end of 1773, just a month after Gennai's return to the capital, in order to further learn the techniques. Gennai immediately suggested to one of his *rangaku* colleagues, Genpaku, that Naotake provide the illustrations for a prestigious new scientific publication, *Kaitai Shinsho*. Published in 1774, *Kaitai Shinsho* was a translation by Genpaku and others mainly from *Ontleedkundige Tafelen* [Anatomical Plates] (1734), the Dutch version of a German anatomy book by Johan Adam Kulmus (1689-1745), as mentioned earlier.⁴⁵ This sequence of events suggests that Shozan's invitation to Gennai to visit Akita was not only a matter of copper mining. Shozan may have been out to introduce Gennai to Naotake, with an eye to landing the *Kaitai Shinsho* commission for his protégé.⁴⁶ Although lord of the Akita fief, Shozan was born, spent half his life, and died in Edo. He would have had

many opportunities to become acquainted with *rangaku* scholars in Edo such as Gennai and Genpaku.

Naotake as Illustrator of *Kaitai Shinsho*

It was no easy task to translate the Dutch anatomy book. But the illustrations would have been helpful in understanding the text. The detailed representation of dissected parts of the human body must have fascinated not only the translators but also Naotake, the illustrator of *Kaitai Shinsho*, although he had been trained in the traditional Kanō school (狩野派), as was usual for samurai painters at the time. Among the reference books the translators used was a Dutch version of Govert Bidloo's *Anatomia Humani Corporis* (1689, Dutch version 1728), with illustrations engraved after drawings by Gerard de Lairese (1640/41-1711).⁴⁷ The Western prints available to the Japanese at the time were of relatively poor quality, but there were some striking exceptions. Among these were de Lairese's illustrations, with their detailed observations and expert application of light and shade. This prime example of realism in Western art would not have escaped Naotake's attention (fig. 12.1).

Another particularly striking aspect of *Kaitai Shinsho* is its title page (see plate 12.2), copied from that of an anatomy book of 1568 by Juan Valverde de Hamusco. In the model, a deviant form of perspective known as fishbone perspective was used. Although Naotake changed the upper section of the portal before which Adam and Eve are standing, he simply replicated this specific use of perspective, diverging from the strict rules of geometric perspective. From Gennai he must have learned the latter and began to apply it

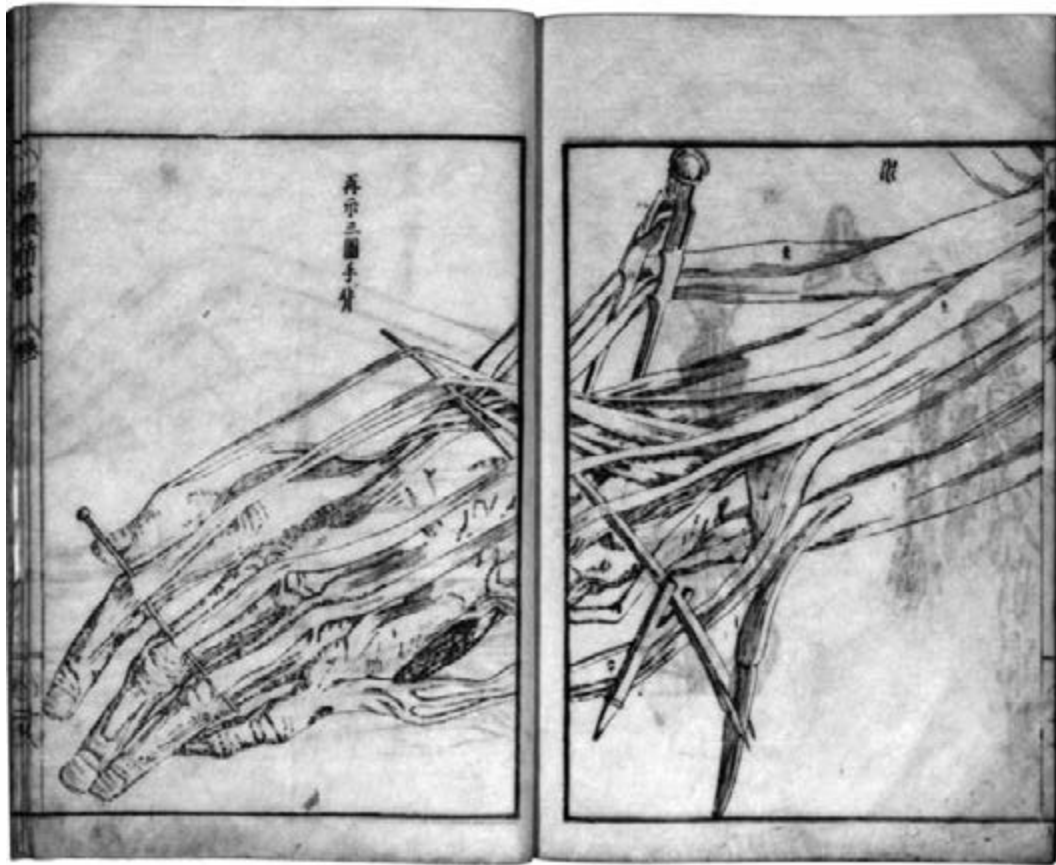


Fig. 12.1: Odano Naotake, *Dissection of Arm*. Copy after a Copperplate Engraving by Gerard de Laresse Illustrating Govard Bidloo, *Ondleding des menschelyken lichaams* (1690). From Sugita Genpaku et al., *Kaitai Shinsho* (Edo 1774). Woodblock print.

to production of *megane-e* images (眼鏡絵), prints or paintings intended for a viewing glass or a perspective box.⁴⁸ In making these, he seems to have become aware that geometric perspective was a flexible tool that could be manipulated at will. Interestingly enough, the fishbone perspective did not disappear from the picture after Naotake abandoned it. In 1815 it was employed in a diagram in *Denshin Kaishu Hokusai Manga* (伝神開手北斎漫画) [Hokusai's Sketchbook] by Katsushika Hokusai (葛飾北斎, 1760-1849), who applied it again and again in later years.⁴⁹ To conclude, the title page in Valverde's book was an important object

lesson for Japanese painters in how Western perspective could be manipulated for their own purposes.

Appropriation of the Western Artistic Manner

Naotake's next step was to create painted copies of Western prints. *Rangaku* scholars and rich merchants with an interest in *rangaku* collected Western books en masse and circulated among to each other. Gennai, for example, owned eight imported books, which

included Jan Jonston's *Naeukeurige Beschryving van de Natuur der Vier-Voetige Dieren...* (Amsterdam 1660) and Noël-Antoine Pluche's *Schouwtoneel der Natuur...* (1737-1749).⁵⁰ It is reported that in order to pay for Jonston's book he sold all his household effects.⁵¹ Many of these Western books were richly illustrated and were undoubtedly available to Naotake as pictorial sources. However, Naotake never followed Western models literally. For example, in copying the image of a lion in Jonston's fauna he retained the realistic modeling and shading of the original print, but reversed the image of the lion, raising its haunches, adding a section of a tree trunk in the upper right-hand corner and fitting the format to the Japanese traditional oblong composition of *kakejiku*.⁵² The 32 copperplate prints in Johann Elias Ridinger's *Sammlung von Nationen-Pferden* (Augsburg 1752) were also repeatedly copied by Japanese painters.⁵³ Naotake was one of those artists; he copied a Danish horse from an illustration in the book (see plate 12.3). In keeping with his impulse to vary his models, he removed the tall trees in the background and set the horse in a simpler landscape, with a lower horizon. In this way, he made the horse stand out monumentally from the background, transforming a book illustration into a painting that deserved appreciation in its own right.

In the two examples cited above, the Western motifs are put in the foreground to attract the attention of the viewer. In time, Naotake abandoned this style of composition. He preferred instead to reduce the Western motifs in size, painting them in delicate tones and setting them in the background. The middle ground would be eliminated, while the foreground would be reserved for traditional Japanese motifs such as flowers and birds (see plate 12.4).⁵⁴ The juxtaposition in the fore- and background of motifs differing greatly in size

and tone, creates a sense of distance between them. Naotake conceived this compositional device as the visual equivalent of the Japanese word *en-kin* (遠近), that is, far and near. What Naotake and his followers were doing in effect was translating Western geometric perspective into an *en-kin* technique, as Inaga cleverly indicated.⁵⁵ Whereas a Western viewer would see geometric perspective as continuous spatial extension, Japanese artists such as Naotake would perceive simply a difference in size and tone between motifs close by and far away. This may be seen as a lack of knowledge about Western perspective or a stage in the learning process. However, it should not be forgotten that Western painters too sometimes had difficulty with the middle ground in landscapes.

It is worth noting that the Akita *ranga* practice of placing enlarged motifs such as plants and rocks near the picture plane may well derive from the Nampin school, which as we have seen attracted many enterprising Japanese painters from the 1730s onward. Naotake learned the technique in Edo from Sō Shiseki, one of the acquaintances of his mentor Gennai. If this is so, then we can conclude that Naotake invented a hybrid compositional framework that synthesized Western, Chinese, and Japanese traditional styles.

The New Compositional Framework and *Mitate*

Naotake's new compositional framework can fruitfully be brought into connection with the literary device known as *mitate* (見立て). *Mitate* was used in literature in order to express something without being explicit. Instead, the writer employed connotations based on historical or verbal associations.⁵⁶ Later the technique

was applied to visual art, in the sense that the motif depicted alluded to something else, not represented as such, but with which it was associated in some way or another.⁵⁷ It became a kind of game for intellectuals. Through *mitate* interpretations, multilayered messages could be conveyed in one and the same scene, not merging, but each informing the other.

A typical example of a *mitate* painting is Naotake's *Shinobazu Pond* (不忍池図, 1778-1779) (plate 12.4). To the right of the pond is a hill called the Tōe Mountain (東叡山) and on the hill we see the roof of the Kan'ei Temple (寛永寺), which was completed in 1625 as the temple of the Shogun's family in Edo. This constellation has a parallel in another location: the Biwa Lake (琵琶湖), the Hiē Mountain (比叡山) and the Enryaku Temple (延暦寺) near Miyako, now Kyoto. The association between the two locations would have been understood in a particular way: just as the Hiē Mountain and the Enryaku Temple by the Biwa Lake protect Miyako against bad luck coming from the northeast, the Tōe Mountain and the Kan'ei Temple by the Shinobazu Pond, located northeast of Edo Castle, protect the Shogun's family. Similarly, Benten Island (弁天島) in the pond depicted in *The Shinobazu Pond* was comparable to Chikubu Island (竹生島) in Lake Biwa. The *mitate* technique allowed the scene depicted in *The Shinobazu Pond* to be simultaneously associated with famous traditional scenery near Kyoto. In addition, Shinobazu Pond was also linked to Lake Xiaoxi (小西湖), one of China's scenic lakes, which is in turn associated with a better-known Chinese lake, Lake Dongting (洞庭湖). These associative features of Naotake's painting are exactly the kind of thing that pleased art lovers of the time.

The *mitate* interpretation of *The Shinobazu Pond* is well-known among scholars.⁵⁸ However, strangely enough, no one has yet asked whether *mitate* also plays a role with regard to the

Western-style background of the painting. In Japan there is a traditional gardening method called *shakkei* (借景) that integrates the design of a garden into a distant scenic view, creating the illusion that the garden becomes a part of the view. By utilizing the *shakkei* method, a garden could be enjoyed both as a physical space and an evocation of a famously beautiful locale elsewhere.⁵⁹ In other words, *shakkei* is a form of *mitate* expressed in nature. Likewise, the Japanese landscape in the foreground of Naotake's *Shinobazu Pond* can allusively be integrated into the Western landscape in the background. The flowers in the foreground, executed in a Western manner, fit well into this allusive association of the foreground with the Western world. Knowledgeable viewers may have been reminded of the aforementioned Dutch painting of flowers by van Royen, which was admired at the Gohyakurakan Temple. It was around the same time that Sō Shiseki went there to copy the bird piece, an indication that the two Dutch paintings were popular among art lovers when Naotake painted his *Shinobazu Pond* as mentioned earlier.

Another interesting example of how a *mitate* composition could bring together Western, Japanese, and Chinese landscapes is a tiny painting of 1778-1779 by Shozan (16 x 24.5 cm) (see plate 12.5). There is good reason to accept the general view that it was based on a Western engraving known to have been owned by Naotake. This print is attributed to Jan Brueghel since its composition exactly matches the composition of a print kept at Leiden University which is inscribed, *Ioa Breug inventor* (invented by Brueghel) (fig. 12.2).⁶⁰

The painting by Shozan shows how he cleverly transforms European into Japanese scenery: the trees in the left foreground have been changed to traditional Japanese pine trees; the religious figures seen in the engraving have been removed; the road running into



Fig. 12.2: Jan Brueghel, *The Good Samaritan*. Copperplate Engraving.

the background has been lowered and widened and is populated with two groups of figures; the thick foliage on both sides of the road has been simplified and cut back; the foliage in the lower right and the castle in the middle have been removed and replaced with the calm flat surface of a lake on which is a tiny sailing boat; and the high mountains in the distant background have been changed to a range of undulating low hills. In this way, Shozan converted the original composition into a peaceful Japanese lake landscape flanked by a pass with mountains in the background.

Despite these transformations, the work itself is executed in a notably Western style with respect to modeling, shading, the use of a low horizon and the definition of space. Above the lake and below one of the pine tree's

branches we see a seal imprint showing ornamental leaves and sea creatures and a phrase in incorrect Dutch: *Segutter vol Beminnen*. We know that Shozan liked to order unusual seals such as this, which he often printed on his work. The design and the Dutch words carved on the seals were probably taken from two sources: a decorative print by the Augsburg artist Franz Xaver Habermann (1721-1796) and the illustrations in Hendrick de Keyser's *Boekje van Zeegoden en Zeegodinnen* (c. 1620). The former print was owned by Naotake, while the latter work was jointly owned by Shozan and Naotake (fig. 12.3).⁶¹ Hendrick de Keyser (1565-1621) presented the original drawings for his book to King Christian IV of Denmark to serve as models for the decoration of the front gallery of Frederiksborg Castle outside



Fig. 12.3: Hendrick de Keyser, *Amphitrite on a Chariot*. From *Het bouckje van Zeegoden en Godinnen*, c. 1619-1621. Copperplate Engraving.

Copenhagen.⁶² To conclude, although Shozan's work transformed the model into an anonymous Japanese landscape, it still bears traces of Western art.

To take the matter one step further, we can interpret Shozan's composition as a *mitate* of a Chinese scene. The white sailboat on the right side of the lake, tiny though it may be, nonetheless catches the eye. Knowledgeable art lovers are likely to have associated this with a scene called *Yuan Pu Gui Fan* (遠浦帆歸) [The Boat Sailing Back Home in Xiangyin], one of the well-known eight scenic spots (瀟湘八景) where the Xiao and Xiang Rivers join. They found expression in art as well as literature, always adding a particular motif to each spot: the view of Yuan Pu Gui Fan in the visual images never lacks a sailing boat.⁶³

Japanese artists identified similar beautiful locations in their own country and regarded them as a metaphor of the "Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers."⁶⁴ Among examples for that are *The Sailing Boat Returning Home in Shinagawa* by Naotake and a drawing by Shozan surely related to it, *A Sailing Boat* (see plate 12.6). The scene, which is probably composed after a Western work owned by Naotake,⁶⁵ represents a sailing boat across the sea, but it has been substituted for that of a sailing boat returning home in Yuan Pu Gui Fan. Likewise, the *Lake Landscape* by Shozan, modeled after a Western print, is Japanese but at the same time can be compared to the Chinese scene, *Yuan Pu Gui Fan*. Shozan appropriated and Japanized the Western composition in a unique way,

while at the same time incorporating aspects of Chinese culture.

Knowing as we do that Naotake came back from Edo to Akita in April 1778 and that Shozan completed the lake painting before July of that year, it seems reasonable to suppose that Shozan saw the copperplate print owned by Naotake and copied it under his guidance.⁶⁶ Undoubtedly Naotake brought back with him new information about the techniques and materials of Western art.

Shozan's Manuals on the Theory of Western Art

Around the same time that he painted the *Lake Landscape*, Shozan wrote two art manuals that were never published: *Gahō Kōryō* (画法綱領) [A Theory of Western Painting] and *Gazu Rikai* (画図理解) [An Introduction to Techniques of Western Painting], with an appendix called *Tansē-bu* (丹青部) [A Guide to Pigments and Mediums].⁶⁷ These are the first known Japanese texts on the theory of Western art. Shozan would have obtained much of his information from Naotake. Therefore, we can regard these manuals as reflections of how the *ranga* painters of Edo understood Western art in general.

Shozan's manuals on art are written in one of the three sketchbooks he left behind, which otherwise contain mainly drawings of plants, insects, and birds.⁶⁸ The texts are found in the first twenty pages of the third sketchbook, followed by nine drawings after Western models, the six engravings by Hendrick de Keyser mentioned above, and seven more drawings by Shozan.⁶⁹ The rest of the sketchbook was filled with various colored drawings of plants and flowers either by Shozan or by Naotake.

In the first manual, *Gahō Kōryō*, Shozan advocates realism in pictorial art as follows.⁷⁰

If realism is adhered to, visual images will immediately be understood by everybody. In this respect, visual communication is quite different from language, which always requires prior knowledge to be understood. Visual images can also have a utilitarian purpose, showing people the outside world, and a moralistic one, communicating ethical lessons. By contrast, according to Shozan, to suggest just atmosphere of the visual world through rough brushwork has been preferred in Japan rather than to represent its exact forms realistically. A consequence of this approach is that, in Japanese art, houses are depicted without roofs or solid ground, and compositions are divided with unnatural gold and silver clouds. Such Japanese art is rejected by the followers of the realistic manner of art with which Shozan had recently become acquainted. Guided by realism, they leave the viewer in no doubt whether a represented form was a sphere, a dome, or a circle. They do find ways of showing, for example, how big a person's nose is when seen from the front. Shozan wrote that with the realistic, that is, pragmatic characteristics which he had lately learned, a painting could serve national policies.

In the second manual, Shozan goes into more detail, discussing how the realism he described in the first manual could be achieved. Interestingly, in a way reminiscent of Albertian perspective, he postulates that a scene should be viewed as if through an eye of one observer; he also emphasizes the impact of the light source on a composition.⁷¹ The horizon is located in the distance, where no specific features are visible; shadows created by the sunlight are cast away; objects next to smooth water surfaces are reflected; motifs near the front are painted larger and in deeper colors than those far away which are smaller and paler. These are the techniques that enable painters to distinguish between representations of

spheres, domes, and circles. Shozan concludes by stating that before painters can familiarize themselves with these techniques, they should first learn astronomy and geography. In this way as well, Shozan stresses the importance of practical virtues related to the art of painting which Japanese traditional art is lacking.

What interests me is that Shozan refers in his manuals to “the art techniques that he had lately learned,” but does not dare to use any words meaning *Western* or *Dutch* to describe them. By contrast, he repeatedly refers to *Chinese* books and artists. To support his views, he twice cites *Kunyu wan'guo quantu* (坤輿萬國全圖, 1602), a world map with a detailed Chinese description of astronomy and geography, produced by Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) in collaboration with two Chinese scholars. He also mentions *Zhifang waiji sing* (職方外紀, 1623) by Giulio Aleni (1582-1649), a world geography written in Chinese. Likewise, *Keng-chih tú* (耕織圖, 1696) by Jiāo Bǐngzhēn (焦秉貞, 1662-1726), a collection of woodcut block prints with figures cultivating the soil and weaving, is also mentioned as an example of a pictorial moral lesson. There are also ideas and phrases from *Lidai minghua ji* (歷代名畫記), a famous book on Chinese art theory and artists' lives by Zhang Yanyuan (張彥遠, active in the ninth century). As a cultured *daimyō*, Shozan probably preferred imported Chinese books as a source of information on Western art. It seems as though he wrote his manuals without ever seeing any literary material from the West at first hand.

What did contribute to his writings, however, were Western visual materials. It could be argued that Western images influenced Shozan even more than written Chinese sources. This would be in keeping with his own conviction that images can be understood by everybody without any special preliminary knowledge. The nine

drawn illustrations which are presented to support his theories seem to be directly copied from Western sources. Some of them are indeed known to be based on images from Joseph Moxon's book on perspective, although the source for the other illustrations is still unknown.⁷² The six copperplate prints by Hendrick de Keyser, together with the three owned by Naotake, belong to a series of eleven prints, as we have seen (fig. 12.3). These prints would have helped Shozan understand how to shade round pictorial motifs to suggest their volume.

Furthermore, there is a Japanese drawing copied by Shozan based on an illustration on the ideal proportions for the female body in de Lairese's *Het groot schilderboek* (first ed. Amsterdam 1707) (fig. 12.4). This illustration was also copied by Morishima Chūryō (森島中良, 1756-1810), one of Gennai's colleagues. Chūryō reproduced from the same book several other illustrations showing various hand positions when holding a cup or a spoon, as well as people standing in specific ways according to their social rank.⁷³ Illustrations from *Het groot schilderboek* were also models for the motifs in a drawing by Naotake (fig. 12.5).⁷⁴ Although it is not certain who actually owned a copy of de Lairese's book, Gennai and the people around him were keenly interested in it and shared it.⁷⁵ Most of them could not read its text, but the illustrations undoubtedly helped them work out a basic theory on Western art.

Shozan was the first one in Japan to write about Western artistic methods. Using fairly simple terms, he nonetheless picked up on the salient points that best described the Western manner of painting. Many Akita *ranga* images, of which *The Shinobazu Pond* by Naotake and the *Lake Landscape* by Shozan are typical examples, reveal that their theories were derived from their practical experience of painting. Shozan apparently absorbed the

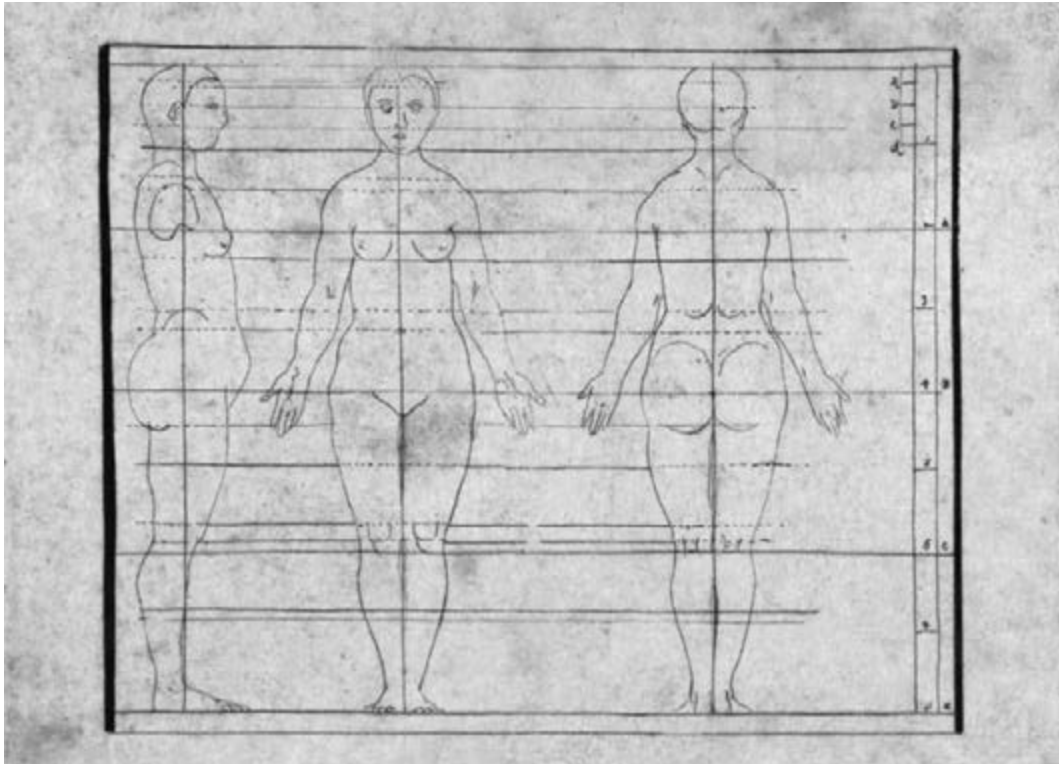


Fig. 12.4: Satake Shozan, *An Ideal Proportion of a Woman*. Copy after a Copperplate Engraving Illustrating Gerard de Lairese, *Het groot schilderboek* (Amsterdam 1707). From Satake Shozan, *The Third Sketchbook* (1778).

Western manner from visual sources, while utilizing knowledge taken from Chinese writings to develop a general framework for his thinking and painting. We see in these two artists' work the first step toward transcultural remediation beyond a simple reception of foreign models.

The VOC as a Cultural Mediator in Japan

Chinese culture had long been the most important scholarly and artistic source for Japanese intellectuals. Even during the isolation policy period, thousands of Chinese books were imported, as long as they did not contain Christian teachings. Reading and meditating on what was

written in these books had long been a basic cultural predisposition in Japan. As Timon Screech writes, there were three important pillars in the mental world of the Edo era: *Wa* (和), *Tō* (唐) and *Ran* (蘭) meaning Japan, China, and Holland.⁷⁶

The work of Naotake and Shozan is clear evidence of this. They did not simply imitate the Western art techniques that they encountered, but sought to hybridize them with Japanese and Chinese traditions. This marked a substantial turning point in the cultural history of Japan. As a famous Japanese cliché has it, the country's mentality gradually moved from *Wakon Kansai* (和魂漢才) [Japanese soul fed with Chinese knowledge] to *Wakon Yōsai* (和魂洋才) [Japanese soul fed with European knowledge]. It is in this context that makes the short-lived Akita *ranga* school so historically significant. The

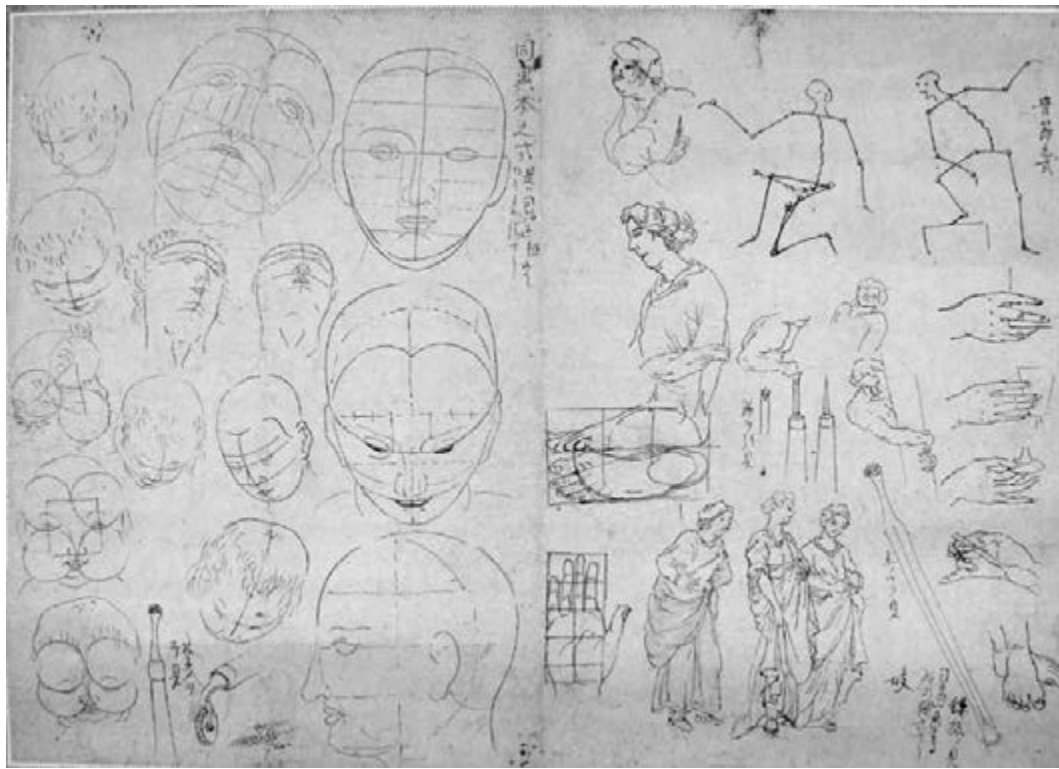


Fig. 12.5: Odano Naotake, *Drawing Studies*. Copy after *Various Illustrations Illustrating Gerard de Lairese, Het groot schilderboek* (Amsterdam 1707). Ink on Paper, Hanging Scroll.

Dutch VOC travelers who brought the sources of Western art to Japan played a vital role in this process. Initially, they may have embarrassed the Japanese, as the word *dog zedig* mentioned earlier implied. In time, however, they found common ground to share with the Japanese, and eventually were stimulated greatly through the work of *rangaku* scholars. Their trading spot in Nagasaki and their accommodations, Ebi-ya (海老屋) and Nagasaki-ya (長崎屋) in Kyoto and Edo respectively, and others on the road to Edo were repeatedly visited by *rangaku* scholars and became a kind of center for Dutch Studies. In 1761, 1764, and 1769 Dutch

delegates received Gennai in Nagasaki-ya for talks. In 1771 Daniel Armenault, who headed the Nagasaki station intermittently from 1770 to 1775, presented a copy of the Dutch version of Kulmus's anatomy book to one of Gennai's best scholarly friends, Nakagawa Jun'an (中川淳庵, 1739-1786). This was the very book that became the main source for Genpaku's *Kaitai Shinsho*. Without the intellectual mediation of the Dutch, Genpaku would not have had access to Kulmus's book, would not have asked Naotake to create the illustrations for *Kaitai Shinsho* and the Akita *ranga* school would never have come into being.

Notes

1. I express my thanks to Gary Schwartz, Cynthia Viallé, Marten Jan Bok, and Petry A. Kievit, whose scholarly suggestions much helped me during the research and writing of this article. In this essay, Japanese names are cited in the order adhered to Japan: family names followed by first names.
2. See the essay by A. Erll, 'Circulating Art and Material Culture: A Model of Transcultural Mediation' in this volume.
3. Japan's first encounter with the West dates back to 1541, when a Portuguese ship drifted ashore at a bay located in southern Japan. Following that date, a new style of art developed under the strong influence of Portuguese missionaries, which is called Namban 南蛮 art, in the manner of the southern barbarians. For a survey of the impact of the Western manner on Japanese art, see D. Croissant et al., eds., *Japan und Europa 1543-1929*, exhib. cat. (Berlin 1993), and F. Naruse, *Edo Jidai no Yōfuga-shi* [The History of Japanese Western-Style Paintings during the Edo Period] (Tokyo 2002).
4. The paintings were brought to Japan by the ship *Banda*, as recorded in the entry of 8 August 1639 in the *Journal van de Negotie des Comptoirs Firando* (cited as *Journal* in the following), NFJ 839, National Archives, The Hague. They were presented to Iemitsu on 16 May 1640, according to the entry of that date in the diary kept by the then head of the Dutch factory (cited as *Dagregister* in the following), NFJ 55, National Archives, The Hague.
5. For these wars, see the publication edited by the Nieuwpoort Council, *1600: Slag bij Nieuwpoort: catalogus Instantie Nieuwpoort 1600-2000* (Nieuwpoort 2000); and W. Thomas, *De val van het Nieuwe Troje: Het beleg van Oostende 1601-1604* (Leuven 2004).
6. G. Schwartz, *Rembrandt, His Life, His Paintings* (New York 1985), 116f.
7. See F. de Haan, *Oud Batavia* (Bandoeng 1935), 338; J. de Loos-Haaxman, *De landsverzameling schilderijen in Batavia. Landvoogdsportretten en Compagnieschilders* (Leiden 1941), 151; and K. Zandvliet, *Mapping for Money: Maps, Plans and Topographic Paintings and Their Role in Dutch Overseas Expansion during the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Amsterdam 2002), 227 and 295, n. 40. The painting by De Verwer must be identical with one of the three paintings depicting ship battles which were listed among the items turned down in the entry of 29 August 1641, *Journal*, NFJ 839, National Archives, The Hague.
8. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. SK-A-603, dated 1621, oil on canvas, 153 x 340 cm.
9. N. Murakami, ed. and trans., *Batavia-jō Nisshi* [The Diaries Kept in Batavia], vol. II (Tokyo 1972), 74. Regrettably, the present author has not yet found any document in the National Archives, The Hague, corresponding to Murakami's reference.
10. 6 August 1734, *Dagregister*, NFJ 144, National Archives, The Hague.
11. 1 Rijnlandse duim = 1/12 Rijnlandse feet (31.4 cm.)
12. See 26 January 1735, *Dagregister*, NFJ 145, National Archives, The Hague; P. van der Velde and R. Bachofner, eds., *The Deshima Diaries: Marginalia 1700-1740* (Tokyo 1992), 441; and C. Viallé, 'In Aid of Trade: Dutch Gift-giving in Tokugawa Japan,' *Journal of Tokyo University Shiryō Hensanjo*, 16 (March 2006): 57-78, esp. 70. With many thanks to Ms. Viallé for bringing her essay to my attention.
13. In 1733 the Tokugawa Shogunate, in need of copper to mint new coinage, decreased the annual allocation of the metal for export to Holland. The Dutch objected strongly to this policy and repeatedly petitioned the Shogunate to change it. See Y. Suzuki, *Kinsē Nichiran Bōeki-shi no Kenkyū* [A Study of the Japan-Netherlands Trade by the Dutch East India Company in the 17th and 18th Centuries] (Kyoto 2004), 195f. See also p. 292f of this paper.
14. See March 1735-September 1637, *Dagregister*, NFJs 145, 146, and 147, National Archives, The Hague, passim.
15. 26 October 1736, *Dagregister*, NFJ 147, National Archives, The Hague. Kubota served as one of the governors of Nagasaki from 1734 to 1742. For Kubota, see M. Hotta et al., eds., *Kansē Chōshū Shokahu* (1812), vol. 1380, no pag. Repr.

- ed. by M. Takayanagi et al. (Tokyo 1965), vol. 20, 423-425.
16. 10 June 1739, *Factuur* of the ship *Pr. Popkensburg*, NFJ 795 and 29 September 1639, *Dagregister*, NFJ 149, both in the National Archives, The Hague.
 17. 25 October 1739, *Dagregister*, NFJ 150, National Archives, The Hague.
 18. See the essay by M. Forrer and Y. Kobayashi-Sato, 'The Dutch Presence in Japan: The VOC on Deshima and Its Impact on Japanese Culture' in this volume.
 19. These five paintings were first published by A. Saitō, 'Tokugawa Yoshimune to Seiyō Bunka [Yoshimune and Western Culture],' *Shigaku Zasshi*, 11 (1936): 1568-1569; K. Kojima, 'Van Roijen Kachōga Kō [A Study of the Flower-and the Bird Piece by van Roijen],' *Museum*, 459 (1989): 4-15, compiles the literature related to them. The first English article which discussed the paintings extensively is T. Screech, 'The Strangest Place in Edo: The Temple of the Five Hundred Arhats,' *Monumenta Nipponica*, 48 (1993): 407-428.
 20. 14 October 1722, *Dagregister*, NFJ 132, National Archives, The Hague. Because the original document is almost illegible, I refer to its copy which was made in Batavia: VOC 1971, National Archives, The Hague.
 21. 21 July 1726, *Factuur*, NFJ 132, and ditto, *Journal*, NFJ 903, both in the National Archives, The Hague.
 22. 13 September 1726, *Dagregister*, NFJ 135, National Archives, The Hague.
 23. 30 March 1727, *Dagregister*, NFJ 136, National Archives, The Hague.
 24. 5 July 1735, *Dagregister*, NFJ 145, National Archives, The Hague.
 25. The book is a collection of various images of flowers and birds together with *haiku* and instructions on how to color the images. The images were carved by Setchusi Morinori 石仲子守範 after the originals of Kanō Tanyū 狩野探幽.
 26. For the temple, see T. Nishimura, *Nihon Shoki Yōga no Kenkyū* [A Study of Japanese Paintings in a Westernized Style] (Kyoto 1954), 41; Kojima, 'Van Roijen Kachōga Kō,' 7, and Screech, 'The Strangest Place in Edo,' 408-423.
 27. Matsura Sēzan noted this in an entry in his diary on 22 March 1826. See S. Matsura, *Katsushi Yawa* [Essays Written since 17 November 1821] (Tokyo 1978), 317.
 28. Painted on silk, dated *An'ei 7 Bojutsu* (安永七年戊戌) (1777 of the European calendar), 203.5 x 107.2 cm. Sō Shiseki donated the work to the Itsukushima Shrine (厳島神社). The painting was first related to the bird painting by Kojima, 'Van Roijen Kachōga Kō,' 14.
 29. In 1722 and 1725, Yoshimune asked the Chinese to bring copies of Chinese classic masterpieces. The order was not fulfilled. Instead, Shen Nampin came to Nagasaki in 1731 to teach Chinese painting techniques to the Japanese painters. He returned to China in 1733, but his Japanese followers spread his teachings and made the Shen Nampin style popular not only in Nagasaki, but also in Kamigata, an area covering Osaka and Kyoto, and Edo. See K. Narusawa and S. Itō, eds., *Edo no Ikoku Shumi* [The Exotic in Edo-Period Painting], exhib. cat. (Chiba 2001), and S. Itō, 'Western and Chinese Influences on Japanese Painting in the Eighteenth Century,' in E. Groenendijk et al., eds., *Canton and Nagasaki Compared, 1730-1830: Dutch, Chinese, Japanese Relations* (Leiden 2009), 65-68.
 30. For details of this book, see 276f and 285 of this paper.
 31. Tani Bunchō (1763-1841) also copied the flower painting, which is now owned by the Kōbe City Museum. The copies after the two paintings in the Gohyakurakan Temple are discussed in detail by Kojima, 'Van Roijen Kachōga Kō,' and K. Katagiri, 'Yōfū Gaka Ishikawa Tairō to Edo no Rangaku-kai [Ishikawa Tairō, an Artist Painting in the Western Manner and the World of *Rangaku* in Edo],' *Museum*, 227 (1970): 4-17.
 32. I express my thanks to Y. Yamazaki for the translation of this dedication.
 33. This Willem van Royen is undoubtedly identical with Willem Hendrick Wilhelmus van Royen (1672-1742), who was active in Amsterdam and a pupil of Michiel d'Hondecoeter famous for bird paintings.
 34. It is interesting that Gentaku refers to the paintings as *Dutch kakejiku*. Although it is not

- completely clear how the two Dutch paintings were exhibited in the Gohyakurakan Temple, the possibility should not be excluded that they would indeed have been mounted in a Japanese way such as kakejiku.
35. See Matura, *Katsushi Yawa*, 317.
 36. The word *ukie* is first mentioned in 1739. See an anonymous document entitled *Genbun Taihō-ki Maki Dai Yon Mokuroku* [Record of Events in the Fourth Year of the Genbun Period (1739)], included in *the Zoku Tankai* [Supplement of Events (1680-1782), after 1782]; and F. Kishi, *Edo no Enkin-hō* [The Perspective of the Edo Era] (Kyoto 1994). See also Y. Kobayashi-Sato and M. M. Mochizuki, 'Perspective and Its Discontents or St. Lucy's Eyes', in D. Leibson and J. F. Peterson, eds., *Seeing across Cultures in the Early Modern World* (London 2012), 23-48, and M. Forrer, 'From Optical Prints to *Ukie* to *Ukiyoe*: The Adoption and Adaptation of Western Linear Perspective in Japan' in this volume.
 37. For the Akita *ranga* school, see R. Takehana, *Akita Ranga* (Akita 1990). Recommended for English readers is H. Johnson, *Western Influences on Japanese Art: The Akita Ranga Art School and Foreign Books* (Amsterdam 2005).
 38. See J. Feenstra Kuiper, *Japan en de buitenwereld in de achttiende Eeuw* (The Hague 1921), 118-152; and Suzuki, *Kinsē Nichiran Bōeki-shi no Kenkyū*, 191-221 and 361-406. Holland had first been interested in Japanese silver, but then, because of the decline of its supply, turned their target toward Japanese copper.
 39. Feenstra, *Japan en de Buitenwereld*, 130.
 40. Suzuki, *Kinsē Nichiran Bōeki-shi no Kenkyū*, 197f.
 41. 18 September 1764, *Dagregister*, NFJ 174, National Archives, The Hague. The abridged citation in English is from Van der Velde and Bachofner, eds., *The Deshima Diaries*, 290.
 42. Takehana, *Akita Ranga*, 125f.
 43. According to the document cited in Takehana, *Akita Ranga*, 192-195, Gennai saw Ōta Idayū, a subject of the Akita fief, by chance in Edo, at the house of one of his friends, Senga Dōryū, and was asked by the former to inspect the copper mines in Akita. But it is more natural to think that this kind of important issue would have been discussed at the initiative of the lord himself.
 44. H. Hirafuku, *Nihon Yōga Shokō* [The Beginning of Japanese Paintings in a European Style] (Tokyo 1930), 9.
 45. J. A. Kulmus, *Anatomische Tabellen* (Danzig 1722). The translator of the Dutch edition was Gerardus Dicten. Genpaku obtained a Dutch copy indirectly from Daniel Armenault, head of the Dutch factory in Nagasaki intermittently from 1770 to 1775.
 46. One year before the publication of *Kaitai Shinsho*, Genpaku published *Kaitai Yakusho* [A Small Simple Anatomy Book], which Kumagai Motoaki illustrated. Although the reasons are uncertain, Genpaku wanted to have a different illustrator for his new book, *Kaitai Shinsho*.
 47. The drawings by de Lairese were engraved by Abraham Blooteling (c. 1640-1690).
 48. Nine paintings by Naotake are thought to have been produced as a megane-e, although the attribution of one of them is uncertain.
 49. Katsushika Hokusai, *Mitsuware no Hō* [A Way to Divide the Composition into Three Parts], from *Hokusai's Sketchbook* (1815), vol. 3, no pag., colored woodblock print.
 50. According to *Bussan Shomoku*, a list of Western books owned by Gennai drawn up in 1769, he also owned E. Sweerts, *Florilegium* (1631); R. Dodonaeus, *Cruydt-Boeck* (1608); G. E. Rumphius, *D'Amboinsche rariteitkamer* (1705); J. Swammerdam, *Historia Insectorum Generalis* (1669); F. Willoughby, *Historia Piscium* (1686); and *Zee Atlas. Nieuwe Atlas*, published in 1759. The author of the last title is mentioned as "Burukkuneru" (probably referring to "Bruckner"), but I could not find a precise reference to the book. Gennai bought these books from officials of the Nagasaki factory such as Jan Crans (1767-1769) in 1768 and the medical doctor George Rudolf Bauer in 1761, as well as from the Japanese interpreters working for the Dutch. For Western books imported to Japan which were used as pictorial sources by painters, see among others Y. Isozaki, *Edo Jidai no Ranga to Ransho* [Western Books and Art Works Imported to Japan during the Edo Period] (Kyoto 2004).

51. Shiba Kōkan, *Shunparō Hikki* [Memorandums by Shunparō], 1811. Shunparō is one of the pseudonyms of Kōkan.
52. Odano Naotake, *Lion*, hanging scroll, colored, on silk, 92.5 x 31.5 cm., private collection, Akita. Jonston's lion was also copied by other painters, such as Sō Shiseki (Yamato Bunkakan, Nara), Ishikawa Mōkō (private collection) and Shiba Kōkan (Kōbe City Museum, Kōbe). It was used in addition to illustrate a page of *Kōmō Zatsuwa* [Miscellaneous Dutch Information] (1787), written by Morishima Chūryō, a scholar of *rangaku* who was acquainted with Gennai.
53. Other copies of horses after models by Ridinger were painted by Shiba Kōkan (private collection), Wakasugi Isohachi (Sumitomo Shiryō-kan, Kyoto) and Aōdō Denzen (private collection).
54. This type of composition is very similar to that of figures illustrating books such as Joan Nieuhof's *Gedenkwaerdige zee en lantreize...* (1682), which was owned by some *rangaku* scholars. They could have given impetus to the Akita *ranga* painters.
55. See S. Inaga, 'Reinterpretation of the Western Linear Perspective,' in W. Vande Walle, ed., *Dodonaus in Japan* (Leuven and Kyoto 2001), 149-166, esp. 159.
56. The National Institutes for the Humanities (Japan), ed., *Zusetsu Mitate to Yatsushi* [Mitate and Disguise Illustrated] (Tokyo 2008).
57. It was especially applied in ukiyoe images and greatly enjoyed among art lovers.
58. The possibility to read mitate into *The Shinobazu Pond* by Naotake is extensively researched in R. Imahashi, *Akita Ranga no Kindai* [The Akita Ranga School and the Cultural Context in Tokugwa Japan] (Tokyo 2009). Imahashi examined the painting especially within a Chinese cultural context.
59. Inaga, 'Reinterpretation of the Western Linear Perspective,' 159-61, briefly mentions a possible relationship of *shakkei* to the compositional manner created by Naotake, but does not implicate the Western background into his interpretation.
60. The impression, owned by the Leiden University Library (inv. no. PK-P-132.363), forms a part of a series originally consisting of four copperplates and is thought to have been published by Claes Jansz Visscher (1587-1652). One of the four is now missing, while two of them are numbered 2 and 4, with the inscription, P. Bril. The one with the same composition as the impression owned by Naotake is numbered 3. For information on the engravings, I owe much to E. P. Löffler, Netherlands Institute for Art History, The Hague, and Jef Schaepe, curator of Print Collection of Leiden University Library.
61. Habermann's engraving is now in a private collection in Japan. De Keyser's series consists of eleven engravings. Three of them (nos. 3, 4, and 6) are now owned by the same collection, while six (nos. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12) are in the Akita Senshū Museum of Art. Nos. 1, 2, and 5 are missing. An entire copy of the series is possessed by the Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. nos. RP-P-1964-2458 to 2469.
62. E. Neurdenburg, 'Hendrick de Keyser en het Beeldhouwwerk aan de galerij van Frederiksborg in Denemark,' *Oudheidkundig Jaarboek*, 12, no. 1/2 (December 1943): 33-41. The stone reliefs that were carved after these drawings are partially kept in the storeroom of the castle, at present, the Museum of National History. What now decorate its front gallery are their replicas.
63. Chén huò 沈括 first mentioned the "Eight Scenic Views along the Xiang River" in *Meng ch'ī pi tán* 夢溪筆談, written during the Peung 北宋 period.
64. The Ōmi Hakkei in and around Lake Biwa and the Kanazawa Hakkei in Kanagawa are typical examples. They are well known as subjects of works by Hokusai and Hiroshige.
65. Owned by the Hirafuku Hyakusui Memorial Museum, Kakunodate (Akita). Y. Matsuo, curator of the Akita Senshū Museum of Art, has recently identified its composition with that of an copperplate print owned by Rijksmuseum Amsterdam after a lost Jan van Goyen's painting which H.-U. Beck mentions in his book, *Jan van Goyen 1596-1656* (Amsterdam 1973). She will publish the detailed data in her coming article.

66. Recently, in the process of restoration, an inscription was discovered on a wooden roller, giving the name of the picture framer working for the Akita fief and the date An'ē 7 (1778 of the European calendar). See K. Narusawa and Y. Matsuo, eds., *Akita Ranga to Sono Jidai* [Akita Ranga and Its Period], exh. cat. (Akita 2007), 109.
67. Shozan inscribed the date at the end of *Tansēbu*; An'ē 7, September (July 1778 of the European calendar). The whole text of the manuals is translated in English in Johnson, *Western Influences on Japanese Art*, 157-164.
68. All the sketchbooks by Shozan are now owned by the Akita Senshū Museum of Art. Some drawings of plants and birds in the books were literally copied from those collected in sketchbooks owned by other *daimyō*. This suggests that those *daimyō* who were interested in such drawings exchanged information and material with each other. Remarkably, they were all oriented to *rangaku*.
69. Some drawings in the sketchbooks were possibly created by Naotake.
70. Shozan's manuals have been extensively analyzed by Takehana, *Akita Ranga*, 134-141, and Naruse, *Edo Jidai no Yōfūga-shi*, 119-149.
71. In three of the drawings at the end of the manuals a man is depicted looking up and down. The direction of his gaze is suggested by lines radiating from his eyes.
72. J. Moxon, *Practical Perspective, or, Perspective Made Easie* (London 1670); B. Kobayashi, 'Shozan no Nijū Rasen Kaidan-zu nitsuite [A Drawing of a Double Spiral Staircase by Shozan],' *Bijutsu-shi*, 88 (1973): 105-111, first identified Moxon as a possible source for Shozan.
73. They illustrate one of Chūryō's books, *Kōmō Zatsuwa*.
74. The drawing is owned by the Prefectural Library of Akita.
75. Shiba Kōkan wrote in one of his books, *Seiyō Gadan* [An Essay on Western Painting] (1799), that he was presented "konsuto sukirudo būku" (probably referring to "Konst schilderboek," or a book of art) by Isaak Titsingh, a head of the Dutch factory in Nagasaki in 1779-1780 and 1781-1783. However, this description is unreliable because Kōkan was there in 1788-1789, whereas Titsingh was the head of the Dutch factory in Nagasaki much earlier.
76. T. Screech, *Edo no Shikō Kūkan* [The Mental World of the Edo Era] (Tokyo 1999), 10-26. The book is an anthology of his articles published in the past in various Japanese journals.

13 “To Capture Their Favor”

On Gift-Giving by the VOC¹

Cynthia Viallé

Introduction

The Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC) was a trading company with several faces. In 1602 it was granted a charter by the States-General of the Dutch Republic giving it exclusive rights to trade in Asia. The charter also permitted the VOC to conclude treaties with “Princes and Potentates” east of the Cape of Good Hope.² Through conquests in the seventeenth century the Company subsequently established a position of hegemonic power in the Indonesian archipelago. Its power was acknowledged by local rulers and its administration in Batavia conducted itself like any other kingdom in the region in diplomatic and ceremonial respects. The VOC has thus been characterized as merchant, king, and diplomat.³

When the VOC established itself in Asia, the Company had to deal with powerful sovereigns of vast empires such as China, Japan, the Mogul Empire, and Persia, but also with sultans and rulers of small kingdoms in South and Southeast Asia. The Dutch had “to tune in to the prevailing customs and practices of the Asian societies around them.”⁴ In their relations with Asian courts, Company servants had to take part in all kinds of “curious” ceremonies and rituals: they kowtowed at the courts of China and Japan; they adhered to the rituals of the courts of the Great Mogul of India, the King of Kandy on Ceylon and the Susuhunan of Mataram on Java; and they moved crab-like over the floor at the Siamese court.⁵ It was

Company policy to follow the custom of the country and on the whole its servants had no qualms about following protocol (see plate 13.1). Isaac Titsingh, VOC ambassador to the Emperor of China in 1794, willingly performed the kowtow because in his view, being a visitor to the country, he should accept its customs, all the more so as the Eastern monarch to whom he was bowing was the Qianlong Emperor (r. 1736-1795) whom he had come to congratulate.⁶ Before an *opperhoofd* (head of the Japan factory) was admitted to an audience with the Shogun, he was instructed by Japanese officials on the correct way to bow on one’s hands and knees. The Dutch official was expected to perform the obeisance in the same way as a lord of the land.⁷ When Hubert de Lairese was dispatched to greet the Shah of Persia, Shah Abbas II (r. 1642-1666), on the Company’s behalf in 1665, the High Government (Governor-General and Council of the Indies in Batavia) gave him a memorandum to the effect that the greeting be performed “according to the custom of the country.” He was advised to confer with the two men in charge of the directorate in Isfahan on the best procedure. The High Government added that “a fine day, when the king is in a jolly mood, would be helpful when we appear before him with the gifts.” In 1662 Ambassador Dircq van Adrichem and his companions Joan Elpen and Ferdinandus de Laver appeared before the throne of the Mogul Emperor Aurangzeb (r. 1658-1707) in Delhi and “according to this country’s custom they humbly rendered homage to him in the

required fashion," namely, by placing their hands on their heads thrice and stooping to the ground.⁸

Status was important in the relations between the Company and the Asian courts, where merchants enjoyed little esteem. Relations with rulers and government officials were generally maintained by the head of the local VOC establishment or factory. Offering gifts was part of a fixed ritual in which the Company reconfirmed its acceptance of the host's sovereignty and reestablished its own trading rights. It certified the relation between the foreign merchants and the court.⁹ Moreover, it was an obvious way of capturing the favor and securing the goodwill of the rulers. Conversely, where the VOC gained territorial and political power, as in the Indonesian archipelago, it conducted itself as an Asian power. There the Company was treated as the "Great Lord" whose protection and support were sought.¹⁰ The Company dispatched an embassy only in exceptional cases. These embassies, often very costly enterprises, were regarded by the rulers of the great Asian empires as tribute missions, wherefore they were not reciprocated.¹¹ The diplomatic status of the Dutch was also low, because the Dutch Republic had no king. When called for, Company officials explained away the alien concept of a republic by designating the Stadtholder, the Prince of Orange, "King of Holland."¹² The Prince of Orange was quite willing to accommodate the Company in this stratagem and to lend more weight to letters sent on behalf of the Company to Asian monarchs by signing them.¹³ In certain circumstances the VOC was able to change its status vis-à-vis a ruler; this occurred in Mataram, where the Company rose from the lowly status of a vassal paying tribute to the Sultan in 1680 to becoming the supreme ruler of this Javanese kingdom in 1740.¹⁴

Gift-Giving

The territory covered by the VOC's charter was vast: east of the Cape of Good Hope, it stretched from Mocha (Yemen) in the west of Asia to Japan in the east. The Company's representatives interacted with numerous sovereigns, princes, and officials over a period of two centuries. The extent of the records they left us covers over 1,300 m. in the National Archives in The Hague. It is a huge undertaking to go through the enormous quantity of documents for information about the Company's gift-giving; this contribution can only offer a brief survey of the subject.¹⁵

Gift-giving was of major importance for dealings with all Asians.¹⁶ In Japan, Jacques Specx, the first head of the Japan factory established on Hirado in 1609, warned his superiors as early as 1610: "Every year we shall have to present many gifts, for, in my opinion, there is no country under the sun where one has to make as many presentations as one does here. It is hardly possible to visit anyone, even a commoner, without taking him something."¹⁷ It was a fact of life that without gifts foreign merchants would not get access to court or indeed to any highly placed person.¹⁸ That a delegation could not expect to accomplish anything if it approached a king or grandee empty-handed is echoed many times in letters from the servants managing the VOC offices. One example is a letter written by Barent Pietersz from Surat, India, in 1638:

I have advised you that in this country one cannot show up empty-handed when one wishes to achieve anything from the king and the grantees and that one should have some rarities or something else to offer or present to them when one wishes to promote our affairs and trade with them, for by such means, by offering them some trifles once in a while, we

draw the hearts and feelings of the grantees more towards us when one needs them on occasion than one would by presenting them thousands of rupees.¹⁹

Hendrick van Wijck, stationed in Gamron, Persia, wrote in a similar vein to the Heren XVII (the Board of Governors in the Netherlands):

The *shahbandar*²⁰ told us that it would be in our interests if the director went to the court in person, now that the Company's affairs are under discussion there. No doubt he would be able to achieve something on behalf of the Company. But because we have no rarities which are needed for such a mission and have not been authorized by Batavia to carry one out, we could not take this decision. We therefore excused ourselves to the *shahbandar*, saying that we could not appear empty-handed at court and before the king and that we trusted that next year a number of rarities would be sent here for this purpose. Therefore, we are looking forward to receiving the rarities we have ordered and also some other new curiosities which are unknown to us and which will undoubtedly please the court.²¹

The status of the ruler and his position vis-à-vis the Company were reflected in the value of the gifts offered. At the top were imperial rulers such as the Great Mogul of India, the Shogun of Japan, the Emperor of China and the Shah of Persia. They were treated very differently than rulers of vassal states such as the King of Siam, who paid tribute to the Emperor of China. At a lower level still were the much weaker sultans and other rulers in the Indonesian archipelago.²² Another distinction made by Company officials that affected the amount and value of gifts they offered were the circumstances governing whether the VOC had obtained favorable trading conditions from a ruler through

diplomacy and *schenkage* – the presentation of (tribute) gifts – or had used violence to coerce trade rights.²³ In so-called *schenkage* territories larger and more precious gifts were offered than in *conqueste* territories. In the latter, where the Dutch were lord and master, there was no need to splurge on gifts. The number and value of gifts were also dictated by issues of hierarchy. The ruler received the most gifts or those of the highest value or greatest rarity. The gifts for sons, officials, nobles, or others were scaled down commensurate with their position in the pecking order.²⁴ This was true everywhere, even the government of Batavia.

Two instances illustrating this are the apportionment of gifts for the Raja of Bone and the Raja of Gowa on Sulawesi (Celebes), and for the Sultan of Johor and his regent. In 1698 the members of the High Government sent both rajas gifts.²⁵ From Governor-General Willem van Outhoorn (r. 1691-1704), Raja Bone received gifts worth 688 rixdollars: two mirrors with gilt frames; two Persian *alcatieven* (carpets); a sword with a hilt made of *sawasa*²⁶; a pair of lacquered cabinets; two lacquered shields; six small lacquered boxes; 28 pieces of glassware; three cases of rose water, and 40 pieces of assorted fabrics. Seven other members of the Batavia government sent him gifts, mainly fabrics, ranging in value from 15 to 120 rixdollars, making up a total of 1,162 rixdollars for the whole presentation. In the Company's pecking order, Raja Gowa ranked below Raja Bone. Batavia considered Bone an equal because Bone had been the Company's ally in a war, whereas Gowa had fought against the Company. Gowa was therefore ranked a vassal and was presented with fewer gifts and of lower value.²⁷ The gifts that Gowa received from van Outhoorn cost 304 rixdollars and consisted of a mirror with a gilt frame; a sword with a hilt made of *sawasa*; two lacquered shields; four betel boxes and two dishes; fourteen pieces

of glassware; a case of rose water; and nine pieces of assorted fabrics. Gowa received gifts of fabrics and a *sawasa* tobacco box from three other government officials. His presentation cost 391 rixdollars.

In February 1687, the High Government sent gifts to Mahmud, the *Yang di-Pertuan*, Sultan of Johor, who was still a minor, and to his regent, Dato Paduka Raja of Johor.²⁸ The gifts for the *Yang di-Pertuan* were a small box with various fragrant essential oils, two cases of rose water, 12 pounds of cloves, 12 pounds of nutmeg, 12 pounds of mace, 12 pounds of cinnamon, seven pieces of black *baftas brootchia*,²⁹ seven pieces of white *baftas brootchia*, one gilded flint-lock gun, and one pair of gilded pistols. The Paduka Raja received a small box with various fragrant essential oils, one case of rose water, 8 pounds of cloves, 8 pounds of nutmeg, 8 pounds of mace, 8 pounds of cinnamon, nine pieces of black *baftas brootchia*, nine pieces of white *baftas brootchia*, and one double flint-lock gun with two barrels.

Gifts given to and received from the Company's relations were recorded and evaluated both by the VOC and the other party. "The amount and value of the gifts denoted the wealth and power of the giver, as well as his goodwill towards the recipient."³⁰ Gifts could serve as a gauge of the health of a given relationship. "A delay in the presentation or a lessening of the value of gifts could be construed as signs of a cooling-off of relations."³¹ Another reason for evaluating gifts was that in general return gifts of roughly equal value had to be given. Company servants frequently complained that their gifts were not evaluated at their true value because the recipients had no yardstick by which to measure them. As a trading company which had to keep accounts of all income and expenditure, the VOC was sorely grieved that it spent much more on gifts than it received in return.

Certain grand occasions called ineluctably for the presentation of gifts. Embassies dispatched to congratulate a Great Mogul of India or the Shah of Persia on his accession to the throne could not avoid presenting an impressive gift (see plate 13.2). The same applied to an important anniversary, for instance the sixtieth anniversary of the reign of the Chinese Qianlong Emperor. On occasion embassies were also sent to pay tribute, such as those sent to the Shunzi (r. 1644-1661) and Kangxi Emperors of China (r. 1661-1722) in an effort to obtain access to the Chinese market and to the Susuhunan of Mataram on Java, the largest kingdom in the Indonesian archipelago. In Japan and Ceylon, Company servants went on a mission to the court every year to present gifts on behalf of the Company in return for trading privileges. In Japan, the annual gifts to the Shogun were in lieu of tolls and taxes.³² In Ceylon, the VOC had to dispatch an embassy to the king's court in Kandy every year with lots of gifts in exchange for the king's permission to peel cinnamon bark in his territory and transport it on his roads to Company ships.³³ In other regions, the frequency and size of the presentations depended on the relationship of the VOC with the local ruler. Gifts were taken along when a VOC envoy was dispatched to negotiate a treaty or contract, settle an issue, or confirm the good bonds between the ruler and the VOC (see plate 13.3). Major occasions in the lives of rulers, such as the birth of a prince or a marriage, also warranted the presentation of gifts. Moreover, as indicated by the remarks of Jacques Specx and Barent Pietersz quoted above, not only the rulers, great and small, but also his nobles and officials, high and low, and even commoners and servants had to be offered gifts on a regular basis.

The Company's expenditure on gift-giving ran high: according to the trade journal of

Batavia Castle, the VOC's Asian headquarters, at the close of the financial year on 30 November 1640, the expenses recorded for gift-giving amounted to 1,165,448 guilders, compared to general expenses of 11,544,669 guilders on a total expenditure of 52,145,902 guilders. On 1 December 1645 the journal records expenditures of 3,236,484 guilders on fortifications for the whole of the East Indies for the previous financial year, compared to 1,639,956 guilders on gifts. For the years 1688 and 1689, general expenses amounted to 73,349,924 guilders and those for gift-giving to 8,927,362 guilders.³⁴ A comparison of expenses for gift-giving in the major VOC offices in 1690 shows that the Japan factory spent the most on gifts, but the factories in India (Coromandel, Surat, and Bengal), which each spent about half as much, were in fact the most profitable.³⁵ In Japan, the value of the annual VOC gifts to the Shogun and other government officials for whom gifts were also compulsory varied over time. In 1625 they totaled around 11,515 guilders. In the 1660s the annual expenditure on gifts for the Edo court was around 26,000 guilders. This was not the VOC's only expenditure on gifts in Japan: every year the Nagasaki officials and servants had to be presented with gifts as well and the cost for these was not a petty sum.³⁶ The presentation offered to the Japanese government in 1633 to end the embargo placed on Dutch trade in 1628 was valued at 43,706 guilders.³⁷ The gifts for the Kangxi Emperor presented by Ambassador Vincent Paets in 1686 were worth 30,000 guilders and those for various officials along the road from Fuzhou, the starting point in China, to Peking, were worth 31,000 guilders.³⁸ The total costs of the embassy to the Shah of Persia in 1702 amounted to 157,694 guilders,³⁹ while Josua Ketelaar's embassy to the Great Mogul in 1711-1713 came to a staggering 1,201,495 guilders, of which 600,858 guilders were spent on gifts (see plate 4.1).⁴⁰

There was a limit to the VOC's liberality. When the Prince of Tonkin returned the gifts which the High Government sent him in 1678, demanding that they be augmented, Batavia sent him half as much in 1679. The Governor-General and Council of the Indies instructed the head of the Tonkin factory, Johannes Besselman, that, should the king and prince complain again, these Tonkinese royals should politely be informed of their sentiment on the matter of gift-giving:

A presentation of gifts cannot truly bear that name unless it is done voluntarily and without compulsion. What matters is not the magnitude or largesse, but the sincere affection it represents. The gifts we present to the king and prince are an acknowledgement of the trade which we conduct in their territory. The deciding factor is therefore the extent of the trade, whether large or small, and the profits we derive from it.⁴¹

Requests for Gifts: *Eisen*

When the Dutch first sailed to Asia at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century with the intent to trade and bring back riches from the East, they knew little of the many regions and cultures they would encounter. Nor did they have a clear idea of how best to achieve their goals. For one thing, they were not well supplied with gifts. It took a while before the Dutch realized, through trial and error, that gifts were indispensable for doing business in Asia and that these had to fit the occasion and match the status of the recipient.

In 1609, when VOC representatives requested trading rights and permission to establish a trading factory in Japan from Tokugawa Ieyasu (r. 1603-1605), the country's *de facto* ruler, all they had to offer him were two cases of raw silk,

some lead, two gold goblets, and the promise that the next ships would bring better gifts.⁴² In order that the Heren XVII in the Netherlands be better prepared when they dispatched the next fleet, Jacques Specx, the head of the newly established Hirado factory, performed preliminary enquiries to find out what kind of goods were in demand and what types of gifts would find favor with the ruler and the officials who had any say over trade.

This procedure soon became part of standard VOC practice. Factors in VOC establishments all over Asia compiled lists of goods to be provided, for trade or gifts. At first these lists, *eisen*, were incorporated in letters sent to the Heren XVII in the home country, but after the foundation of Batavia as the VOC's Asian headquarters, the letters went there. In Batavia, the diverse recommendations and requests for goods from all establishments were combined and then sent on to the VOC establishment in the country which supplied those particular goods for fulfillment.⁴³ Thus all orders from the Netherlands and Asian offices for Japanese lacquer were collected in Batavia and sent on to the Japan factory which took care of the order. Glass was produced in Europe, hence all requests for glassware were sent to the Heren XVII for fulfillment. Separate lists of gifts, known as *eisen tot schenkage*, were also drawn up.⁴⁴ Models or drawings of the desired items were sometimes supplied, such as these drawings of glassware (fig. 13.1) and horses for the Shogun (fig. 13.2). The sheet illustrated is one of four drawing a picture of acceptable and unacceptable qualities in the horses. Similar drawings were also made for horses ordered for the King of Kandy on Ceylon.⁴⁵

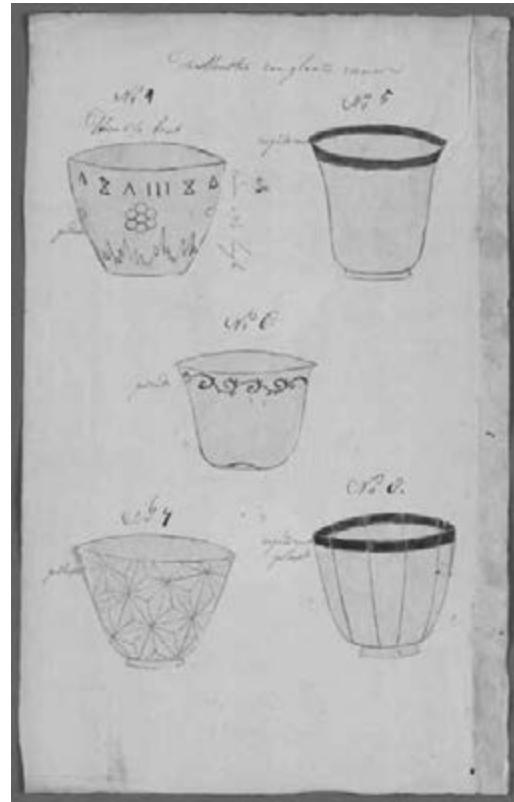


Fig. 13.1: *Eis*, Sketches of Glassware Ordered by the Japanese, 1785. Ink on Japanese paper.

Sources

The *eisen tot schenkage* are of crucial importance for the study of the kind of gifts – especially those originating from the Netherlands or Europe – that were in demand for Asian rulers and high-ranking officials. It should be made clear that the intended recipients of these gifts often intimated beforehand what they would like to receive. Court officials would also have been sounded out to ascertain the preferences of the ruler. The appendix to this article is an *eis tot schenkage* composed in 1687 by Johannes Bacherus for gift-giving in Bengal.⁴⁶

Other important sources to be consulted are the correspondence between the Heren XVII in the Netherlands and the Governor-General



Fig. 13.2: *Eis*, One of Four Sketches of Horses Ordered by the Japanese, 1765. Ink on Japanese Paper. The Sketches Indicate the Desirable and Undesirable Shapes, Colors and Markings.

and Council of the Indies in Batavia, as well as the letters exchanged between Batavia and the various factories spread all over Asia.⁴⁷ These documents sometimes specify the reason why a particular object was ordered or register the response of the recipient. In addition, detailed information on presentations is often found in the report on an embassy or a court journey (*hofreis*) and in the diaries (*Dagregisters*) which all offices were required to keep.⁴⁸ In the case of the Japan factory, we also have shipping lists and trade journals.⁴⁹

As desirable as it would be to research these gift exchanges from indigenous sources as well, it may prove to be either impractical or impossible. The repositories that survive present problems in terms of access and intelligibility – one needs to be a language specialist – while other

archives have been destroyed altogether. For instance: Ayutthaya, the capital of the Kingdom of Siam, where the Dutch traded from 1608 to 1765, was razed to the ground by the invading Burmese army in 1767. The Afghan invaders who ruled over Persia in the 1720s deliberately destroyed the archives of the Safavid court, with which the Dutch had been doing business for a hundred years. Even in Japan, where records of the gifts presented to the Shogun are preserved, the sources are not as rich and detailed as those of the VOC.

Range of Items

The items that were ordered and presented as gifts cover a wide range of goods. Textiles,

both from Europe and Asia, take up the largest share. Arms from the Netherlands (pistols, guns, cannon, and armor) were quite welcome. So were scientific tools such as compasses, telescopes, weather-glasses, and microscopes. Among other frequently presented items were globes (usually a pair of celestial and terrestrial globes), spyglasses, mirrors, spectacles with frames of ivory, gold or tortoiseshell, reading glasses, magnifying glasses, burning glasses, and window panes (both plain and painted with scenes, houses, ships, or birds). Also popular were glass and crystal ware, glass toys and miniatures, as well as *boekspiegels* (folding mirror cases made of gilt leather). Sheets of gilt leather were required for various regions. Paintings feature on the lists only occasionally. Gold jewelry and gems regularly show up, as do coral (both beads and branched coral from Sicily); amber from the Baltic; narwhal horn (called unicorn horn in the documents); and Nuremberg articles, especially mechanical devices like mice which could move across a table, dolls, or mountain landscapes with chirping or singing birds in trees. Even toothpicks and *potloodpennetjes* (lead pencils) were popular gifts.⁵⁰ We come across books, timepieces (both pocket watches and clocks), surgical instruments, scissors, knives, knife handles made of various materials, blades, traveling cases with a set of instruments including a knife, scissors, a spoon, and a toothpick, and also jewel caskets and cabinets. Ceramics from Holland were often made to special order in Delft (fig. 13.3). Stoneware from Germany, particularly Siegburg, was also frequently shipped to Asia. Porcelain from China and Japan, and from the latter country lacquerware; *alcatieven* (carpets or rugs), rose water and fruits from Persia; preserves and candied fruit and spices; wines and spirits; essential oils made from spices from the Moluccas, which were quite expensive⁵¹; all of these were regular gift items. Even live animals,

especially birds (see plate 13.4), dogs and horses, were presented in quite large numbers. A collateral benefit of the research into the interest of Asians for certain “rarities” as gifts is that it provides a distant mirror to technological developments in Europe.

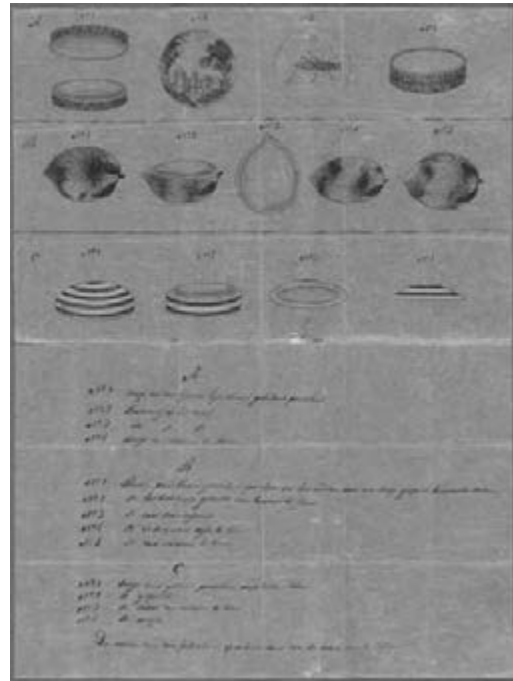


Fig. 13.3: Eis, Sketches of Small Colored Porcelain Boxes Ordered by the Japanese from the Netherlands, 1823. Ink and Colors on Japanese Paper.

Rarities

In the records, almost all these goods are listed under the heading of *rariteiten*, rarities. A rarity could be an object of art which was appreciated for its exotic origin, its rareness or singularity. It could be expensive, but not necessarily; some curiosities had little financial value. Although *rariteiten* were by their nature nonstandard, the term was also applied to standard trade goods, such as textiles that were particularly

expensive, for instance gold cloth, or items made to order. Even small trinkets, if they were novelties or difficult to obtain, were highly prized. As Barent Pietersz remarked: "Sometimes we can achieve more from the high officials with small trinkets than we would by giving them large gifts."⁵² In a different vein Jacques Specx observed that the Japanese were willing to pay handsomely for anything that was "unavailable here, suited them, and was strange and curious, for as soon as someone had obtained something new, the others would strive to have it as well."⁵³ Rarities were particularly successful as gifts if they were objects which the rivals of the VOC, specially the English, could not obtain or only with great difficulty.⁵⁴

Specifications

The *eisen* occasionally remarked that a certain article no longer need be sent. Sometimes updated models were ordered, or a particular decorative motif or quality grade specified. In 1641, Wollebrant Geleijnsz de Jong wrote to the High Government in Batavia that paintings depicting sea battles were not appreciated by Shah Safi of Persia (r. 1629-1642), but paintings of "beautiful people, women, banquets, parties, anything smacking of luxury" would be welcome.⁵⁵ The general *eis* sent from Batavia to the Heren XVII in 1641 stated: "No large paintings, but a number of other new, small rarities as have been sent before, such as small paintings which are shown through a small, round mirror, the lewder⁵⁶ the better and each small painting should have a mirror, so that we can distribute them to several places," but the next year the High Government wrote to the Heren XVII: "No paintings are expected until further orders. They are not at all popular in Batavia or elsewhere."⁵⁷ "Lewd" images, if we may call them so, are also requested in

Bacherus's memorandum of 1687. Considering that the items which Bacherus ordered were meant for Muslims, who were thought to disapprove of the portrayal of humans or animals, it is a matter of surprise that he specified "eight pairs of gilt leather screens, with large flowers and cupids; five pairs of ordinary painted screens, no landscapes, but with depictions of large naked women, and charming creatures, painted nonchalantly for enjoyment and not covered with modesty" and "six cellarets [...] with paintings or prints of naked Venuses and Dianas on the inside of the covers."⁵⁸ For 1674, Batavia ordered from the Netherlands for King Narai of Siam (r. 1656-1688) not only hats with high crowns but also "four pieces of gilt leather and four pieces of silver leather to sit on; each piece should consist of four sheets joined together, decorated with flowers or foliage, but no animals or human figures."⁵⁹ In the 1730s, the Bengal director ordered "four crystal cut hookahs, for the Patna office, because the Muslims are very fond of those" and 40 pairs of spectacles, "including a number of extra beautiful, fine ones, because the Muslim grandees do not care for the common kind and often bother us for them." Batavia sent the 40 pairs of spectacles but told the director that crystal hookahs were not at hand and had been ordered from the Netherlands.⁶⁰

Eisen were not always that specific; we also find phrases like "please send some rarities which can be used here as gifts but which we cannot specify."⁶¹ The Heren XVII were urged to provide any European rarities they could lay their hands on and not to mind the cost. These objects would capture the favor of those in high places and work to the advantage of the Company.⁶²

Securing Goodwill

The message was not lost on the Heren XVII. The records on Japan abound in such passages as “We are most willing to fulfill your order for rarities and especially those for Japan so that we may gain the favor of the Shogun and the grandees.”⁶³ The Company servants were expected to do their best to secure the goodwill of the grandees who had most influence on the sovereign. The best way to do this was to present them every year with gifts from Europe that appealed to each individual recipient.⁶⁴ The Company urged its representatives in Asia “to keep thinking about gifts which might find approval there so that the Shogun of Japan and other sovereigns in the Indies would become more and more attached to the Company.”⁶⁵

Trial

On occasion the Heren XVII sent a “rarity” as a way of testing the local market. One such case concerns an old jug, which Governor-General Antonio van Diemen (r. 1636-1645) claimed had been used by Jacoba, Countess of Holland, who had died two hundred years before. He sent it to the Japan factory to find out whether the Japanese, who were curious by nature, would appreciate such an item. He included a description of Jacoba’s life and how she had used the jug.⁶⁶ The reply came by return ship: the Japanese to whom François Caron, the head of the factory, showed the jug praised its age but criticized its shape, which was useless to them. Caron informed van Diemen that the *daimyō* (lord) of Hirado, the place where the Dutch factory was located at this time, had a jar half the size of the Jacoba jug. Caron had often seen the jar, and he knew that it cost 10,000 taels.⁶⁷ Caron further wrote that other lords had jars, cups, and other items worth 60

to 80,000 taels.⁶⁸ The objects concerned were attributes of the tea ceremony, for which the Japanese would pay vast sums of money if it appealed to their taste.⁶⁹ Caron realized that the reason the Japanese were uninterested in the Jacoba jug was that it was unfit for Japanese usage.⁷⁰

Expectation and Disappointment

The Company could draw on various sources for its gifts to Asian partners. Custom-made objects could be ordered from Europe or one of the VOC establishments in Asia, but it was also possible to draw on the stock of ready-made items at hand in Batavia or to purchase them en route from merchants or private individuals. When a presentation was prepared, a list of the gifts was compiled and this was either inserted in the body of the Governor-General’s letter accompanying the presentation or sent as a separate memorandum. Unfortunately, the latter have been lost. Problems could arise when the gifts were not specified in the letter to the ruler, as the case of Zacharias Wagenaer’s mission to Amangkurat I, Susuhunan of Mataram (r. 1646-1677), shows.

In 1667, Wagenaer was dispatched as an envoy to the Susuhunan to greet him on the Company’s behalf. The last mission, headed by Winrick Kieft in 1655, had been a disaster. Apart from the huge expenses incurred, Amangkurat had refused to grant the envoy an audience and the costly gifts had to be left behind. Because of this affront, the Company had an aversion to the Mataram court and had not sent an envoy for twelve years. When the governor of Japara intimated to Governor-General Joan Maetsuyker (r. 1653-1678) that the Susuhunan would appreciate a Dutch embassy to his court and had promised that he would receive the envoy with all due honors and respect, the

Governor-General and the Councillors of the Indies decided to put aside their grievances and send an embassy. They were mindful that postponing an embassy for much longer would lead to an estrangement that might hurt the alliance between Mataram and Batavia. The goal of the mission was therefore to greet the ruler, renew the alliance, and strengthen the friendship which had existed between the two parties for many years. The gifts which the High Government had selected for Amangkurat were noted on a separate memorandum.⁷¹ Customarily, the Mataram court would reciprocate diplomatic gifts with a quantity of rice. On this occasion, the High Government let it be known that it would prefer a fair number of the best horses, sugar, a few ships' loads of timber and other supplies of local origin. Wagenaer was instructed not to ask openly for these gifts, but to make discreet inquiries concerning the possibility of receiving them. Should the response be negative, the High Government would content itself with rice. Wagenaer was also given gifts for the Susuhunan's eldest son, for the governor of Japara, who would act as mediator, and other grandees at the court. The whole presentation was estimated at 24,000 guilders, of which 15,000 guilders were spent on gifts for the ruler, 3,000 guilders on those for his son, 2,000 guilders on those for the governor, and 4,000 on the gifts for the courtiers. Wagenaer was given the liberty to re-allocate the gifts if necessary. The letter to the Susuhunan was written in Dutch, Malay, and Javanese and was wrapped in a silver woolen cloth. The letter to the governor was written in the same languages and wrapped in yellow satin.⁷²

In his report to Governor-General Maetsuyker after completion of his mission, Wagenaer wrote that Amangkurat had not been pleased with the gifts designated for him and that the envoy had been pressed to augment them. The ruler of Mataram was also

dissatisfied because the governor of Japara had misled him into thinking that a gold horse, a gold cock and a silver chest would be among the gifts. Mataram court officials suggested to Wagenaer that another embassy be sent to appease Amangkurat or he would ban the Company from trading in his territory. Wagenaer also complained to his superiors that he and his companions had been suspected more than once of having stolen or withheld items from the gifts for the Susuhunan. This suspicion arose because the gift items had been listed not in the letter to His Majesty, but in a separate memorandum. The ruler and his officials were furious and demanded an ambassador who was not a thief. To add to the drama, the Company gifts were estimated by the Mataram court below their value. In Wagenaer's opinion, the "greedy" ruler had imagined or had been made to believe that because the Governor-General had not sent him gifts in twelve years, this year's embassy would be exceptionally well endowed. The result was that in return for the gifts worth around 15,000 guilders presented to him on behalf of the VOC, Amangkurat sent its envoy packing with a "niggardly" reciprocal gift of 90 *coyang*⁷³ of rice and as many bags of saltpeter. Amangkurat awarded the envoy Wagenaer a personal gift of a *kris*, three horses, and a *coyang* of rice.⁷⁴

Procuring gifts or having them made to order could prove to be a problem. Wars in Europe sometimes made it difficult or impossible to obtain certain goods. Ships carrying gifts that foundered en route and other mishaps could place the High Government in an embarrassing position, as the following case shows. At the end of August 1681 Governor-General Rijckloff van Goens (r. 1678-1681) wrote to King Narai of Siam that he was unable to send him the small solid gold casket which the king had sent to be enameled in Holland a few years back. Eighteen months after her departure from Holland, the

ship had still not arrived at Batavia. The casket and other goods (34 hats of various colors fashioned after a sample) which had been made for the king in Holland were presumably lost at sea, but van Goens had ordered replacements. The other items which Narai had ordered were now being shipped to him. In addition to these, van Goens sent a fine enameled, Jacob Wilst, and a stonemason, Abraham van Someren, to replace the two craftsmen with whose work Narai had been dissatisfied and who had been sent back to Batavia.

Van Goens also sent the king a number of gifts: "a very curious timepiece which can run for 28 hours consecutively in a double gold case; two enameled gold telescopes, one bigger than the other, very beautiful and precious; six very elegant writing-books of various sizes; six of the best pairs of spectacles in their cases, for people of varying ages." Narai had ordered these items from Holland five years previously and they had arrived in Batavia in 1678, but had been stolen along with other precious items. In order to oblige the king, the items had again been ordered from Holland and had recently arrived. They were now offered to Narai "as worthy to be used by the hands of great kings like Your Majesty." In addition to these gifts, van Goens sent

a very large, costly lantern made of brass, to decorate your royal court, the likes of which have never before been made in the fatherland, wherefore it is very expensive and can only be used to be presented to great kings. A small cabinet made of cinnamon-wood and mounted with gold; such wood or such large pieces of cinnamon are very difficult to come by in the land of cinnamon [Ceylon], which is why it takes a very long time to collect such pieces. Four very beautiful halberds made of cinnamon-wood, the points of which are very curiously inlaid with silver. Four canes made

of cinnamon-wood. A tray made of cinnamon-wood, carved decoratively. Twelve goblets and cups made of cinnamon-wood, which are very beautiful; never before have we received such items from the land of cinnamon, nor have we seen any suchlike here. A case containing various cut glasses and rarities of glass, ordered expressly from our masters in the fatherland to satisfy Your Majesty's curiosity. Three live cockatoos and eight live cassowaries. A piece of very costly and royal gold cloth, 13 ells long and about 1¼ ells wide and a very costly *alegia* [silk fabric], almost completely wrought with gold.

Even though "rare and curious items" were presently not available, the High Government had done its best to select gifts it thought would please the king.⁷⁵

Appreciation

King Narai duly responded. In late January 1682 his letter and return gifts of a gold water bowl and a quantity of tin were received with the requisite pomp and ceremony in Batavia. The king noted the arrival of the enameled Jacob, with whom he was pleased, and acknowledged the contents of van Goens's letter explaining the nonarrival of the small enameled gold casket and other items that were ordered from Holland. Narai requested van Goens's mediation to achieve that another enameled gold casket, besides the hats, telescopes and other items of which he had provided samples be sent the next monsoon. He also requested two brass lanterns with glass panes like the one van Goens had sent him, in which he took great pleasure.

Four months later Cornelis Speelman (r. 1681-1684), van Goens's successor as Governor-General, informed Narai that the ship carrying

the casket and the hats was still missing, but the other items which he had ordered from Holland had been brought by other ships last year and had been sent to him, namely a piece of red *laken* [woolen cloth], a case containing an assortment of beautiful glasses; four pairs of gilt and silver leather boots; 60 pieces of diverse gilt and silver leather, including 20 gilt and silver leather sleeves; and 8 pieces of gold and silver moire [watered silk]. Narai had returned the piece of red *laken*, about which Speelman was not happy as this color was not popular elsewhere, causing a loss to the Company. The four pocket watches which Narai had sent to be repaired were now running as they should and were returned to him.

The gifts which Speelman obligingly sent Narai were

a very large costly lantern made of brass, the very image of the one sent to the king last year and which had pleased the king very much, so much so that he had asked for two more. Fortunately one had been available, besides another one of similar fashion but somewhat smaller. The smaller one could be hung between the two larger ones in the king's court, which was the way that the Dutch did.

The lanterns were not the only Dutch gifts for Narai. He also received

162 very decoratively painted glass panes, ordered expressly from Holland for His Majesty, made up of 53 panes with all kinds of flowers, 56 panes with all kinds of birds, and 53 with ships. Four pieces of gold and silver lace, which had also been expressly ordered from Holland for the king. One piece of Dutch gold cloth, with gold and silver flowers on a carnation-colored and silver ground made in the most costly fashion. Seven rough blocks of marble of variegated colors, 16 feet square in all. Four

blocks of white marble, 16½ feet square, all of which had been ordered from the fatherland expressly for His Majesty.

Narai also received Asian items:

A small cinnamon-wood cabinet which mistakenly had been mounted with silver, but we trust that it will not displease His Majesty because His Majesty does not heed the value but is mainly interested in its curiosity and because it is not a common item. Four very beautiful halberds, very curiously inlaid with silver and with black lacquered handles. Four similar ones with cinnamon-wood handles. Four long flintlock barrels inlaid with silver. Four pistols of similar fashion. All these items have been expressly made for His Majesty in Ceylon and have recently arrived from there. Two pieces of Japanese silk fabrics which the Company ordered from there and were made in good faith that they would please His Majesty. A piece of purple *laken*, 60 ells long. A piece of green and gold moire, 52 ells long. A piece of orange-yellow moire with gold, 54 ells long. And finally, if we receive them, some birds which we have ordered for His Majesty.⁷⁶

All the objects which were ordered and custom-made in the Netherlands for the King of Siam no longer exist. A prime example of a custom-made gift which still exists is a beautiful, large brass chandelier with thirty branches, made in Amsterdam in 1634 on the orders of the Heren XVII to show their gratitude to Shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu (r. 1623-1651) after he had lifted the embargo which had been placed on Dutch trade in Japan in 1628. The presentation of the chandelier to Iemitsu was a spectacular success. It was hung on a specially made wooden stand set up where he could see it. He was so pleased that he granted the Dutch a petition for which they had been campaigning for several

years. The chandelier still hangs in a specially constructed building in Nikkō Tōshōgū, the mausoleum of Ieyasu, the first Tokugawa Shogun, near Tokyo.⁷⁷

Nikkō Tōshōgū houses other masterly seventeenth-century Amsterdam brass castings that were presented to the Tokugawa Shogun.⁷⁸ On the advice of Jacques Specx, former head of the Japan factory, the man who had advised having the chandelier made, a follow-up commission was placed in Amsterdam for two large standing candelabra and 24 sconces. Although the objects were intended for Iemitsu, when they arrived in Batavia in 1639, Governor-General Antonio van Diemen thought it better to limit the gift to one candelabrum and twelve sconces to prevent such gifts from becoming common and thereby being held cheap. He moreover instructed the head of the Dutch factory to find out beforehand whether these pieces would be appreciated by the Shogun; otherwise he would employ them as gifts for the Great Mogul, the Shah of Persia, or the ruler of Golkonda. He need not have been concerned. The candelabrum drew great admiration from all the Japanese who saw it. It too was sent to Nikkō, where it stands in the open air (see plate 13.5).⁷⁹

Rather than being sent to Japan, the second candelabrum was presented in 1642 to Great Mogul Shah Jahan (r. 1628-1658). In India the gift met with a less favorable reception than in Japan. When Shah Jahan's eldest son, Dara-Shikoh, heard what the Dutch were presenting to his father, he scornfully exclaimed: "Made of copper!" Shah Jahan was more appreciative when he saw the candelabrum with the candles lit. He admired the excellent workmanship, but the next day his gold- and silversmiths were ordered to make two copies each of gold and silver.⁸⁰

Brass castings were not the only items of Dutch craftsmanship that were appreciated

by Asian rulers. The first Dutch embassy to the Qing court led by Pieter de Goyer and Jacob Keyser to request free trade in the ports of China took along a varied assortment of gifts for the Shunzi Emperor. The gifts included a cuirass, guns, swords, a saddle, costly woolen manufactures, carpets, white linen fabrics, bedcovers, spices, amber, coral, sandalwood, lacquered coffer, ivory powder horns, telescopes, large and small mirrors, and plumes. On arrival at the Manchu court in Peking in July 1656, the embassy was welcomed by mandarins who asked them all manner of questions: Who had dispatched the embassy and why? Did the Dutch people live at sea or on land? This question was posed because the Jesuit priests at the court had deceived the mandarins into thinking that the Dutch possessed no land but made their living off piracy. The mandarins also enquired about the system of Dutch government. They scrupulously inspected the list of gifts and asked pertinent questions about their country of origin, the distance between those countries and both Holland and Peking, how the articles were produced, and their use. Keyser and de Goyer duly replied. The cuirass, guns, swords and saddle had all been made in Holland, but the iron from which they had been fashioned was imported from Germany. The mandarins were amazed at the suppleness of the sword blades, imagining them to have been forged from an extraordinary substance. They were particularly interested in the gilding of the cuirass, guns, the sword hilts, the pommel, the stirrups, bars, and trimmings and wanted to know how they were made. All woolen manufactures were woven from the wool of Dutch sheep. The white linen was produced on the Coromandel Coast or Pulicat; the bedcovers came from Bengal. The lacquered coffer (which had little appeal to the mandarins) had expressly been made in Japan.

Amber was a marine product and imported from Prussia; branched coral and coral beads were also marine products collected from the seabed off Sicily. Sandalwood was obtained in Solor. The three ivory powder horns were made in Surat, and the *alcatieven* had been purchased for the Shunzi Emperor in Persia. The ambassadors also explained the origin and uses, both culinary and medicinal, of the different spices: mace, cinnamon, nutmeg, and cloves. Telescopes and mirrors, large and small, were made in Holland, but the latter were also imported from Venice. The plumes, large bird feathers, were imported from Egypt, but were trimmed in Holland and were worn by army officers and noblemen on their hats. The mandarins were satisfied with all the answers and told the Dutchmen that the Emperor would be pleased with their gifts. The officials also wanted to know if all the gifts had been sent directly from Holland the way they were packed. The ambassadors told them only those items that originated from Holland or thereabouts had been, but their government had ordered the presentation be augmented with products and rarities from Asia. After the presentation, de Goyer and Keyser were informed that the emperor, the empress, and the emperor's mother were pleased with the gifts. Nonetheless, the Company was not granted what it had set out to achieve, merely being given permission to send an embassy every eight years. Yet, it was more successful than the Russian embassy which had arrived a few months prior to the Dutch. Because the Russian ambassador Baikov refused to hand the letter from the tsar over to the mandarins, insisting that he would only hand it to the emperor himself (thus failing to observe protocol), his gifts were sent back and he was ordered to return home immediately without having been granted an audience.⁸¹

Inappropriate Gifts

That VOC officials were sensitive to the danger of presenting inappropriate gifts, is shown by the example of the brass clock or bell of Dutch form ordered to be made in the Netherlands for Shogun Iemitsu in 1638. The Japanese had requested that the Shogun's emblem, the Tokugawa *mon*, be cast on the bell. When the bell arrived in Batavia in 1641, the government observed to its horror that the emblem was upside down and that the bell could under no circumstances be sent to Japan.⁸² It is curious, though, that the lantern which was presented to Iemitsu in 1643 bears *mon* which are upside down. The presentation of this lantern had no adverse effect; in fact, it was much appreciated. The bell appears to have remained in Batavia. It resurfaced in the sources about seventy years later, when a request for it was made on behalf of the Siamese government official in charge of trade, who wished to place it in the pagoda or temple he was building in Ayutthaya.⁸³ The High Government refused the request because the bell bore the emblem of the Japanese ruler: giving it away to the Siamese, they felt, would cause the Company grave difficulties with the Japanese government, should they find out.⁸⁴

Even the presentation of properly constituted gifts could run into embarrassing difficulties. This happened with two large paintings, one of "the battle in Flanders" (probably the Battle of Nieuwpoort in 1600, a popular theme in Dutch art⁸⁵) and the other of "the sea battle between the Dutch and the English" (undoubtedly in the First Anglo-Dutch War of 1651-1654). The Company intended to present the paintings to Shogun Ietsuna (r. 1651-1680) in 1664. According to *opperhoofd* Wilhem Volger, six years before, paintings of a land and a sea battle had been expressly ordered from the then *opperhoofd*, Johannes Boucheljon, by the late Commissioner Inoue Chikugo-no-kami.⁸⁶ The order had

subsequently been executed in the Netherlands and the paintings arrived in Japan in 1663.⁸⁷ When the time came to undertake the journey to the court in Edo (present-day Tokyo), Volger began to get cold feet, since “such large pieces with their heavy frames and cases could not be transported overland without enormous effort and incurring excessive costs.” Before setting off, he took the precaution of asking the governor of Nagasaki, Kurokawa Yohyōe, “whether these paintings would find favour with the Shogun or not.”

The governor praised Volger for his prudence and asked for the paintings to be brought to his house. “He liked them very much and said that the Shogun would undoubtedly be very pleased with them. He gave orders to store them carefully and to convey them to Edo with great care to prevent them from being damaged.” The governor would have liked

to keep them at his home for two or three days for his own pleasure, but he had not dared to for fear that some disaster might occur. Therefore he had sent them back, but with express orders not to pack them again until he had had another careful look at them. He had said to Sakuemon⁸⁸ that the Dutchmen had many things in their country which were very rare here. If they knew those things and brought them [to Japan], the Shogun would be pleased.

A month later the governor “again sent for the two large paintings. He wished to have a good look at them.” A few days later the interpreters told Volger that they had been to the governor’s house with the intention of bringing the two paintings, which he had sent for in order to have another good look at them, back to Deshima. But instead of giving them the paintings, the governor had unexpectedly told them that upon looking at them again, he had found that they were not suitable for the Shogun. The only

reason he gave for this opinion was that “they depicted very sad scenes, such as dead people and sinking and burning ships. These were, he said, scenes which one could not present to someone with such a tranquil mind as the Shogun without upsetting him badly.” Volger was very discomfited by this, for he had had “four beautiful Japanese stands made on which to set them like Japanese screens, in which manner they would be presented to the Shogun.” The paintings, moreover, were an expression of the gratitude the Dutch felt they owed the Shogun for his favors, which could “only be paid back with an open and generous hand.”⁸⁹ The paintings were shipped back to Batavia in 1668.⁹⁰

Refusal

Gifts presented by the VOC were not always appreciated. Thalun, King of Ava (Burma) (r. 1629-1648), who was given a painting of the Prince of Orange in 1638, took one look at it and threw it in a corner.⁹¹ The gifts which Ambassador Paets presented to the Kangxi Emperor were accepted, but on his departure Paets was handed an imperial order for Governor-General Joannes Camphuys (r. 1684-1691) stating that some items were not acceptable as gifts for the Emperor in future. To soften the rejection, it was acknowledged that the Dutch envoy had come from afar and by sea and had brought sundry gifts. The Emperor realized that the Governor-General had gone to great expense and effort to send them to China. Therefore, should he wish to send an ambassador in the future, his envoy should not bring so many gifts, but just the following: horses; red coral; large mirrors; *laken* and crown-rash (woolen fabrics); *alcatieven*; striking clocks; cloves; sandalwood; camphor; amber; pistols and flints. The gifts the Emperor had received on this occasion which found little favor were: *alegias* with gold stripes

(a type of silk fabric); essential oils in a box; swords or backwords; velvet; mouris (cotton fabric); lanterns; a candelabrum; rummers or glasses; candied nutmeg; Spanish wine; elephant's tusk; a *porte-épée*; and small ships.⁹²

A gift could be refused because it was useless: King Phetracha of Siam (r. 1689-1703) returned the carriage sent to him by Governor-General Camphuys because it was useless in Siam. He did keep the six black horses, though, which had been sent to draw the carriage.⁹³ Two *sakpoffertjes* (pocket puffers, a type of pistol) sent to Phetracha's predecessor, King Narai, in 1684, were thrown into the water as a precaution because they were "murderous weapons which could not be used in Siam."⁹⁴

In Japan a gift would be refused if the recipient no longer felt he could be of service to the Company. There are many examples of this in the Deshima *Dagregisters*. For instance, in 1665, Makino Sado-no-kami, the *grootrechter* of Miyako,⁹⁵ who normally issued a pass to the Dutch mission for travel along the *Tōkaidō* (Great Highway) to the shogunal court, was in Edo when the time came, so that the Dutch received the pass that year from the governor of Osaka. When the Dutch visited Makino Sado-no-kami in Edo and offered him gifts, as they always did in Miyako, the *grootrechter* refused to accept them, stating that "now that he could not be of any service to them at the Court, he could not accept the gifts."⁹⁶ Another such instance occurred in 1668, when *opperhoofd* Constantin Ranst was informed by a councillor named Inoue Kawachi-no-kami that he had been promoted and Ōta Bitchū-no-kami, Lord of Hamamatsu, let him know that he had been relieved of all his posts by the Shogun because of his advanced age. Consequently, neither could accept gifts from the Dutch, "which was true to their custom," Ranst remarked.⁹⁷

Overdoing it could also be a reason for refusal. This proved to be the case in 1734, when the High Government sent an "extraordinary gift" to the Shogun Tokugawa Yoshimune (r. 1716-1745), consisting of two narwhal horns with gold caps; a set of enameled coffee ware; two large English table clocks made by George Clarke in London; eight square, white, cut-glass flasks; 24 crystal dishes; 24 dishes of cut crystal; one gold pocket watch made by Couchet in Amsterdam; one crystal chandelier with nine arms; one bass and three violins with their strings; two small metal field ordnance mounted with brass carriages and appurtenance; a set of three glass chandeliers; two yellow velvet cloths with gold fringes; two new extra large French horns; two old French horns with their mouthpieces; two violinists; one bass player; one oboist; two hornblowers; one small ship named *Ludewina* with its accessories; one outfit for a horseman consisting of a gilt carbine, a pair of gilt pistols, a stitched belt for the carbine with a gilt brass buckle, one carbine shoe with a gilt brass buckle, one carbine hook of gilt brass, one chamois cartridge box, one chamois cartridge belt with a gilt brass buckle, one gilt sword, one chamois sword belt with a gilt brass buckle, one sword shoe with hook and mount; one new Dutch carriage with its accessories; one red velvet caparison for a riding horse richly embroidered with silver and with solid mounts, silver stirrups and spurs; two blue satin covers; six stallions with their halsters, girths, snaffles, and bridles; 211 bottles of tent wine; 300 wax candles; two cellarets of *aqua vita anisi*; one dripstone; ten turkeys; an ostrich; a wild cat; a leopard; a cabinet inlaid with tortoiseshell and silver; one gilt chandelier inlaid with mirrors and twelve arms; one cut-glass bowl with cover on a stand; one crystal pyramid for preserves; four crystal candlesticks; one beautiful brown wooden cellaret with silver mounts and lined with velvet containing twelve large and sixteen

small crystal flasks; 36 square fine glass flasks with silver screws; ten flasks containing attar of roses; one crystal candlestick with a gilt foot and six arms; one goglet with gold and silver mounts; two paintings, one depicting a battle and the other a fight between a lion and a dog; three small enameled gold filigree chests; six small enameled silver filigree chests; two silver plates or tea trays; turpentine and mastic gum for the paintings; four blue satin covers with gold and silk trimmings.⁹⁸ Governor-General Dirk van Cloon (r. 1731-1735) sent this gift in response to an award by Yoshimune of an extra quantity of copper. The reason the Japanese gave for the Shogun's refusal was that it was not fitting that the Dutch gave him a gift for his gift, which he had given them in recompense for the great efforts the Dutch had expended to provide him with horses.⁹⁹

Reciprocal Gifts

As the powerful sovereigns considered the VOC gifts a presentation of tribute, their return gifts gave expression to their understanding of the Dutch role in their realm. In most of Asia, textiles or robes were the standard reciprocal gifts. From Shunzi and Kangxi, Emperors of China, Ambassadors Pieter de Goyer and Jacob Keyser (1656), Pieter van Hoorn (1667) and Vincent Paets (1687) received silk fabrics and refined silver as return gifts for Governors-General Maetsuyker and Camphuys, respectively.¹⁰⁰ In Japan, where silk kimonos were the standard gift from the supreme ruler to the *daimyō*, the lords of the land,¹⁰¹ the Shogun gave the Company thirty thickly wadded silk kimonos.¹⁰² These gowns became known in Europe as "Japonsche rocken." The Shogun's heir, called "crown prince" by the Dutch, gave the Company twenty kimonos. On special occasions the Shogun might additionally give a number of

bars of silver or a quantity of copper, as in the case just mentioned. High officials who had received gifts from the Dutch also gave silver or kimonos in return, although the gowns were of lesser quality.¹⁰³

Robes of honor, *sarapa*¹⁰⁴ or *khil'at*, were the standard reciprocal gift of the Moguls of India.¹⁰⁵ Ambassadors were given robes for the authority whom they represented but received personal robes as well. *Khanjar* (daggers) and horses were also customary. Apart from a robe of honor, Aurangzeb sent Governor-General Maetsuyker "a small sealed case containing a gold *khanjar* or knife which the Muslims carry at their side, set with rubies and emeralds, and a horse with a silver gilt saddle and bridle" as a return gift for the embassy sent to congratulate him in 1662. Ambassador Dircq van Adrichem received "a gold *khanjar* set with inferior diamonds and false rubies, a horse and a silver gilt saddle and bridle." Other grandees gave him four horses and several robes of honor of poor quality. The robes were shared among members of the delegation, while the other gifts were sent to Batavia. Similarly, Ketelaar's embassy to the Moguls received robes of honor, horses, and daggers.¹⁰⁶

Human beings, namely slaves, were regularly sent by rulers in the Indonesian archipelago to the Governor-General as reciprocal gifts. For instance, in February 1672 Governor-General Maetsuyker acknowledged the gifts of "a Timorese boy" and "a young woman or female slave" from Solor; "four Papuas of such height as indicated in the letter" from the King of Tidore, and four young slaves from the King of Buton. In October of the same year, the King of Ternate sent Maetsuyker a dagger with a sheath inlaid with amber and gold. The bearer of the dagger was a young Papua, who was also offered as a gift. The King of Tidore sent four more Papua boys; the King of Bacan sent a Papua boy; and the King of Buton "one big and one small slave."

Besides the four slaves, the King of Tidore sent “nine beautiful yellow birds of paradise and two lories, one of which could talk and the other one had also been taught, but was not yet able to do so.”¹⁰⁷

Return gifts were often staple products of a particular country. In the case of Siam, apart from gold and silverware, which were valued products of Siamese craftsmanship, and elephants, staple commodities such as tin and sappanwood often featured as reciprocal gifts.¹⁰⁸ The King of Tonkin, a major supplier of silk to the VOC, gave a quantity of raw silk.¹⁰⁹ As we have seen, the Susuhunan of Mataram customarily gave rice. These gift commodities were subsequently traded or sold by the VOC.

Some return gifts could definitely not be traded or sold, even though the VOC was encumbered by them. In this category belong the elephants presented by the King of Kandy from time to time to the governor of Ceylon. These big animals could not be put to work on Ceylon, as that would be an affront to the king. Instead, the elephants were sent to Batavia to be used as gifts elsewhere.¹¹⁰

As the ambassadors were representatives of the Company, even if they pretended to be representatives of the so-called King of Holland, the return gifts were the property of the Company and were sent to headquarters in the Netherlands. There they were put up for auction. Nor were VOC representatives entitled to keep any of the gifts presented to them personally. This rule was set out in the *artikelbrief*, the letter of articles to which all Company servants had to adhere.¹¹¹ Despite this, as time went by it became the norm that, on their return to Batavia, Company envoys kept the gifts presented to them personally as a form of reimbursement for expenses incurred. The Heren XVII objected to this practice which was in clear contravention of the articles.¹¹² As a result the High Government deferred the

decision whether or not a Company servant would be permitted to keep his gifts to the Heren XVII. An example of this was the case of Joannes Keijts.

While Keijts was stationed in Ayutthaya, he received a gold betel box, a rain hat with a gold band, a gold chain, and a gold sword as gifts from Narai and Phetracha. On his retirement as head of the Siam factory in 1689, Keijts wished to keep the gifts, arguing that he had been obliged to reciprocate with gifts of his own “according to the custom of the land.” The High Government decided to have Keijts draw up an exact account of his expenses and reciprocal gifts and to let him keep the gifts he received from the Siamese kings pending the Heren XVII’s ruling.¹¹³ In their ruling the Heren XVII reproached the High Government for failing to apply the letter of the regulations, referring them to the *artikelbrief*: Keijts should hand over the gifts. However, the High Government should recompense him for the expenses he had incurred in order to reciprocate the gifts from the Siamese court.¹¹⁴

In exceptional cases the Heren XVII would decide to let a Company servant keep the gift. When Jacques Specx retired as Governor-General in 1632, he was allowed to keep the gold chains and medallions presented to him by the Chinese and Japanese citizens of Batavia and the Siamese sword with its fittings presented to him by King Prasatthong of Siam (r. 1629-1656). But the cloves and pepper given to him by the Sultans of Ternate and Bantam were auctioned off for the benefit of the Company.¹¹⁵

Appropriation

The ultimate destination of Dutch items was appropriation in the local culture as these three concluding examples from Japan show. The

first example is a Dutch majolica albarello (see plate 13.6). This small jar was excavated from Tokugawa Hidetada's tomb¹¹⁶ and was probably a gift to him.¹¹⁷ This type of jar, made in various sizes, was used in Europe as a salve or ointment container.¹¹⁸ In Japan this particular jar was fitted with a silver lid and used as an incense burner for the tea ceremony. The adoption of diverse objects for use in the tea ceremony increased in frequency as that ritual gained popularity. Small medicine jars, for example, were used as flower vases, tea caddies, incense burners, or small braziers, depending on their size.¹¹⁹

The second example is a tobacco pouch made of gilt leather (see plate 13.7). As mentioned before, sheets of gilt leather were shipped to Asia in large numbers, where they were used to cover walls or to sit on. In Japan, however, they were also put to other uses. Sheets were cut up and refashioned into pouches, small screens, and boxes. Japanese craftsmen began to imitate Dutch gilt leather, finally developing their own Japanese gilt leather, technically similar to the Dutch product but adapted to Japanese taste.¹²⁰

The final example is a cautionary tale. In a section in his book *Kōmō zatsuwa* [Dutch Miscellany], Morishima Chūryō (1756-1810), a prominent Japanese scholar of Dutch Studies (*rangaku*), issued a stern warning to consult with an expert before collecting foreign objects. In "Black Boys When They Go to the Toilet" he describes how the "black boys"¹²¹ on Deshima "take a water flask with them when they visit the toilet. They use the water to clean their buttocks, and they will do this even when it is very cold. They hold the flask in their hand with a rattan rope. These flasks look very refined, and Hayashi Shihei¹²² told me that once a person who loved flower arrangements had made one in such a flask, which he showed to him. The man had acquired this rare Dutch-style¹²³ piece

of pottery as a vase for his flowers. This "vase," however, had its rattan rope attached to it and Hayashi Shihei told him the real original purpose of this flask. The man felt embarrassed, as he understood that it was really a very impure object." "This poor man, the story relates, was glad to have been saved from the extreme embarrassment that would have resulted from displaying flowers in this flask when receiving an important visitor."¹²⁴

Conclusion

In this survey, I have used quite a few examples from the VOC sources on Japan and illustrated it mainly with objects from Japanese collections. The main reasons for this are that the Japan factory archive is the most complete, Japanese collections are more easily accessible and most of my research has focused on that country. Admittedly, the VOC material is one-sided; Asian sources are scarcer. Much has been lost in the course of time through war and devastation. Still, with the help of archival sources, museum collections, and private collections, it is possible to reconstruct the demands of the Japanese and the gifts supplied by the Dutch in response. These findings apply *mutatis mutandis* to other Asian countries as well.

When one reads through the records of the Dutch East India Company, the picture that emerges is that on the whole Dutch Company servants went out of their way to please their Asian relations. They may have made mistakes in their gift-giving, but they adapted quite well to the circumstances. Unlike other foreigners, they bowed and kowtowed as the customs of the land dictated. Rich profits, the fruits of trade, were their goal. To obtain this they proved quite willing to spend vast sums of money on gifts for Asian rulers "om hun gunst te capteren," to capture their favor.

Appendix

Memorandum and notice for *Patria* of those goods to serve as gifts where they will be most useful for the Company and will gain the closest friendship with and most affection from the rulers and lesser regents in the province of Bengal.

VOC 1422, OBP, fo. 1504, Hugly in Bengal, 1 January 1687. Composed by Johannes Bacherus.

Woolen cloth; satin; moire; gold and silver fabrics from Haarlem or France with large flowers.

Eight pairs of gilt and silver leather screens, but the pairs should have similar grounds, otherwise those we received last are undesirable; some stuffed coarse cloth should be nailed inside the wooden crates to prevent the gilding and paint on those lovely pieces being damaged.

Eight pairs of gilt leather as before, with large flowers and cupids.

Five pairs of ordinary painted screens, no landscapes, but with depictions of large naked women, and charming creatures, painted nonchalantly for enjoyment and not covered with modesty.

A few cases of glassware, of various shapes, also round balls in which floating figures, but they should be white and clear. The covered cups, the ewers and dishes and other glassware which we have received many times before, lack this. The *Helder* is carrying a case containing many small models of light earthenware to be copied in glass. The case also contains a so-called hookah for smoking tobacco.

Knives and containers, spy-glasses, and magnifying glasses. If they are just ordinary quality, they are not esteemed nor appreciated. Therefore they should be of the finest glass and workmanship. Apart from these, some microscopes would come in handy.

You could send a batch of various kinds of *cloosterwerk*,¹²⁵ but they should be curious and well protected from moths, mites, and cockroaches.

From a shop selling Nuremberg wares: an assortment of amusing things, also dolls and animals propelled forward by springs. This will be much appreciated here. Also paper scissors and fine spectacles, but no ordinary quality.

Sword blades.

Curious hanging timepieces, not driven by a hanging weight, but by a pendulum, the 24 hours divided on the outer circle in sixty *ghari*, two-and-a-half of which make up one of our hours; these *ghari* should be cut out in Arabic or Persian characters, from 1 up to 60; and the inner circle should indicate the rotation of our 24 hours. These pieces should be of medium-size, about a foot in diameter, and set in a beautiful gilded case, with clear glass and a lock. They would please the princes and grandees extraordinarily and would be an exceptional rarity.

Six cellarets, each containing twelve bottles, of two liquid *kannen*¹²⁶ each, with silver screw tops, and glass as clear as possible, the interior embellished with cloth or something delightful and with paintings or prints of naked Venuses and Dianas on the inside of the covers as aforesaid.

Six cellarets, each containing fifteen bottles, of two liquid *kannen* each, silver screw tops as aforesaid, also for the Moors who use them for all kinds of fragrant waters.

Twenty to thirty folding mirrors with two side opening doors, with gold decoration and clear glass. Also twenty to thirty small ones, with one door.

Six large mirrors, the height of an ell or more, with clear glass without blemishes, with gilded frames decorated with lovely flowers and no figures. They would be used for princes and the most important grandees.

Notes

1. I wish to express my gratitude to the Rector of NIAS, Professor Wim Blockmans, and to Professor Leonard Blussé, Leiden University, for coming up with a solution to make my stay at NIAS possible. I am also most grateful to the Board of the Isaac Alfred Ailion Foundation for awarding me additional funding.
2. For a general introduction to the VOC, see F. S. Gaastra, *The Dutch East India Company: Expansion and Decline* (Zutphen 2003). All references to primary sources in my contribution are from the archives in the Nationaal Archief in The Hague. The finding aids are: for the archives of the Dutch East India Company (abbr. VOC): 1.04.02, Inventory by M. A. P. Meilink-Roelofs, R. Raben, and H. Spijkerman, *De archieven van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie/The Archives of the Dutch East India Company (1602-1795)* (The Hague 1992); for the archives of the Dutch factory in Japan (abbr. NFJ): 1.04.21, Inventory by M. P. H. Roessingh, 'Het archief van de Nederlandse factorij in Japan, 1609-1860' [The Archive of the Dutch Factory in Japan, 1609-1860] (The Hague 1964); for the Collectie Aanwinsten [Collection of Acquisitions]: 1.11.01.01. In all references the inventory number follows the name of the archive.
3. These terms are part of the titles of two essays by J. van Goor, 'The Dutch East India Company, Merchant and King,' in idem, *Prelude to Colonialism: The Dutch in Asia* (Hilversum 2004), 7-25; and 'Merchants as Diplomats: Embassies as an Illustration of European-Asian Relations,' in idem, *Prelude to Colonialism*, 27-47. The latter essay is a revised English translation of J. van Goor, 'De koopman als diplomaat. Hofreizen als spiegel van Europees-Aziatische verhoudingen [The Merchant as Diplomat: Court Journeys as a Mirror of European-Asian Relations],' in J. Parmentier and S. Spanoghe, eds., *Orbis in orbem; Liber amicorum John Everaert* (Gent 2001), 513-539. The references are to 'Merchant and King,' 22-25. See also the essays in E. Locher-Scholten and P. Rietbergen, eds., *Hof en Handel. Aziatische vorsten en de VOC 1620-1720* [Court and Trade: Asian Rulers and the VOC, 1620-1720], *Verhandelingen van het KITLV* 223 (Leiden 2004).
4. L. Blussé, *Visible Cities: Canton, Nagasaki, and Batavia and the Coming of the Americans* (Cambridge, Mass. 2008), 35.
5. L. Blussé, *Tussen geveinsde vrienden en verklaarde vijanden* [Between Feigned Friends and Declared Enemies], inaugural lecture, Universiteit Leiden, 8 January 1999 (Amsterdam 1999), 6; idem, *Visible Cities*, 35. The form of diplomatic exchanges and rituals of receiving and hosting emissaries are beyond the scope of my contribution. There are too many cultural variations involved and not sufficient secondary literature to rely on. One case study does not explain all. My focus is on the gifts.
6. "[A]ls van gevoele dat ik in een vreemd Land komende mij na de gebruijken moest schikken." Titsingh mentions prescribing to the maxim "When in Rome, do as the Romans do" in a letter to Sebastiaan Nederburgh, a high Company official, d.d. 26 November 1794 (Letter no. 130 in F. Lequin, intr. and ed., *The Private Correspondence of Isaac Titsingh* (Amsterdam 1990), vol. 1, 302). His observation was inspired by the English ambassador Lord Macartney's refusal to perform the kowtow shortly before. Titsingh was no novice to this ritual: a decade before he had knelt on his hands and knees for the Japanese Shogun. See also L. Wagenaar, 'Knielen of buigen? De gezantschappen van de Compagnie naar Kandy na het vredesverdrag van 1766 [To Kneel or Bow? The Company's Embassies to Kandy after the Peace Treaty of 1766],' in C. A. Davids, W. Fritschy, and L. A. van der Valk, eds., *Kapitaal, Ondernemerschap en Beleid. Studies over economie en politiek in Nederland, Europa en Azië van 1500 tot heden. Afscheidsbundel voor prof. dr. P.W. Klein* [Capital, Enterprise, and Policy: Studies on Economics and Politics in the Netherlands, Europe, and Asia from 1500 to the Present. Valedictory Volume for Prof. Dr. P. W. Klein] (Amsterdam 1996), 441-466; and idem, "Met eer en respect." Diplomatieke contacten tussen de VOC-gouverneur in Colombo en het hof van het koninkrijk Kandy, 1703-1707

- [“With Honor and Respect”: Diplomatic Contacts between the VOC Governor in Colombo and the Court of the Kingdom of Kandy, 1703-1707]; in Locher-Scholten and Rietbergen, eds., *Hof en Handel*, 227-250, for the case in Ceylon.
7. See the *Dagregisters* (diaries) of the *opperhoofden* in Japan, ed. by C. Viallé and L. Blussé and published as *The Deshima Dagregisters* by the Institute for the History of European Expansion, Leiden University, in the Intercontinenta Series.
 8. VOC 889, Batavia's uitgaand briefboek [Batavia's outgoing letterbook] (henceforth BUB), Batavia, 13 September 1665, Memorie voor Heijbert de Lairese gedesigneert om Hendrick van Wijck in de Persische directie te vervangen ende met eenen den Coninck van Persien van wegen d'E Compagnie te begroeten [Memorandum for Hubert de Lairese, appointed to replace Hendrick van Wijck as director of the office in Persia and at the same time to greet the King of Persia on the Company's behalf], fo. 506. A. J. Bernet Kempers ed., *Journal van Dircq van Adrichem's hofreis naar den Groot-Mogol Aurangzeb, 1662* [Journal of Dircq van Adrichem's Court Journey to the Great Mogul Aurangzeb, 1662], Linschoten Vereeniging XLV (The Hague 1941), 46, 160.
 9. J. van Goor, *De Nederlandse Koloniën. Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse expansie 1600-1975* [The Dutch Colonies: History of the Dutch Expansion, 1600-1975] (The Hague [1994?]), 131.
 10. Van Goor, 'Merchants as Diplomats,' 47; and idem, 'Merchant and King,' 24f.
 11. See Van Goor, *De Nederlandse Koloniën*, 133; idem, 'Merchants as Diplomats,' 46.
 12. Van Goor, *De Nederlandse Koloniën*, 133. See also C. Viallé and L. Blussé, eds., *The Deshima Dagregisters*, vol. XI, 1641-1650, Intercontinenta no. 23 (Leiden 2001), 189, Dagregister of Jan van Elseracq, 11 November 1644, and 263, Dagregister of Willem Versteeghen, 6 January 1647, for examples from Japan.
 13. VOC 316, Uitgaande missiven etc. van de Heren XVII en de kamer Amsterdam aan de kantoren in Indië [Outgoing missives etc. from the Heren XVII and the Amsterdam Chamber to the offices in the Indies] (henceforth Patriase missiven), December 1637, Heren XVII to Governor-General and Council, fo. 175v.
 14. Van Goor, 'Merchants as Diplomats,' 44.
 15. Archives in countries where the VOC had factories also have large holdings of VOC records. Gift-giving by the VOC has received little attention from historians so far. For Asia in general, see: K. Zandvliet, ed., *De Nederlandse ontmoeting met Azië, 1600-1950* [The Dutch Encounter with Asia, 1600-1950], exhib. cat. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam (Zwolle 2002); and C. Viallé, 'Tot schenckagie daar het te pas comen sal [For Gift-Giving Where It Will Be Useful],' *Aziatische Kunst*, 23.2 (1993): 2-21. For China: J. E. Wills, Jr., *Embassies and Illusions: Dutch and Portuguese Envoys to Kang-hsi, 1666-1687* (Cambridge, Mass. 1984); J. Vixseboxse, *Een Hollandsch gezantschap naar China in de zeventiende eeuw (1685-1687)* [A Dutch Embassy to China in the Seventeenth Century (1685-1687)] (Leiden 1946); and F. Lequin, *Isaac Titsingh in China (1794-1796): het onuitgegeven journaal van zijn ambassade naar Peking* [Isaac Titsingh in China (1794-1796): The Unpublished Journal of his Embassy to Peking] (Alpen aan den Rijn 2005). For Siam: H. ten Brummelhuis, *Merchant, Courtier and Diplomat: A History of the Contacts between the Netherlands and Thailand* (Lochem and Gent 1987); and Dhiravat na Pombejra, *Siamese Court Life in the Seventeenth Century as Depicted in European Sources*, Faculty of Arts Chulalongkorn University International Series no. 1 (Bangkok 2001). For Japan: T. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'Koperen kronen en waskaarsen voor Japan [Brass Chandeliers and Wax Candles for Japan],' *Oud Holland*, 93.2 (1979): 69-95; M. E. van Opstall, 'Kamelen op de landweg. Dieren als geschenk voor de shogun [Camels on the Road: Animals as Gifts for the Shogun],' in W. R. van Gulik et al., eds., *In het spoor van de Liefde: Japans-Nederlandse ontmoetingen sinds 1600* [In the Wake of the Liefde: Cultural Relations between the Netherlands and Japan since 1600], exhib. cat. (Amsterdam [1986]), 71-73; M. Chaiklin, *Cultural Commerce and Dutch Commercial Culture: The Influence of European Material Culture on Japan, 1700-1850* (Ph.D. diss., Leiden University 2003);

- C. Viallé, 'In Aid of Trade: Dutch Gift-Giving in Tokugawa Japan,' *Bulletin of the Historical Institute of the University of Tokyo* 16.3 (2005): 57-78; and P. Rietbergen, 'Ten hove geëen, ten hove ontvange. Het shogunale hof in Edo en de VOC [Procession to Court, Reception at Court: The Shogunal Court in Edo and the VOC],' in Locher-Scholten and Rietbergen, eds., *Hof en Handel*, 277-303. For Ceylon: Wagenaar, 'Knielen of buigen?' For Burma: W. O. Dijk, *Seventeenth Century Burma and the Dutch East India Company, 1634-1680* (Ph.D. diss., Leiden University 2004). For Persia: C. Speelman, *Journal der reis van den gezant der O. I. Compagnie Joan Cunaëus naar Perzië in 1651-1652* [Journal of the Journey of the East India Company Envoy Joan Cunaëus to Persia in 1651-1652], ed. A. Hotz (Amsterdam 1908); and P. Rietbergen, 'Upon a Silk Thread? Relations between the Safavid Court of Persia and the Dutch East Indies Company, 1623-1722,' in Locher-Scholten and Rietbergen, eds., *Hof en Handel*, 159-182. For India: Bernet Kempers, *Journal van Adrichem's hofreis*, and J. P. Vogel, ed., *Journal van J.J. Ketelaar's hofreis naar den Groot Mogol te Lahore, 1711-1713* [Journal of J. J. Ketelaar's Court Journey to the Great Mogul in Lahore, 1711-1713], Linschoten Vereeniging XLI (The Hague 1937). See also the other essays in this volume.
16. Here I would like to express my gratitude to my NIAS fellows for generously giving me of their time, for their support, and suggestions and information on my topic. I would like to name Edlyne Anugwom, Anna Maria Brandstetter, Arnoud Jan Bijsterveld, Michiel Leezenberg, Lodewijk Wagenaar, and in particular Johan Heilbron for his illuminating session with the theme group, which was of great help to me. I am much indebted to Gary Schwartz for doing such an excellent job improving the English of my article.
 17. VOC 1054, Overgekomen brieven en papieren uit Indië [Letters and papers received from the Indies] (henceforth OBP), Nagasaki, 3 November 1610, Jacques Specx to Heren XVII.
 18. Dhiravat, *Siamese Court Life in the Seventeenth Century*, 123. Dhiravat remarked on this in reference to the Siamese court, but his observation is valid for all Asian courts.
 19. VOC 1128, OBP, On the *Middelburg* in the roadstead off Suvali, 8 April 1637, Barent Pietersz to Governor-General and Council, fos. 11-12.
 20. Official in charge of the port and collector of tolls and duties. He was also the mediator between the sovereign and foreign merchants.
 21. VOC 1239, OBP, Gamron, 10 August 1663, Hendrick van Wijck to Heren XVII, fo. 1681.
 22. Van Goor, *De Nederlandse Koloniën*, 131; Blussé, *Tussen geveinsde vrienden*, 12.
 23. Blussé, *Tussen geveinsde vrienden*, 5, 12f.
 24. The lists of gifts presented in Japan to the Shogun, the nobles, government officials, lower-ranking officials, servants, and a host of other Japanese people are excellent examples.
 25. VOC 1589, OBP, Verdeeling van het geschenk voor Radja Bonij en Radja Goa [1698] [Appportionment of the gifts for Raja Bone and Raja Gowa (1698)], fos. 1543-1544.
 26. An alloy of copper and gold.
 27. Van Goor, *De Nederlandse Koloniën*, 134.
 28. VOC 914, BUB, Batavia, 25 February 1687, Governor-General and Council to Malacca, *Yang di-Pertuan*, the King of Johor, fo. 76.
 29. A type of fine cotton fabric made in Broach, India.
 30. Dhiravat, *Siamese Court Life*, 123.
 31. Ibid.
 32. Viallé, 'In Aid of Trade,' 58f.
 33. Wagenaar, 'Knielen of buigen?,' 442f.
 34. Collectie Aanwinsten 640, Koopmansjournalen Kasteel Batavia [Trade journals of Batavia Castle]. VOC 1458, 13 March 1690, Balance getrocken op de boeken van de generale Indische negotie [...] rakende de ommeſlag van den jaare 1688 en 1689 [Balance of the accounts of the general trade of the Indies concerning the years 1688 and 1689].
 35. VOC 1466, OBP, Generale Missive, 26 March 1691, fo. 517. The Japan factory ſpent f76,260 on gifts; Surat f38,990; Bengal f36,713; and Coromandel f32,351. The profits for the Japan factory were f521,767; for Surat f875,543; for Bengal f784,295; and for Coromandel f993,974.
 36. See the trade journals of the Dutch factory in Japan. Huiwen Koo, Professor of Economic History at National Taiwan University, and I

- are collaborating on a project on the VOC's gift-giving in Japan.
37. NFJ 832, Journaal, Hirado, 14 January 1633.
 38. Wills, *Embassies & Illusions*, 153.
 39. VOC 1652, OBP, Isfahan, 31 March 1702, Specificatie concerneerende de reecq: van de ambassade aan den Konink van Persia [Specification of the account of the embassy to the King of Persia].
 40. Vogel, *Journaal van Ketelaar's hofreis*, 348.
 41. NFJ 310, Registers van ingekomen en uitgaande brieven [Registers of incoming and outgoing letters], Batavia, 19 June 1679, Governor-General and Council to Tonkin, Johannes Besselman.
 42. Collectie Aanwinsten 1138, Resoluties genomen door de Brede raad van de *Rode Leeuw* en de *Griffioen*, vergaderd op de *Leeuw* [Resolutions taken by the Joint Council of the *Rode Leeuw* and the *Griffioen*, meeting on the *Leeuw*], 7 July 1609.
 43. Viallé, 'In Aid of Trade,' 65.
 44. Unfortunately, these lists have not been preserved in full. The *eisen* have to be gleaned from the innumerable documents in the various archives.
 45. Information kindly provided by Lodewijk Wagenaar.
 46. Johannes Bacherus was a Company merchant who had served mainly in Surat in the 1660s and 1670s. In 1684 he returned to the East Indies as second-in-command of the committee headed by Hendrik Adriaan van Rheede which was set up by the VOC governors to inspect corruption in the Company's business in India. In 1688-1689 Bacherus traveled to the court of the Great Mogul as ambassador on behalf of the VOC.
 47. The letters from the Heren XVII to the Governor-General and Council in Batavia are commonly known as the *Patriase missiven*. Those from Batavia to the Heren XVII are called the *Generale missiven*. The latter have been published from 1960 onwards in an ongoing series *Generale missiven van gouverneurs-generaal en raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën (RGP), Grote serie, ed. by W. P. Coolhaas et al. (The Hague 1960-). The thirteen volumes published so far cover the period 1610-1761. The correspondence and other documents sent between the Company establishments in Asia are in the series *Overgekomen brieven en papieren* (OBP) and Batavia's uitgaand briefboek (BUB).
 48. Regrettably, only a small number of *Dagregisters* of the various offices have been preserved. They can be found in the series *Overgekomen brieven en papieren*. The extant *Dagregisters* of Batavia Castle covering the period 1624-1682 (incomplete) were published by the Ministerie van Koloniën [Ministry of Colonies] between 1887 and 1931: *Dagh-Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant passerende daer ter plaatse als over geheel Nederlandts-India* (Batavia and The Hague). The published series consists of 31 volumes. The original manuscripts from 1683 onwards are kept in the Arsip Nasional, Jakarta. The *Dagregisters* of Zeelandia Castle on Formosa have been published in the Grote serie of the Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën (RGP), ed. by L. Blussé et al. (The Hague 1986-2000). They cover the period 1629-1662. The Japan factory *Dagregisters* (Hirado and Nagasaki) in the Archive of the Dutch Factory in Japan form an almost complete series. Since 1974 the Historiographical Institute (Shiryō Hensan-jo) of Tokyo University has been publishing joint volumes of an annotated Dutch transcription with a Japanese translation. To date the institute has published the years from 1633 to 1649: *Diaries Kept by the Heads of the Dutch Factory in Japan/Dagregisters gehouden bij de opperhoofden van de Nederlandsche factorij in Japan*. In 1986 the Institute for the History of European Expansion, Leiden University, started publishing an English edition of the marginalia of the *Dagregisters*, expanding it later on to extensive summaries, in its Intercontinenta Series: *The Deshima Dagregisters: Their Original Tables of Contents*. The thirteen volumes, ed. by T. Vermeulen et al., cover the periods 1680-1800 and 1641-1670. The Japan-Netherlands Institute, Tokyo, has published the Leiden volumes covering the years 1700-1800 in two bound editions with Japanese characters for Japanese names added as *The Deshima Diaries Marginalia*. The period 1700-1740 was ed. by R. Bachofner and P. van

- der Velde (1992) and the second volume, 1740-1800, was ed. by L. Blussé et al., (2005). The Canton factory archive also has a fair number of *Dagregisters*. The Cultural Institute of Macau has so far published an English translation of three volumes: *The Canton-Macao Dagregisters 1762, 1763, 1764*, trans. and ann. by P. A. Van Dyke and C. Viallé (Macau 2006, 2008, 2009).
49. The archives of the Dutch factories in Japan are the best preserved archives of all the VOC establishments.
 50. One should bear in mind that lead pencils were not commonly known in Asia. In Europe graphite became more widely employed as a writing tool only from the early seventeenth century.
 51. *Keldertjes* (small cellarets) containing flasks of essential oils, liquor, or preserves, were often presented as gifts. The wooden boxes with brass or silver mounts were made in Batavia. Porcelain flasks were sometimes ordered specially from Arita in Japan to contain the oils or liquor. Several of these *keldertjes* are extant: one is in the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam. The nine Japanese porcelain flasks are marked on the bottom with the VOC monogram. See Viallé, 'Tot schenckagie daar het te pas comen sal,' 2-21, for a discussion of the order and the possible recipients.
 52. VOC 1128, OBP, On the *Middelburg* in the roadstead off Suvali, 8 April 1637, Barent Pietersz to Governor-General and Council, fos. 11-12.
 53. VOC 1054, OBP, Nagasaki, 3 November 1610, Jacques Specx to Heren XVII.
 54. This was the case with Japanese lacquer. After 1639 the Dutch were the only Westerners allowed to trade in Japan and they could have Japanese lacquer made to specifications for the Moguls or the Siamese kings. The palanquins and *takhtrawan* (hunting chair) presented to Shah Jahan in 1643 and to Aurangzeb in 1662 were particularly successful. Shah Jahan was impressed when he viewed the palanquin and hunting chair through his spectacles(!), exclaiming: "Wa wa sjabas fringij! [Bravo, bravo, splendid Europeans!]" VOC 1162, OBP, Lahore, 16 April 1646, Nicolaes Verburch and Johan Tack to Arent Baerenssen in Surat. So we now know that Shah Jahan wore spectacles.
 55. VOC 1135, OBP, Gamron, 9 May 1641, Wollebrant Geleijnsz de Jong to Governor-General and Council. See also Gary Schwartz's contribution in this volume.
 56. "Slordig" in the sense of "onzedelijk," lewd.
 57. VOC 13473, Eisen van gouverneur-generaal en raden aan de Heren XVII [*Eisen* from Governor-General and Councillors to the Heren XVII], Generale eisen van Indië, Batavia, 10 December 1641. W. P. Coolhaas, ed., *Generale missiven van gouverneurs-generaal en raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie, vol. II, 1639-1655*, ed. W. P. Coolhaas, RGP GS 112 (The Hague 1964), 166, Letter of 12 December 1642.
 58. See the appendix.
 59. VOC 13511, Eisen van gouverneur-generaal en raden aan de Heren XVII, Generale eisen van Indië, 1673.
 60. VOC 13524, Eisen van gouverneur-generaal en raden aan de Heren XVII, Generale eisen van Indië, 1734.
 61. VOC 13473, Eisen van gouverneur-generaal en raden aan de Heren XVII, Generale eisen van Indië, 1652; 1657.
 62. VOC 13473, Eisen van gouverneur-generaal en raden aan de Heren XVII, Generale eisen van Indië, 1645.
 63. VOC 316, Patriase missiven, 5 September 1641, Heren XVII to Governor-General and Council.
 64. VOC 316, Patriase missiven, 26 November 1636, Heren XVII to Governor-General and Council.
 65. VOC 316, Patriase missiven, December 1637, Heren XVII to Governor-General and Council, fo. 175v.
 66. VOC 864, BUB, fo. 286, Batavia, 13 June 1640, Governor-General and Council to François Caron in Hirado.
 67. At that time a tael was equal to 2.85 guilders.
 68. VOC 1136, OBP, Hirado, 20 November 1640, François Caron to Governor-General Antonio van Diemen.
 69. From the thirteenth century onwards the custom of tea drinking became more established in Japan. The fashion went through several phases, but in the sixteenth century a major change took place. Certain utensils

- representing the prevalent ideas of the tea ceremony became highly sought after and enormous sums of money were paid for them.
70. VOC 1136, OBP, Hirado, 20 November 1640, François Caron to Governor-General Antonio van Diemen.
 71. The list is not extant, but from Wagenaer's report we know that the gifts included two Persian horses, amber, musk, and essential oils. He complained that these items were appraised too low by the Mataram court.
 72. VOC 891, BUB, Batavia, 31 August 1667, Memoire voor d'E Zacharias Wagenaer, gaende in commissie als gesant aenden Sousouhounang Mataram om gemelten vorst wegen d'E Compagnie te begroeten [Memorandum for the Hon. Zacharias Wagenaer sent as envoy to the Susuhunan of Mataram to greet this sovereign on behalf of the Company], fos. 518-524.
 73. A measure used in the Indies mainly for rice. It varied over time from 23 to 32 *picul*.
 74. VOC 1265, OBP, On the *Erasmus* in Batavia's roadstead, 3 October 1667, Rapport bij den Commandeur Zacharyas Wagenaer aan den Edele Heer Joan Maatzuijcker, gouverneur generaal ende de Edele Heeren Raaden van India gedaen behelsende zijn verrichtinge aan 't Mataramse hoff ontrent den Sousouhounan en wat wijders aldaar als elders geduijrende zijn gesantschap voorgevallen zij [Report by Commander Zacharias Wagenaer to the Honourable Joan Maetsuyker, Governor-General and the Hon. Gentlemen the Councillors of the Indies, concerning his activities at the court of Mataram with regard to the Susuhunan and what else happened there and elsewhere during his embassy], fos. 979-985.
 75. F. de Haan, ed., *Dagh-register gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlandts-India Anno 1681* (Batavia 1919), 538f.
 76. W. Fruin-Mees, ed., *Dagh-register gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlandts-India Anno 1682*, vol. I (Batavia 1928), 44-48, 590-596.
 77. Iemitsu granted the release of Pieter Nuyts, the former governor of Formosa, who had been given up as a hostage by the Governor-General and Council of Batavia in 1632 to resolve the issue of the embargo. Viallé, 'In Aid of Trade,' 58; Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'Koperen kronen en waskaarsen voor Japan,' 69-95.
 78. See Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'Koperen kronen en waskaarsen voor Japan' for the maker of these Amsterdam brass castings.
 79. Viallé, 'In Aid of Trade,' 60. The sconces are also displayed there.
 80. Viallé, 'In Aid of Trade,' 60f.
 81. W. P. Coolhaas, ed., *Generale missiven van gouverneurs-generaal en raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, vol. III, 1656-1674, RGP GS 125 (The Hague 1968), 173-181, Letter of 17 December 1657. VOC 1220, OBP, Notule en aentekeninge wegens 't gepasseerde inde handelinge met den Grooten Cham (wesende keijser van Tartaria ende coningh in China) voorgevallen t'seedert 17en julij anno 1656 dat hier in Peckin g'arriveert zijn [Notes of what happened in our dealings with the Great Khan (who is emperor of Tartary and king of China) from 17 July 1656 when we arrived here in Peking], fos. 294-409. J. Nieuhof, *Het gezantschap der Neêrlandtsche Oost-Indische Compagnie aan den grooten Tartarischen Cham, den tegenwoordigen Keizer van China* [...] [The Embassy of the Netherlands East India Company to the Great Tartar Cham, the Present Emperor of China] (Amsterdam 1665), 27, 159-163. The reasons behind the relative failure of the mission are still a matter of debate among historians. The machinations of the Jesuit Father Adam Schall von Bell at court certainly contributed to it in large measure.
 82. *Generale missiven*, vol. II, 1639-1655, 125, Letter of 30 November 1640; *ibid.*, 146, Letter of 12 December 1641.
 83. VOC 1781, OBP, Generale missive, Batavia, 19 February 1710, fo. 415.
 84. VOC 1781, OBP, Generale missive, Batavia, 29 November 1710, fo. 116.
 85. Gary Schwartz kindly offered this identification.
 86. Inoue Chikugo-no-kami Masashige had been the Grand Inquisitor in charge of the Dutch and their affairs. He was their mediator with the shogunal court. He died in 1661.
 87. Two paintings had indeed been ordered for the Shogun in 1658: "1 afbeelding van

- scheepsstrijden in't groot [one large painting of sea battles]" and "1 affbeeldinge van oorlog-
gen te lande [one painting of land battles]." VOC 13473, Eisen van gouverneur-generaal en raden aan de Heren XVII, Generale eisen van Indië, Batavia, 14 December 1658. See also the entry of 27 February 1658 in Boucheljon's *Dagregister*, in C. Viallé and L. Blussé, eds., *The Deshima Dagregisters*, vol. XII, 1650-1660, *Intercontinenta no. 25* (Leiden 2005), 343.
88. An official who had been present at the viewing.
 89. See C. Viallé and L. Blussé, eds., *The Deshima Dagregisters*, vol. XIII, 1660-1670, *Intercontinenta no. 27* (Leiden 2010), 93, 96-98, *Dagregister* of Wilhem Volger, 6 January, 6, 11, and 12 February 1664.
 90. On the *Buienskerke*. NFJ 862, Journaal, Nagasaki, 25 October 1668.
 91. VOC 1127, OBP, Syriam [a port in Burma], 10 February 1638, Matheus Leendertzen to Governor-General and Council, fo. 192v.
 92. VOC 1438, OBP, Translaat van de vermin-
deringe en project der schenckagie in
toecomende [Translation of the decrease and
plan for future gifts], fo. 707. See also Wills,
Embassies & Illusions, 251-253. On 154-155,
Wills gives the presents for the Emperor: coral,
amber, mirrors, European and Indian fabrics,
a table clock, a brass lantern, a brass candela-
brum, glassware, cloves, sandalwood, bottles
of oil of cinnamon, oil of cloves and other oils,
elephant's tusks, fine swords and guns, three
telescopes, three little models of ships, and
two bottles of wine.
 93. VOC 1456, OBP, Siam, 1689, the King of Siam to
Batavia, fo. 1971v.
 94. VOC 1415, OBP, Siam, 17 January 1685, Uijt
eenige aantekeningen van den E. Faa zaaliger
opgesteld [From notes drafted by the late
Arnout Faa], fo. 886v.
 95. Miyako (present-day Kyoto) was the residence
of the Emperor, while Edo (present-day To-
kyo) was the capital and the residence of the
Shogun. *The Grootrechter* (Kyōto shoshidai)
was the highest ranking shogunal official in
Miyako.
 96. Viallé and Blussé, *The Deshima Dagregisters*,
vol. XIII, 1660-1670, 144, *Dagregister* Jacob
Gruijs, 17 April 1665.
 97. Viallé and Blussé, *The Deshima Dagregisters*,
vol. XIII, 1660-1670, 251, *Dagregister* Constantin
Ranst, 10 April 1668.
 98. The total value of the items was 48,807 guil-
ders. NFJ 144, *Dagregister* of Rogier de Laver,
6 August 1734, and VOC 13524, Generale *Eisen*
van Indië, 1734.
 99. Viallé, 'In Aid of Trade,' 70. See Y. Kobayashi-
Sato's contribution in this volume for other
gifts of paintings to Japanese officials.
 100. *Generale Missiven*, vol. III, 1656-1674, 181. P.
van Dam, *Beschryvinge van de Oostindische*
Compagnie, Tweede Boek, Deel 1 (The Hague
1931), 766, 771. VOC 1438, OBP, China, 24 Feb-
ruary 1687, Dese brief comt van den groot-
magtigen keyser van China aenden Ede Heer
Gouverneur generael Joannes Camphuys [This
letter is from the most powerful Emperor of
China to Governor-General Johannes Camp-
huys], Kangxi 25th year, 8th day, 7th month,
delivered by the envoy Vincent Paets, 12 May
1687, fos. 702v-703v.
 101. Information kindly provided by Fuyuko
Matsukata, Historiographical Institute, The
University of Tokyo.
 102. Their value was recorded in the Company ac-
count books as 70 guilders each.
 103. Viallé, 'In Aid of Trade,' 59, 70, and the vol-
umes of *The Deshima Dagregisters*.
 104. In the Dutch sources *cherepauw* or *serpauw*.
 105. See S. Gordon, ed., *Robes of Honour: Khil'at in*
Pre-Colonial and Colonial India (New Delhi
2003). I am grateful to Jos Gommans, Leiden
University, for this reference.
 106. VOC 1239, OBP, Suvali, 29 January 1663, and
Surat, 2 February 1663, Dircq van Adrichem
e.a. to Heren XVII; Bernet Kempers, *Journaal*
van Adrichem's hofreis, 196. Vogel, *Journaal van*
Ketelaar's hofreis, 349, 406.
 107. See the entries for 8 February, 17 February,
and 12 October in J.A. van der Chijs, ed.,
Dagh-register gehouden int Casteel Batavia
vant passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel
Nederlands-India Anno 1672 (Batavia 1899).
 108. Dhiravat, *Siamese Court Life*, 131-135. Sappan-
wood is a kind of wood from which a red dye

- was extracted. It was an important commodity in the VOC's trade with Japan.
109. See, for instance, VOC 891, BUB, Batavia, 4 May 1667. Letter from the Governor-General thanking the King of Tonkin and his son for the gift of silk.
 110. Information kindly provided by Lodewijk Wagenaar.
 111. J. A. van der Chijs, *Nederlandsch-Indisch Plakaatboek, 1602-1811* [Book of Placards of the Netherlands Indies], vol. I, 1602-1642 (Batavia 1885), 2 March 1634, Governor-General Hendrick Brouwer, Article 61. Idem, vol. II, 1642-1677 (Batavia 1886), 8 March 1658, Governor-General Joan Maetsuyker, Article 50.
 112. VOC 317, Patriase missiven, Amsterdam, 16 April 1655, Heren XVII to Governor-General and Council, fo. 375v.
 113. VOC 1445, OBP, Batavia, 8 March 1689, fo. 2369.
 114. VOC 322, Patriase missiven, Amsterdam, 3 November 1690, Heren XVII to Governor-General and Council, fo. 600v.
 115. VOC 101, Kopie-resoluties Heren XVII [Copy of Resolutions], 17 September 1633, fo. 95. Specx served as Governor-General from 1629 to 1632.
 116. Hidetada (1579-1632) was the second shogun of the Tokugawa Dynasty. He ruled from 1605 to 1622. He was not buried in Nikkō Tōshōgū like his father Ieyasu and his son Iemitsu, the third shogun, but in the Zōjō-ji in Edo (Tokyo).
 117. H. Nishida, 'Oranda – Dutch Ceramics Preserved in Japan,' in F. Scholten, ed., *The Edwin van Drecht Collection, Nezu bijutsukan* [Nezu Museum] exhib. cat. (Tokyo 1995), 133.
 118. When the Japanese potters at Arita started producing porcelain on the orders of the Dutch from 1650 onwards, salve or ointment containers were the first pieces they made based on Dutch models.
 119. Nishida, 'Oranda – Dutch Ceramics Preserved in Japan,' 133.
 120. See the catalogue *Goudleer Kinkarakawa. De geschiedenis van het Nederlands goudleer en zijn invloed in Japan* [Gilt Leather Kinkarakawa: The History of Dutch Gilt Leather and Its Influence in Japan], ed. F. Scholten (Zwolle 1989), esp. the chapters by I. Tanaka-van Daalen, 'Goudleer voor Japan [Gilt Leather for Japan],' 64-85, for the export of gilt leather to Japan and its usage there, and M. Morishita, 'De Japanse leerkunst [Japanese Leather Craft],' 87-91, for its development in Japan.
 121. The Europeans in the service of the VOC on Deshima had their own personal slaves called black boys or slave boys in the records. These men, not young boys, originated from South Asia (mainly Bengal and the Coromandel Coast) and the Indonesian archipelago.
 122. Hayashi Shihei (1738-1793) was a friend of Morishima Chūryō and also a prominent *rangakusha* (scholar of Dutch Studies).
 123. *Kōmō-yaki* or *Oranda-yaki*: Dutch earthenware. I am indebted to Margarita Winkel for this information.
 124. M. Winkel, *Discovering Different Dimensions: Explorations of Culture and History in Early Modern Japan* (Ph.D. diss., Leiden University 2004), 62. The quotes from Morishima Chūryō's *Kōmō zatsuwa* have been translated by Margarita Winkel. I am most grateful to Guita for her kind permission to reproduce her translations here.
 125. Ornamental pieces for display, usually made up of artificial flowers, sometimes also of fruits.
 126. A liquid measure of 1.51 liters.

14 Circulating Art and Material Culture

A Model of Transcultural Mediation

Astrid Erll

Looking at the wealth of knowledge produced by this collection, a challenging question arises: what general insights are to be gained from the great variety of historical and art-historical studies brought together in this volume? Can research on Netherlandish art in Asia spawn a more general model of cultural mediation, a model applicable to other research projects on the global circulation of cultural artifacts? Could the findings of the NIAS project on the early modern age in Asia enrich our view of different historical periods, other social and spatial constellations?

The essays collected in this volume contain an important lesson for those engaged in cultural studies. Scholars of the field tend to favor one or another particular concept as a guiding principle for their approach. Current terms include “reception,” “adaptation,” “implants,” “cultural transfer,” “cultural exchanges,” “entangled histories,” “hybridity,” and “transculturation,” each of which reflects a certain, subtly different understanding of the material.¹ The participants in the NIAS project chose not to adopt a universalizing meta-theory of this kind but to allow their critical terminology to emerge from their conclusions concerning specific case studies. Cultural encounters are always *sui generis*; they are unpredictable and rarely follow standard patterns. Bearing this in mind and proceeding from the insights about Netherlandish art and material culture in Asia that the authors of this volume shared with me, I will outline in the following a general

model that does not pretend to be a theory of everything but to provide a rough field map to navigate through the complex territory of cultural circulations.

Taking my cue from the collection's title, I will use the term “mediation” to describe the circulation of art and material culture across time and space. In this way I hope to reformulate the description of the relevant processes within the framework of media theory. Classic theories of media communication assume a tripartite model:

1. The sender/production of a message
2. The transmission of the message through a channel, and
3. The receiver/reception of the message.²

Proceeding from communication studies, and drawing as well on new media theory and memory studies, I will propose a model of transcultural mediation that features five more or less distinct stages:

1. *Production*, or the making of art and material culture
2. *Transmission*, or the transfer of art and material culture to other temporal and local settings
3. *Reception*, or the appropriation of art and material culture
4. *Transcultural remediation*, or the making of new art and material culture based on earlier cultural mediations
5. *Afterlife*, or the *longue durée* of the above-mentioned processes.

In what follows I will provide short explanations of these five stages, give examples taken from the essays in this volume and formulate questions for further research.

Production

The stage of production, as I will argue below, is not necessarily the first step in transcultural mediation. A serious consideration of production has to deal with a multitude of questions such as: Who creates objects of art and material culture? When? In what socio-cultural contexts? Using which materials? Under which constraints? For what intended uses? In the case of Netherlandish art in Asia, the scope of constellations of production is almost limitless. At one extreme we find trained Dutch painters based in Amsterdam and on the other Eurasian artisans working in Batavia (see Bok).³

Transmission

The transmission of art and material culture involves agents, channels and frameworks.

- (a) *Agents, or mediators*: Who delivers the artwork to the receiving party?
- (b) *Channels*: What are the media and modes of transport?
- (c) *Frameworks*: In what social, political, religious or aesthetic constellations does the transmission of art and material culture take place?

For example, the fragile standing of the VOC in seventeenth-century Japan entailed a framework of transmission worlds apart from the contemporaneous situation in Indonesia, where the Company exercised nearly complete power.

The cases studied in this volume clearly suggest that the major mediator of Netherlandish art in Asia was the VOC. A typical example would be the “gift” carried in a trunk on a VOC ship (*channel*) to Ceylon and handed over by a high-ranking VOC official (*mediating agent*) to the king of Kandy in the context of an annual embassy, which was experienced by the Dutch envoys as a humiliating affair (*framework*) (see Wagenaar).⁴ Cultural mediation may also fail at the vulnerable stage of transmission. Ships may sink. Delivery systems may break down, transmitting agents may make mistakes like the VOC when it presented the same gifts to Chinese and Indian rulers (see Kaufmann).⁵

The VOC, however, was not the sole mediator of Netherlandish art in Asia. We are also dealing with individual artists like Jan Lucasz. van Hasselt, who came on his own to the Persian court in Isfahan (see Schwartz).⁶ There are rival agents of mediation, such as the Jesuits, who introduced principles of European painting to China (see Forrer, Kaufmann).⁷ And there is the impact of ethnic networks, such as the Armenian merchant community of New Julfa, which disseminated European art in Persia (see Landau, Schwartz).⁸ As Amy Landau emphasizes, “the intermediary role” of such groups is often grounded in the mediating agents’ intercultural competences, such as their mastery of both European and Asian languages and cultures. Michael North’s essay on art in the households of Batavia and the Cape Colony, finally, combines in one rich mix all the factors we have singled out. The transmission of art and material culture may also be taken less literally as a function of taste, which does its channeling through agents, painters and patrons, publications on aesthetics, and the art market.

A key feature of cultural transmission in a global perspective is multidirectionality. In contrast to what classical models of media communication may suggest, transfers of art

and material culture in seventeenth-century Europe and Asia were certainly no one-way road. Nor are our cases sufficiently characterized as examples of straightforward reciprocity, i.e. the simple reversal of the roles of sender and receiver, exporter and importer. Triangular and even more complex multidirectional processes can be identified in such environments as the Cape Colony (see North)⁹, where art objects produced in China, Batavia, Holland, and the rest of Europe were united in an identifiable local collecting culture. Further east, the VOC acted as an “intra-Asian mediator” (Kaufmann)¹⁰, importing Chinese porcelain to Persia and supporting the export of Persian imitations of Chinese ceramics.

Studying cultural transmission means reconstructing the networks involved in moving art objects (and with them less tangible phenomena, such as tastes and styles) from one socio-cultural context to the other. An open list of research questions – to which the articles collected here provide a variety of answers – includes the VOC and its procedures of transmission (also in comparison with other European trading companies); “commodity chains”¹¹ and the migration history of objects; the multidirectionality of transfer processes; and the power structures and other social and cultural factors at play in cultural transmission.

Reception

Constructionist media theories emphasize that reception is much more than the passive de-coding of an original message. Rather, it is an “appropriation,” the active construction of a message.¹² The reception of one and the same message may therefore vary widely according to what was above described as the frameworks of transmission: time, place, social order, knowledge systems, values, and aesthetics.

In British cultural studies, a distinction is drawn between various modes of reception. Stuart Hall, in his seminal article “Encoding/Decoding,”¹³ differentiates between “hegemonic readings,” “negotiated readings,” and “oppositional readings” of a message. Historians of global circulation can play a vital role in the development of cultural theory by reformulating this model in accordance with their own research into the complexities of intercultural encounter in different times and places.

The example of Netherlandish art in Asia suggests that we assume a gradual scaling of *modes of reception*, ranging from (a) *consonant* and (b) *negotiated* modes all the way to (c) *inconsonant* modes. A kind of reception which seems more or less *consonant* with the intentions of – or the original meanings ascribed to the object by – its Dutch producers and/or transmitting agents would entail treating the transmitted object as a “valuable gift” or a “piece of art.” At the other end of the scale are *inconsonant* modes of reception that culminate in nonreception, the refusal of or complete lack of interest in Netherlandish art and material culture. Objects might be cast as poor quality, uninteresting, or even trash (see Kaufmann for the Chinese lack of interest in Dutch objects).

Between these poles is a large grey zone of (using Hall’s terminology) the *negotiated* meanings of foreign art objects. They may be understood as exotic objects and stored in museums, archives, or curiosity cabinets. Such a reception as *exotica* seems to have been a prevalent mode of treating Dutch objects in India, China, and Japan. However, foreign objects may also be turned into pragmatic objects, their potential aesthetic richness and polyvalence ignored in favor of a single, specific use. This occurred in Japan, where European painting techniques were employed initially merely to record plants, insects, or birds (see Kobayashi-Sato).¹⁴ And while worldly art may

be constituted as holy objects in the course of intercultural reception, sacred art may by the same token be turned into profane objects (as the tombstones of Dutch cemeteries in South India, see Krieger).¹⁵

Clearly, what is needed to address the manifold options of receiving art and material culture in contexts of global circulation is (using Marcus's terminology) a careful multi-sited ethnography of reception.¹⁶ Therefore, central research questions in this volume revolve around the *local practices of reception*, the actual ways of dealing with Netherlandish art – at a particular place and time, by specific social groups. How is intercultural reception performed? For example, if an object is indeed cast as an “art work” by a community in Asia, how will this type of reception become manifest in social practice? Are foreign art objects used to teach young princes (as at the Persian court, see Schwartz)? Or are even entire art schools founded on such objects (as in the case of the Japanese Akita Ranga School, see Forrer/Kobayashi-Sato)?¹⁷ Are there hybridizing practices of dealing with art, as in the case of the Cape Colony, where residents selected and combined objects from very different origins in their households (see North)?¹⁸

Another, rather intricate, much less graspable and yet fascinating question for all those who study the circulation of objects is that of *cultural (non-)receptivity*. Why are some objects welcomed and appropriated in a specific socio-cultural context – and others not? It is generally agreed in art and literary studies that the properties of art works alone can never trigger a particular reception. Instead, as Amy Landau emphasizes, it seems it is “first and foremost the local context which conditions and determines the response.” Receptivity may be guided by certain policies and philosophies devised for the encounter with the foreign (as we find them in China and Japan). A certain

mode of reception may become a factor in local controversies of the day (such as in Sulayman's Persia, see Landau).¹⁹ In order to arrive at sound hypotheses concerning the impact of art and material culture (or the lack thereof) in differing cultural circumstances, we have no choice but to reconstruct the convictions, interests, and challenges of the local people.

Cultural receptivity is a function of social context. But does that mean that the form and materiality of an object are entirely irrelevant for the study of its circulation? Of course not. Rather, we need concepts to address the interrelations between material and social phenomena at work in the process of reception. One of these concepts is the *cultural resonance* of an art object.²⁰ Do its specific shape, its forms and materials meet a congenial aesthetics when it arrives in a foreign place? Does the receiving audience have patterns of expectation that make the object from abroad “fit,” even if in surprising ways? One example of cultural resonance are the Leiden fine painters and the similarities their works showed with Persian painting (i.e. their small scale, minute details, and polished surfaces; see Landau). Another example are the concentric ivory spheres that the Dutch brought to China in the seventeenth century. Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann calls these “successfully mediated objects,” because they fit in with contemporary aesthetic discourses of the Ming dynasty.²¹

Finally, it is also the *media qualities* of an object, which have an impact on cultural receptivity: Small prints and engravings, for example, are better circulation media than big canvas paintings. The feasibility of mass export and thus their sheer quantitative impact will influence reception. This was the case with European prints in Japan (see Forrer).²² As the examples in this volume show, only close study of individual cases can tease out the complex interrelations of medium and social context that guide intercultural reception into certain paths.

Transcultural Remediation

A sure sign of success in the mediation of an object is when it provokes the local creation of further objects. This process can be called *remediation*²³ – the making of a new medium, which is based on a received old medium. The idea of remediation turns the classic tripartite, linear model of communication into a spiral.²⁴ Reception leads to production, and the process of mediation delineated above starts all over again: we are dealing with new producers, agents, frameworks, and channels of transmission, and with the different modes of yet another round of reception. Remediation in the present case has the additional complication of being transcultural, because we are describing how objects made in the Netherlands became a model or an inspiration for works created in Asia. The outcome is what is called in many essays “hybrid art.”

“Hybridization” and “hybrid art” are of course vexed notions.²⁵ They suggest the amalgamation of two or more formerly distinct and pure entities – homogeneous cultures and artistic traditions, as it were. The historical evidence presented in this volume goes counter to any such idea. Like culture at large, art is internally hybrid to begin with, the result of long processes of mediation. To emphasize the fact that we need to think “beyond culture” if we want to understand the dynamics of global circulation, I suggest using the concept of the “transcultural.”²⁶ Instead of implying the existence of internally homogeneous and clearly demarcated cultures, it draws our attention to the fundamental cultural process of ongoing exchange among a number of mutable socio-cultural formations that, being the result of earlier exchanges, are always already hybrid.

Once it is accepted that the quest for phantasms of pureness or origins is futile – in art as well as all the other areas the humanities

concern themselves with – it also becomes clear that theories of cultural circulation are compelled to deal in tautologies. Culture is fundamentally transcultural. Art is always hybrid art. Mediation is always remediation.

Indeed, the model of mediation, too, cannot proceed from the notion of an original medium. As the media theorists Bolter and Grusin have famously stated, “all mediation is remediation.”²⁷ All art – even if we look at the default case of a Golden Age painting produced in an Amsterdam workshop by a true-born Dutchman – is remediated art, and its genesis must be seen in a transcultural horizon: the Dutchman is likely to have been borrowing from Italian models based in turn on Greek precursors that may be adaptations of Middle Eastern images, and so on.²⁸ In the case of Netherlandish art in Asia the concept of transcultural remediation helps us deal with the complexities of, for example, Chinese artisans producing for Japanese markets or for consumers in the Cape Colony hybrid works inspired by Dutch art.

Researchers interested in the infinitely regressive field of transcultural remediation have various approaches at their disposal. They may address the *intercultural frameworks* for the production, transmission, and reception of hybrid art, as does Lodewijk Wagenaar in his postulation of different territorial spheres of Dutch influence in Sri Lanka. One can also begin by looking at specific objects and ask questions about the forms (how?) and the functions (why?) of transcultural remediation. The articles in this volume show that it is especially for the study of *hybrid forms* that art-historical expertise and scrutiny must come into play. Which iconographies, materials, and techniques are blended together when new hybrid art is created? And how do we describe the end product? Do we encounter a unified style that people at the time were themselves very much aware of, even theorized? This seems to be true of the Persian

adaptations of Western artistic techniques in *farangī-sāzī* (see Landau).²⁹ Or is the field of hybrid art constituted more as a loose assemblage of scattered hybrid objects, the very existence of which depends on today's vantage point, our "anachronistic" perspective (see Schwartz)?³⁰

Although the spectrum of *functions of hybrid art* is very broad, the main function of the production and transmission of objects through trading companies like the VOC is, quite clearly, to make money. Fascinating polycentric trading connections and trajectories have been reconstructed, showing how European companies, which were certainly profit-driven, could willy-nilly become mediators of art and material culture in Asia. However, the functions of art production in cultural contact zones are much more complex. In colonial contexts, it is often the opportunity to show mastery over the foreigners' (or even colonial masters') art which spurs hybrid work. It may also be a response to foreign images and narratives: Amy Landau points to Persian artists' "desire to exert emblematic power over European images." But the production of hybrid art may also fulfill functions that are entirely dissociated from their foreign sources of influence and instead exclusively directed toward the inner life of a social group, e.g. when artists in Persia used "a foreign iconography in order to negotiate internal religious conflicts" (see Landau).³¹

The reception side had its own multiplicity of meanings. For those who bought hybrid art works, they seem to have fulfilled a multilayered set of social functions. Hybrid art and material culture was produced for Asian as well as for European markets. In both places, people had developed a taste for exotic styles. For the VOC officials who stayed in Asia they fulfilled commemorative, decorative, or self-expressive functions. And hybrid art also gained currency in multi-ethnic societies such as the Cape Colony, where it was used as

a medium of self-fashioning in the face of a highly differentiated society (see North).³²

Afterlife

The focus of this collection is on synchronic constellations of transcultural mediation. Such a perspective draws attention to the spatial, translocal aspect of cultural exchanges. Another research option is looking at the changes in cultural exchanges over time. If we look into the afterlife of a work of art, we view the mediating process in a diachronic, *longue durée*-perspective. What was the impact of Netherlandish art in Asia in the long run? What survives until the present day? How have the uses of Dutch art and material culture changed over time? What is remembered? What forgotten?

The life and death of art is a matter of cultural *remembering and forgetting*.³³ In this volume, Gary Schwartz reflects on the "mortality of art" and comes to the important conclusion that the "survival of a work of art through time is not the rule but the rare exception." This seems to hold true in particular for conspicuously hybrid art, which is often not perceived to be a vital component of a nation's identity and past achievements. In the politics of national memory the ideas of cultural origins and purity discussed above come forcefully into play. They guide the selection of art works to be socially remembered, preserved, and exhibited.³⁴

But even if art works survive in material traces they are not necessarily consciously remembered by a social group. Drawing on a distinction made in memory studies, we can differentiate between implicit and explicit forms of afterlife. *Implicit forms of afterlife* are unseen and unacknowledged relics of past art and material culture, which may nevertheless still have effects in the present. Lodewijk Wagenaar gives an example of such implicit afterlife

when he asks what remains of the Dutch presence in today's Sri Lanka. His answer: bricks, stones, and words. The people of Sri Lanka may use these, but they do not seem to recall their Netherlandish origin or be aware of the Dutch material and linguistic impact. Similarly, Martin Krieger shows that Dutch graveyards have long been neglected relics of a colonial past in modern India, left to revert to nature.³⁵

However, not all remnants of hybrid art are relegated to the status of implicit cultural memory. There are also *explicit forms* of remembering the material culture that emerged from Dutch-Asian encounters in the seventeenth century. The explicit afterlife of art entails the active and conscious effort of groups and societies not only to preserve artworks physically, but also to further an awareness of their history and meaning. It is only through an ongoing engagement with works of art – “cultural remembering” in the sense of handing down, using, discussing, and interpreting them – that

they are kept alive. The most invigorating way to deal with works of art that have come down to us is their continual remediation. A good example is the way in which *Indische* architecture – hybrid architectural styles that have their roots in seventeenth-century Dutch-Indonesian building – continued to be developed well into the twentieth century (see Nas).³⁶

However, the afterlife – or repercussion – of hybrid art is not merely a matter of material survival, but can also be perceived through its long-term effects on the mental dimension of culture. This is evident in the case of Japan, where, as Yoriko Kobayashi-Sato shows, “the Dutch mediation caused the mental world of the Japanese to shift from a Chinese-oriented culture to a Western-oriented culture.”³⁷ The transcultural mediation of art is thus far more than the mere circulation of objects. It moulds our worlds of interacting, thinking, feeling, and perceiving.

Notes

1. For an overview of the terminological and conceptual options of cultural history to describe the processes studied here, see P. Burke, *Cultural Hybridity* (Cambridge 2009).
2. For an overview of media theories see J. Hartley et al., eds., *Communication, Cultural and Media Studies: The Key Concepts* (London 2002).
3. M. J. Bok, ‘European Artists in the Service of the Dutch East India Company’ in this volume.
4. L. Wagenaar, ‘The Cultural Dimension of the Dutch East India Company Settlements in Dutch-Period Ceylon, 1700-1800 – With Special Reference to Galle’ in this volume.
5. Th. DaCosta Kaufmann, ‘Scratching the Surface: The Impact of the Dutch on Artistic and Material Culture in Taiwan and China’ in this volume.
6. In cases of Netherlandish artists based in Asia, the stages of production and transmission merge. This has consequences for both the production of art (which may show a higher degree of addressee-orientation and hybridization) and the mode of transmission (which may be influenced by the artists’ embeddedness into Asian contexts). See G. Schwartz, ‘Terms of Reception: Europeans and Persians and Each Other’s Art’ in this volume.
7. M. Forrer, ‘From Optical Prints to *Ukie* to *Ukiyoe*: The Adoption and Adaptation of Western Linear Perspective in Japan’ and Kaufmann, ‘The Impact of the Dutch on Artistic and Material Culture in Taiwan and China’ in this volume.
8. A. S. Landau, ‘Reconfiguring the Northern European Print to Depict Sacred History at the Persian Court’ and Schwartz, ‘Terms of Reception’ in this volume.

9. M. North, 'Art and Material Culture in the Cape Colony and Batavia in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries' in this volume.
10. Kaufmann, 'The Impact of the Dutch on Artistic and Material Culture in Taiwan and China' in this volume.
11. A. Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge).
12. P. Alasuutari, *Rethinking the Media Audience: The New Agenda* (London 1999).
13. S. Hall, 'Encoding/Decoding' (1973), in S. Hall et al., eds., *Culture, Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 1972-79* (London 1980), 128-138.
14. Y. Kobayashi-Sato, 'Japan's Encounters with the West through the VOC: Western Paintings and their Appropriation in Japan' in this volume.
15. M. Krieger, 'Dutch Cemeteries in South India' in this volume.
16. G. E. Marcus, 'Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography,' *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 24 (1995): 95-117.
17. M. Forrer and Y. Kobayashi-Sato, 'The Dutch Presence in Japan: The VOC on Deshima and its Impact on Japanese Culture' in this volume.
18. See North, 'Art and Material Culture in the Cape Colony and Batavia' in this volume.
19. See Landau, 'Reconfiguring the Northern European Print' in this volume.
20. Cf. M. Juneja and G. Signori, *The Lives of Objects in the Pre-Modern Societies* (New Delhi 2005).
21. See Kaufmann, 'The Impact of the Dutch on Artistic and Material Culture in Taiwan and China' in this volume.
22. M. Forrer, 'From Optical Prints to *Ukie* to *Ukiyoe*: The Adoption and Adaptation of Western Linear Perspective in Japan' in this volume.
23. Cf. J. D. Bolter and R. Grusin, *Remediation: Understanding New Media* (Cambridge, Mass. 1999); A. Erll and A. Rigney, eds., *Mediation, Remediation, and the Dynamics of Cultural Memory* (Berlin 2009).
24. For a similar figure, see P. Ricœur, *Temps et récit*, vol. 1 (Paris 1983), "circle of mimesis."
25. For sophisticated model of hybridization see H. K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London and New York 1994). For a critique and use of the concept of hybridity in art history see C. Dean and D. Leibsohn, 'Hybridity and its Discontents: Considering Visual Culture in Colonial Spanish America,' *Colonial Latin American Review*, 12.1 (2003): 5-35.
26. Cf. W. Welsch, 'Transculturality – The Puzzling Form of Cultures Today,' in M. Featherstone and S. Lash, eds., *Spaces of Culture: City, Nation, World* (London 1999), 194-213. The fundamental impurity of culture has of course long been emphasized by postcolonial theory, e.g. by Edward Said who states that "all cultures are involved in one another; none is single and pure, all are hybrid, heterogeneous, extraordinarily differentiated, and unmonolithic." E. W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York 1993), xxix.
27. Cf. Bolter and Grusin, *Remediation*, 55.
28. Such ideas have long been discussed in art history. See for example A. Warburg, *Der Bilderatlas Mnemosyne*, eds. M. Warnke and C. Brink (Berlin 2000).
29. See Landau, 'Reconfiguring the Northern European Print' in this volume.
30. See Schwartz, 'Terms of Reception' in this volume.
31. See Landau, 'Reconfiguring the Northern European Print' in this volume.
32. See North, 'Art and Material Culture in the Cape Colony and Batavia' in this volume.
33. For an overview of the field of memory studies A. Erll and A. Nünning, eds., *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies* (Berlin 2010).
34. On basic processes of selection, canonization, and cultural memory see J. Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory: Ten Studies* (Stanford 2006).
35. See Krieger, 'Dutch Cemeteries in South India' in this volume.
36. P. J. M. Nas, 'Indische Architecture in Indonesia' in this volume.
37. See Kobayashi-Sato, 'Japan's Encounters' in this volume.

Illustration Credits

Figures

- Fig. 1.1: *The Banquet Hall of the Talar-i Tavila in the Royal Precincts of Isfahan. From Adam Olearius, Beschreibung der muscowitischen und persischen Reise, Schleswig 1647.*
- Fig. 1.2: *Costume Prints from Jan de Laet, Persia seu Regni Persici Status, Leiden 1633.*
- Fig. 1.3: *Aegidius Sadeler II (c. 1570-1629), Portrait of Mehdi Quli Bey, 1605. Engraving, 18.7 x 15.7 cm. London, British Museum.*
- Fig. 1.4a: *Marcantonio Raimondi (1480-1534) after Raphael (1483-1520), Reclining Woman, Partly Nude, Identified as Cleopatra, c. 1515-1527. Engraving, 10.5 x 17.5 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.*
- Fig. 1.4b: *Riza Abassi (c. 1565-1635) after Marcantonio Raimondi, Reclining Woman, Late Sixteenth Century. Cambridge, MA, Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum.*
- Fig. 1.5: *Dominicus Custos (after 1550-1612), Shah 'Abbas I. From Atrium heroicum Caesarum, Augsburg 1602. 18 x 11.6 cm. Wikimedia Commons.*
- Fig. 1.6: *Peter Paul Rubens, Study of Eastern Women's Dress from the Costume Book, c. 1610-1615. Pen and Ink, 41.3 x 31.9 cm. London, British Museum.*
- Fig. 2.1: *Maryam (Mary) and Ishba (Elizabeth), dated 1089 AH /1678-1679 CE. Formerly in the Collection of F. R. Martin. The painting's present location is unknown. Dimensions are unknown.*
- Fig. 2.2: *Sacrifice of Abraham, Composition by the Antwerp Artist Pieter de Jode. Engraved by Egbert van Panderen, dated c. 1590-1637. 30.1 x 20.4 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Inv. No. RP-P-1889-A-14342.*
- Fig. 2.3: *An Engraving by Lucas Vorsterman I (1595-1675) after Peter Paul Rubens Return from Egypt. 42 x 31.2 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Inv. No. RP-P-OB-33.007.*
- Fig. 2.4: *"Nadal's Bible" (the Imagines and the Adnotationes), Christus en de Samaritaanse vrouw bij de put [Christ and the Samaritan Woman at the Well], Feria VI. Post Domin. III. Qvadrage, by Hieronymus Wierix and Bernardino Passeri. From Jerome Nadal's Evangelicae Historiae Imagines, Antwerp 1593. 23.2 x 14.7 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Inv. No. RP-P-OB-67.164.*
- Fig. 4.1: *View of the Lodge at Surat (Gezicht op de logie van Suratte), 1629. Print by Adriaen Matham. 105 x 170 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Inv. No. RP-P-OB-75.465.*
- Fig. 6.1: *Eighteenth-Century Drawing of the Old Batavia Town Hall (Source: Johannes Rach, 1720-1783: Artist in Indonesia and Asia (Jakarta and Amsterdam 2001), 28).*

- Fig. 6.2: *Two Old Houses on the Antjolschen Weg* (Source: F. de Haan, *Oud Batavia, Platen Album* (Batavia 1922), B 17).
- Fig. 6.3: *Two Old Houses on the East Side of the Jonkersgracht* (Roea Malaka). Number 8 is on the Right Building in Photograph 6.3a; 6.3b Presents the Ground Plan of Number 8. The Photographs 6.3c and 6.3d show the Inner Court in the Back of the Front Building and the Inner Court View of the Outbuilding of Number 8. (Source: De Haan (1922), part 2: 48-53 and *Platen Album* B8, B8b, B8c).
- Fig. 6.4: *Mansion Jepang, Indische Style* (Source: V. I. van de Wall, 'Batavia's oude landhuizen' (1932): 17).
- Fig. 6.5: *Mansion de Klerk, Old Dutch Style* (Source: Van de Wall, 'Batavia's oude landhuizen,' 4).
- Fig. 6.6: *Mansion Tandjong Oost, Company Style* (Source: Van de Wall, 'Batavia's oude landhuizen,' 14).
- Fig. 6.7a-b: *Villa Isola, Bandung* (Ch. WolffSchoemaker) and the Main Buildings of ITB Bandung (Maclaine Pont) as Examples of the Modern and Traditional Approaches in Late Colonial Architecture (Source: W. Lemei, *Moderne woningarchitectuur in Ned. Indië* (Bandoeng 1934); Ir. R.A. van Sandick, *De opening van de Bijzondere Technische Hoogeschool te Bandoeng* ('s-Gravenhage 1920), 10).
- Fig. 7.1: *Galle Seen from the Bay, 1736. Detail of Plate LXV in J. W. Heydt, Allerneuester Geographisch- und Topographischer Schau-Platz von Africa und Ost-Indien* (Wilhermsdorff 1744), 193. Amsterdam Museum, Inv. No. LA 1905.
- Fig. 7.2: *General List of Persons Enrolled in the Service of the Company in Galle, 30 June 1760. Detail of Plano Sheet. The Hague, National Archive, 1.04.02 (VOC), Inv. No. 12.423.*
- Fig. 7.3: *Letter from Barent Kriekenbeek (1715-1778) to his Daughter Adriana Elizabeth (b. 1737) and Son-in-law Johannes Toussaint (b. 1719) in Galle; Colombo, 2 October 1760. National Archives of Sri Lanka, Register of Certificates, SLNA 1/5674.*
- Fig. 7.4: *View of City of Galle, 1737. Plate LXVII in J. W. Heydt, Allerneuester Geographisch- und Topographischer Schau-Platz von Africa und Ost-Indien* (Wilhermsdorff 1744), 199. Amsterdam Museum, Inv. No. LA 1905.
- Fig. 7.5: *A Poffertjes Griddle and a Cookie Pan, Eighteenth Century. Colombo, Dutch Period Museum. Collection of the Department of National Museums, Sri Lanka.*
- Fig. 7.6: *Coconut Garden in the Colombo District, c. 1690. Drawing in an Album by Paul Hermann (1646-1695). Natural History Museum, London, Herbarium of Paul Hermann, vol. 5, Icones, f. 307.*
- Fig. 7.7: *Balcony of the Dutch Period Museum with Eighteenth-Century Dutch Period Furniture. Colombo, Dutch Period Museum. Collection of the Department of National Museums, Sri Lanka.*
- Fig. 8.1: *Early Twentieth-Century Display in the Rijksmuseum of Artefacts from the Failed 1597 Expedition to Asia. Recovered in 1877 by a Russian Expedition to*

- Nova Zembla (Nova Zemlja)* (Source: *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, 28 (1980): 46, fig. 4).
- Fig. 8.2: (Attributed to) Kesu Das (Mogul, Akbar-Periode) (after Hendrick Goltzius), *A Soldier*, c. 1600. Watercolour on Paper. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.
- Fig. 8.3: Hendrick Goltzius, Titus Manlius Torquatus, 1586. Engraving (Source: *Exhib. Cat. Hendrick Goltzius* (2003): 91, fig. 29.6).
- Fig. 8.4: Hendrick Goltzius, Musius Scaevola, 1586. Engraving (Source: *Exhib. Cat. Hendrick Goltzius* (2003): 91, fig. 29.7 [?]).
- Fig. 8.5: Hendrick Arentsz. Vapoer, *An Indian couple*. Drawing in a Letter sent from Lahore, November 1625. The Hague, National Archive.
- Fig. 9.1: View of Fort Seckam (Photo Author).
- Fig. 9.2: James Thomson, View of Fort Zeelandia, 1871 (Photo courtesy Kuo Chen; author's archive).
- Fig. 9.3: Portal, Fort of São Tiago das Cinco Pontas, Recife, Brazil (Photo Jens Baumgartner; author's archive).
- Fig. 10.1: From *Rotterdamsche Courant* of 27 November 1774.
- Fig. 11.1: Aōdō Denzen, View of the Dike at Yoshiwara, 1805-1810. Etching, 21,8 x 28,7 cm. Leiden, The National Museum of Ethnology, Inv. No. 6016-1.
- Fig. 12.1: Odano Naotake, Dissection of Arm. Copy after a Copperplate Engraving by Gerard de Lairesse illustrating Govard Bidloo, *Ondleding des menschelyken lichaams* (1690). From Sugita Genpaku et al., *Kaitai Shinsho* (Edo 1774). Woodblock Print, 53.2 x 35.8 cm. Akita, Akita Senshū Museum of Art, Japan.
- Fig. 12.2: Jan Brueghel, *The Good Samaritan*. Copperplate Engraving, 27 x 30 cm. Leiden University Library, Print Collection, PK-P-132.363.
- Fig. 12.3: Hendrick de Keyser, *Amphitrite on a Chariot*. From *Het bouckje van Zeegoden en Godinnen*, c. 1619-1621. Copperplate Engraving. 9.6 x 21.5 cm. Akita, Akita Senshū Museum of Art, Japan.
- Fig. 12.4: Satake Shozan, *An Ideal Proportion of a Woman*. Copy after a Copperplate Engraving Illustrating Gerard de Lairesse, *Het groot schilderboek* (Amsterdam 1707). From Satake Shozan, *The Third Sketchbook* (1778). Akita, Akita Senshū Museum of Art, Japan.
- Fig. 12.5: Odano Naotake, *Drawing Studies*. Copy after Various Illustrations Illustrating Gerard de Lairesse, *Het groot schilderboek* (Amsterdam 1707). Ink on Paper, Hanging Scroll, 24.6 x 34.4 cm. Akita, Akita Prefectural Library, Japan.
- Fig. 13.1: Eis, *Sketches of Glassware Ordered by the Japanese*, 1785. Ink on Japanese Paper. The Hague, National Archive, Archief van de Nederlandse factorij in Japan, Access No. 1.04.21, Inv. No. 1407.

- Fig. 13.2: *Eis, One of Four Sketches of Horses Ordered by the Japanese, 1765. Ink on Japanese Paper. The Hague, National Archive, Archief van de Nederlandse factorij in Japan, Access No. 1.04.21, Inv. No. 610.*
- Fig. 13.3: *Eis, Sketches of Small Colored Porcelain Boxes Ordered by the Japanese from the Netherlands, 1823. Ink and Colors on Japanese Paper. The Hague, National Archive, Archief van de Nederlandse factorij in Japan, Access No. 1.04.21, Inv. No. 1416A.*

Maps

- Map 8.1: *Places in Asia where Dutch Draftsmen and Cartographers were Active, 1590-1710 (Source: ECARTICO database).*
- Map 8.2: *Places in Asia where Dutch Painters were Active, 1590-1710 (Source: ECARTICO database).*

Plates

- Plate A: *Anonymous Painter, Sayfoedin – Sultan of Tidore, Second Half of the Seventeenth Century. Kraków, Princes Czartoryski Foundation, XII – 637.*
- Plate 1.1a: *Christoffel van Sichem II (1581-1658), The Temptation of Christ. Woodcut from Bibels Tresoor, 1646. University of Amsterdam, Special Collections Library.*
- Plate 1.1b: *Painted Wall in the All Saviors Cathedral, with Temptation of Christ on left. New Julfa, Isfahan (Source: J. Carswell, New Julfa: The Armenian Churches and Other Buildings (Oxford 1968)).*
- Plate 1.2a: *Jami, Yusuf's Marriage Banquet, c. 1550-1565. From the Haft Awrang (Seven Thrones). Washington, Freer Gallery of Art.*
- Plate 1.2b: *The Head of Iraj Presented to His Brothers Salm and Tur. Isfahan or Ashraf, c. 1675-1676. Dublin, Chester Beatty Collection.*
- Plate 1.3a: *Master of the Banderoles (active c. 1450-c. 1475), The Annunciation, c. 1450-1470. Engraving, 19.7 x 16.6 cm. Hamburg, Hamburger Kunsthalle.*
- Plate 1.3b: *Sadiqi Beg (1533/34-1609/10), Kneeling Woman Approached by a Man, c. 1587-1610. Pigments on Paper, 12.5 x 12.5 cm. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Gift of Stuart Cary Welch, Jr., 1999.289.*
- Plate 1.4: *Mu'in Musawwir, Portrait of Riza-y 'Abassi, Drawing a European, 1673. Firestone Library, Princeton University.*
- Plate 1.5: *The Chihil Sutun Pavilion, Isfahan, Hunting Scene, c. 1645-1650 (Source: Hossein Aqajani Isfahani and Asghar Javani, Safavid Wall Painting in Isfahan: Chehel Sotun Palace (Teheran 2007)).*

- Plate 1.6a: *Lucas Vorsterman (1595-1675) after Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640), Return from the Flight into Egypt, 1620. Engraving, 42 x 31.2 cm. London, British Museum, bequeathed by Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode (L. 465), Reg. No. R.3.50.*
- Plate 1.6b: *Muhammad Zaman (fl. c. 1649-1700) after Lucas Vorsterman after Peter Paul Rubens, Return from the Flight into Egypt, September 1689 (Safar 1100). Pigments and Gold on Paper, 14 x 20 cm. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Gift of John Goelet, 1966.6.*
- Plate 1.7: *Muhammad Qasim Tabriz (d. 1659), Lovers' Dalliance, Mid-Seventeenth Century. Opaque Watercolor and Gold on Paper, 13 x 21.5 cm. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum. Grace Nichols Strong, Francis H. Burr and Friends of the Fogg Art Museum Funds, 1950.130.*
- Plate 1.8: *Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641), Sir Robert Sherley, 1622. Oil on Canvas, 200 x 133.4 cm. Petworth, Petworth House.*
- Plate 1.9: *Jan Baptist Weenix (1621-1663), The Mission of Johannes Cunaeus on its Way to Isfahan, 1652, c. 1658-1659. Oil on Canvas, 101 x 179 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Inv. No. SK-A-3879.*
- Plate 1.10a: *Jacob Claesz. van Hasselt (?; active 1636-1659), The Wedding Feast of Grietje Hermans van Hasselt and Jochum Berntsen van Haecken, 1636. Oil on Canvas, 119 x 152.7 cm. Utrecht, Centraal Museum, 10046.*
- Plate 1.10b: *Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669), Samson Posing the Riddle to the Wedding Guests, 1638. Oil on Canvas, 126.5 x 175.5 cm. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie.*
- Plate 1.11: *Willem Schellinks (1627-1678), Parade of the Sons of Shah Jahan on Composite Horses and Elephants. London, Victoria & Albert Museum.*
- Plate 2.1: *Holy Family with the Descent of the Holy Spirit, dated 1094 AH /1682-83 CE. 14.5 x 21 cm. Library of the St Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, E-14, fol. 94.*
- Plate 2.2: *Sacrifice of Abraham, dated 1096 AH /1684-85 CE. 17.7 x 24.9 cm. Library of the St Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, E-14, fol. 89.*
- Plate 2.3: *The Holy Family [Earthly Trinity], Bartolomé Estaban Murillo, dated 1640 CE. 222 x 162 cm. Stockholm, The National Museum, Inv. No. NM 4229.*
- Plate 2.4: *Ibrahim's Sacrifice. From Qisas al-anbiyā' [Stories of the Prophets]. 34.7 x 22.5 cm. New York Public Library, Spencer Collection, Pers. Ms 46, f. 32b.*
- Plate 2.5: *All Saviour's Cathedral, New Julfa [Isfahan, Iran], Completed in the 1660s (Source: Unknown).*
- Plate 3.1: *Dutch Seventeenth-Century Tomb-Monument, Pulicat (Photo Jörg Driesner, March 2004).*
- Plate 3.2: *Binnenkerkhof, Publicat, Entrance Gate (Photo Jörg Driesner, March 2004).*
- Plate 3.3: *Binnenkerkhof, Pulicat (Photo Jörg Driesner, March 2004).*

- Plate 4.1: *The Maharana of Udaipur Entertains VOC Ambassador Josua Ketelaar, Udaipur, 1711. Painting on Cloth, Anonymous (Udaipur), 168 x 272 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Inv. No. NG-1987-7.*
- Plate 4.2: *Hendrik van Schuylenburgh, The Trading Post of the Dutch East India Company in Hooghly (Dutch VOC Factory at Hughli), Bengal, 1665. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Inv. No. SK-A-4282.*
- Plate 4.3: *Anonymous, View of Surat (Gezicht op de haven van Suratte, Gujarat), c. 1670. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Inv. No. SK-A-4778.*
- Plate 5.1: *Jan Brandes, Tea Visit in Batavia, 1779-1785. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Inv. No. NG-1985-7-2-15.*
- Plate 5.2: *Anonymous, Plaque Depicting a Mandarin's Visit, c. 1770-c. 1775. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Inv. No. AK-NM-6620-A.*
- Plate 5.3: *Anonymous, Plaque Depicting an Interior with Figures, c. 1770-c. 1775. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Inv. No. AK-NM-6620-B.*
- Plates 6.1a-d: *Mansion at the Chinese Rubber Estate in Karawaci, Tangerang (Photo Peter J. M. Nas, 1977).*
- Plate 7.1: *View, Plan and Diagram of the Great Warehouse of Galle, c. 1717. Drawing in the Day Register of the Circuit Tour by Governor I. A. Rumpf (1673-1723). The Hague, National Archive, 1.11.01.01 (Aanwinsten Eerste Afdeling), Inv. No. 598/11 Old Inv. No. 1892/32b.).*
- Plate 7.2: *Galle, c. 1990 (Collection L. J. Wagenaar).*
- Plate 7.3: *The Reformed Church of Galle (Photo L. J. Wagenaar, 1993).*
- Plate 7.4: *Manuscript Map of the Fortification of Galle by C. F. Reimer and G. E. Schenk, Surveyors, 1790. The Hague, National Archive, 4.VEL 1071.*
- Plate 7.5: *Tombstone of Willem Rex, buried in the Graveyard of the Reformed Church of Galle (Photo L. J. Wagenaar, 1993).*
- Plate 7.6: *The City of Galle Seen From the Flagpole Hut, 1786. Drawing by Jan Brandes (1743-1808). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Jan Brandes, Sketchbook II, Inv. No. NG-1985-7-2-104 and NG-1985-7-2-114 (previously numbered NG-1985-7-2 nrs. 148, 149, 150, 175).*
- Plate 8.1: *Willem Schellinks, Shah Jahan and His Four Sons Hunting. Panel, c. 1655. India, Private Collection.*
- Plate 8.2: *Anonymous Mogul Artist, Jahangir and Akbar. Miniature, 2nd Quarter of the Seventeenth Century. Oxford, Bodleian Library.*
- Plate 8.3: *Rembrandt (After an Anonymous Mogul Artist), Akbar and His Son Selim, c. 1656. Drawing. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-Van Beuningen.*

- Plate 9.1: *Reconstructed Portal of Baumberg Stone, from the Wreck of the Batavia, State of Reconstruction in Fremantle before Original Portal was moved from Fremantle to Geraldton (Photo Shipwreck Galleries, Western Australian Museum, Fremantle).*
- Plate 9.2: *Diwan I-'Amm, with Pietre Dure Inlays in Wall behind Jharokha. Delhi, Red Fort.*
- Plate 9.3: *Dutch Visitors and Gifts. Taipei, National Palace Museum (Photo Museum).*
- Plate 9.4: *Pietre Dure Table Top, Late Sixteenth or Early Seventeenth Century. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accession No. 62.259 (Museum Website).*
- Plate 9.5: *Zick Workshop, Nuremberg, Nestled Cups, Taipei, National Palace Museum (Photo Museum).*
- Plate 9.6: *Zick Workshop, Nuremberg, Turned Ivory. Beijing, Palace Museum. Photo Courtesy of Ching Shih-fei, Personal Archive.*
- Plate 9.7: *The Reception of the Great Mogul, with European Presenting a Lacquer Box. From the Shahnameh. Courtesy of Collection of H.M. the Queen, Windsor Castle.*
- Plate 10.1: *Kawahara Keiga, Deshima. Painting on Paper, Sheet, 220 x 414 mm. Leiden, National Museum of Ethnology, Inv. No. 5996-2.*
- Plate 12.1: *The Ishikawa Brothers, Flowers in a Vase (1796). Copy after Willem van Roijen (1725). Color on Paper, Hanging Scroll, 232.8 x 107 cm. Yokote, Akita Museum of Modern Art.*
- Plate 12.2: *Odano Naotake, The Title Page of Sugita Genpaku et al., Kaitai Shinsho (Edo 1774) (Perspectival Blue Lines by this Author). After Juan Valverde de Hamusco, Anatomia del corpo humano, Rome, 1566. Woodblock Print, 26.6 x 17.9 cm. Akita, Akita Senshū Museum of Art.*
- Plate 12.3: *Odano Naotake, A Westerner Training a Horse. Copy after A Danish Horse from Johann Elias Ridinger, Sammlung von Nationen-Pferden, Augsburg, 1752. Color on Silk, 50.5 x 83.5 cm. Private Collection.*
- Plate 12.4: *Odano Naotake, The Shinobazu Pond. Color on Silk, Framed, 98.5 x 132.5 cm. Yokote, Akita Museum of Modern of Art.*
- Plate 12.5: *Satake Shozan, A Lake Landscape, c. 1778. Color on Paper, Hanging Scroll, 16.0 x 50.0 cm. Akita, Akita Senshū Museum of Art.*
- Plate 12.6: *Satake Shozan, A Sailing Boat. From Satake Shozan, The Third Sketchbook, 1778. Color on Paper. Akita, Akita Senshū Museum of Art.*
- Plate 13.1: *VOC Ambassador Johannes Bacherus in the Camp of Mogul Emperor Aurangzeb in the Deccan, 1689. Painting on Cloth, Anonymous (Golkonda), 245 x 108.5 cm. Amsterdam, Tropenmuseum, Coll. Inv. No. A-9584.*
- Plate 13.2: *The Maharana of Udaipur Entertains VOC Ambassador Josua Ketelaar, Udaipur, 1711. Painting on Cloth, Anonymous (Udaipur), 168 x 272 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. Inv. No. NG-1987-7.*
- Plate 13.3: *VOC Ambassador Johannes Bacherus in the Camp of Mogul Emperor Aurangzeb in the Deccan, 1689. Painting on Cloth, Anonymous (Golkonda), 245 x 108.5 cm. Amsterdam, Tropenmuseum. Coll. Inv. No. A-9584.*

- Plate 13.4: *Eis, Sketches of Two Glatiks (Java Sparrow), a Male and a Female, Ordered by the Japanese, 1813. Ink and Colors on Japanese Paper. The Hague, National Archive, Archief van de Nederlandse Factorij in Japan, Access No. 1.04.21, Inv. No. 1409.*
- Plate 13.5: *Brass Candelabrum Made in Amsterdam and Presented by the VOC to Shogun Iemitsu in 1640 (Photo Cynthia Viallé, Nikkō Tōshōgū, December 2010).*
- Plate 13.6: *Albarelo Excavated from the Tomb of Tokugawa Hidetada (1579-1632) at Zōjō-ji in Tokyo. Dutch Majolica (Source: The Edwin van Drecht Collection, "Dutch Majolica and Delftware", Exhib. Cat. (Tokyo 1995), Ill. No. 1A).*
- Plate 13.7: *Tobacco Pouch and Pipeholder, Early Nineteenth Century. Tokyo, Tobacco & Salt Museum (Source: Goudleer Kinkarakawa. De geschiedenis van het Nederlands goudleer en zijn invloed in Japan, Exhib. Cat. (Zwolle 1989), 76, Ill. No. 40.).*

Index

- Aa, Hillebrand Boudewynsz. van der 192
Aalbers, A. F. 138
Abbas I, Shah 15, 30-33, 36, 39, 41, 46, 49, 51, 65, 66, 71, 76, 187
Abbas II, Shah 15, 30, 33, 34, 36, 39, 53, 74, 291
Abdul Cadier 123
Abdul Ilalik 121, 123
Aceh 83
Achaemenid Empire 27
Adams, John 222, 226
Adams, William 239
Adrichem, Dircq van 291, 308
Agra 15, 101, 102, 106, 188, 189, 196, 199, 200, 223
Ahasuerus, King of Persia 53
Ahmedabad 101
Akbar, Mogul Emperor 55
Akita 267, 275, 276, 278, 282-285, 324
Alam, Muzaffar 42
Aldons, Willem 165
Aleni, Giulio 283
Aleppo 30-32, 195, 198
allegory 114, 124, 205
Almeda, Pieter de 165
Amangkurat I 300, 301
Ambdis, Juriaen 33, 34, 192
amber 210, 222-224, 298, 304-306, 308
Amboina 115, 181, 183
Ambon 122, 181, 185, 193-195, 197-199
America 11, 12, 19, 125, 167, 205, 207, 208, 242, 243
Amstel, Hendrik van 118
Amsterdam 10, 12, 15, 19, 29, 30, 33, 37-42, 51, 55, 73, 77, 87, 96, 97, 102, 115, 132, 138, 149, 156, 158, 178, 181, 184, 186, 187, 191-194, 198-200, 205-207, 242, 256-260, 278, 283-285, 303, 304, 307, 322, 325
Angel, Philip[s] 15, 34-36, 39, 48, 54, 65, 192
Anglo-Dutch War 142, 305
animals 17, 19, 43, 90, 103, 117, 120, 224, 227, 241, 255, 268, 273, 274, 298, 299, 309, 311
Anthonisz, Richard Gerald 162
Antwerp 38, 46, 68-70, 72, 73, 96, 178, 197, 226, 251, 256, 259
Aōdō Denzen (亜欧堂田善) 16, 245, 246, 259, 264
Appels, Adriana 88
Arabs 138
Arakan 83, 152
architecture 9, 10, 13, 77, 84-86, 97-99, 105, 106, 129-139, 148, 171, 172, 207, 210, 215, 217, 251, 270, 327
Ariadne 48
Arima 253
Aristotle 257
Armenian 15, 33, 34, 37-39, 43, 44, 48, 49, 65, 66, 71-77
artifact 17, 90, 92, 97, 177, 218, 220, 321
artisan 12, 13, 89, 100, 112, 113, 159, 219-221, 254, 322, 325
Artois, Paulus 120
Ashraf 30, 39, 68
auction 10-12, 14, 35, 114, 124-126, 146, 156, 161, 163-170
Augsburg 51, 261, 278, 280
Augustus the Strong, Elector of Saxony 208
Aurangzeb, Mogul Emperor 102, 189, 291, 308
Ayutthaya 195, 297, 305, 309

Baade, Johannes 152
Baade, Steven 152
Babaie, Sussan 27, 42, 48, 50
Babylon 30
Bacherus, Johannes 102, 108, 296, 299, 311
Bacon, Roger 257
Baerents, Lijsbeth 186
Baghdad 34, 192
Bailey, Gauvin 45, 46
Bali 152
Balinese 111, 112, 121, 123
Baltic Area 214, 298
Banda 10, 193, 194
Banda Aceh 198
Bandar Abbas 32, 53, 194, 195, 197, 198
Bandung 136-138
Bantam 111, 193, 309
Barentsz, Willem 177
Barthes, Roland 26
Basson, Arnold Willemsz. 121
Batavia 10-15, 25, 33-40, 85, 88, 90, 98, 104, 106, 107, 111-126, 129-136, 142, 143, 147, 158, 159, 161, 163, 164, 170, 179-192, 207, 209, 214-217, 242, 269, 271, 272, 275, 291, 293, 295-309, 323
Beeckman, Andries 192
Beeld, Hendrik Jacob 163
Beg, Abdi 26
Beg, Mamet 36
Beg, Musa 31, 39, 51, 55
Beijing 17, 193, 197, 208, 220, 221, 224-227, 250
Forbidden City 208, 222, 224, 225

- Bengal 11, 98, 104-108, 112, 142, 152, 157, 193, 195, 295,
 296, 299, 304, 305
 Bengalen, Ansla (Angela) van 121
 Bengalen, Klaas Gerritz van 121
 Bengalen, Rosetta van 113, 121
 Berckenrode, Frans Florisz. van 192
 Bergman, George Hendrik Godlieb 120
 Besselman, Johannes 295
 Beurdeley, Cécile 251
 Beurdeley, Michel 251
 Bey, Ali Quli 46
 Bicker, Gerrit 12
 Bihar 104
 Bijapur 31, 53, 100, 107, 194
 Bimunipatnam 83, 84
 Bǐngzhēn, Jiāo (焦秉貞) 283
 birds 16, 43, 255, 268, 270-274, 278, 282, 298, 303, 309,
 323
 Birmingham 220
 Bitchū-no-kami, Ōta 307
 Blaeu, Johannes 96, 97
 Blake, Erin 258
 Bloem, Jan Huybertsz. 186, 187, 192
boedelkamer (estate chamber) 113, 122, 123, 156
 Bokseeng, Nie 122
 Bol, Ferdinand 115
 Bol, Jacob Maertensz 192
 Bol, Laurens J. 36
 Bolivia 19
 Bontius, Jacobus 180
 books 9, 16, 17, 27, 34, 36, 39, 42, 43, 73, 85, 88, 95,
 121-125, 156, 165, 181, 241, 242, 245, 249, 251, 255, 258,
 259, 267, 271, 275-278, 282-284, 298, 302
 Boom, Sybert Jansz. 192
 Bosch, Hendrik van den 192
 Boucheljon, Johannes 305
 Boursse, Esaias 152, 192
 Bowles, John 258
 Braganza 141
 Brahe, Tycho 226
 brass 302-305, 307
 Braun, Georg 251
 Brazil 19, 141, 215
 Breslau (*see also* Wrocław) 186, 193, 196
 British Empire 113
 Broecke, Pieter van den 32
 Broeckhuysen, Frederick Wilhelm 192
 Broeze, Frank 95
 Brootchia 187
 Brug, Peter H. van der 135
 Bruyn, Cornelis de 29, 40, 43-45, 51, 192
 Bufkens, Huybert 37
 Burke, Peter 17
 Burma 306
 Buys, Egbert 16, 245
 Buys, Maria Odilia 55
 Buys, Petronella 55
 Caab, Gisella van de 121
 Caab, Susanna van 121
 Caabse Kunst 124
 Cairo 30
 Calcutta (*see also* Kolkata) 98
 Calicut 83, 98
 Calvinists 87, 146, 155, 157
 Camphuys, Joannes 114, 306-308
 Campong Baroe 125
 Canaletto, Giovanni Antonio 257
 Cannanore 83
 Canton (*see also* Guangzhou) 11, 116, 197, 208, 219, 220
 Cape Colony (*see also* Cape Town) 10, 19, 111-113, 322-326
 Cape of Good Hope 9, 13, 113, 183, 193, 200, 291, 292
 Cape Town 13, 14, 19, 112-120, 126, 207, 216, 221
 Carolus, Joris Joosten, alias Laerle 193
 Caron, François 216, 269, 300
 Carswell, J. 38
 Casparus de Jong 148
 Castiglione, Giuseppe, alias Lang Shih-ning 250-253
 Catholics 39, 43, 75, 86, 87, 156, 157, 217, 226
 Cats, Jacob 56, 241
 Ceijlon, Jan Jansz. van 121
 cemetery 90-92, 105
 Ceram 179, 195
 ceramics 17, 208, 209, 218, 227, 298, 323
 Cestbier, Johannes Nicolaas 120
 Ceylon (*see also* Sri Lanka) 11, 14, 83, 90, 141-151,
 155-158, 162-168, 170, 171, 192-195, 198-200, 292, 294,
 296, 302, 303, 309, 322
 Ch'ien-lung 250, 252, 253
 Chardin, Jean 42, 44, 45, 71, 73
 Chaunu, Pierre 95
 Chennai (*see also* Madras) 92, 96, 99
 Chetties (Chitties) 145, 146, 148, 150, 154, 157, 160-162
 Chihil Sutun 48, 49, 51
 Chikan Lou Temple 211, 214, 215
 Chikugo-no-kami, Inoue 305
 China 11, 14, 17-19, 29, 73, 74, 88, 115, 116, 126, 170, 177,
 178, 182, 186, 205-211, 215-227, 239, 241, 249-254, 258,
 267, 273, 279, 284, 291, 293-295, 298, 304, 306, 308,
 322-324
 Chine de commande 218
 Chinese beeldjes 116, 117
 Chinese 14, 17, 19, 103, 111-126, 131, 132, 136, 138, 183, 184,
 188, 189, 193, 197, 199, 205-211, 214, 215, 217-227, 241,
 248-260, 267, 272, 273, 278, 279, 281-284, 294, 309,
 322, 323, 325, 327

- Chingleput 90
 Chini Mahal 103
 Chinoiserie 103, 209
 Chinsura (*see also* Hughli) 98, 104-106, 108
 Chittagong 98
 Christian IV, King of Denmark 280
 Christians 33, 34, 37, 42, 50, 131, 154, 159, 161, 171, 245
 Chūryō, Morishima (森島中良) 283, 310
 Ciliwung 130, 135
 Citroen, Cosman 138
 Claes Andriesz. 37
 Clarke, George 307
 Claudius, Heinrich 193
 Clausewitz, Carl von 56
 Cleopatra 47, 48
 Clinck, Gerrit, alias Gerardo Clinck 193
 Cloon, Dirk van 308
 Cochin (Kochi) 83, 84, 86, 87, 91, 98, 149, 164, 181, 182, 194, 195, 197, 198
 Cock, Cornelis de 164, 168
 Coeman, Jacob Jansz. 193
 Coen, Jan Pietersz. 10, 25, 111, 133, 180
 Coilum 98
 coins 11, 107, 115, 171
 Colbert, Jean-Baptiste 206
 Collaert, Adriaen 73
 Collaert, Jan 73
 collections 9, 14, 16, 28, 29, 97, 115, 124, 126, 167, 216, 220-223, 225, 254, 273, 310
 Colombo 141-143, 147-150, 152-154, 156, 158-171, 180, 183, 197, 199
 Commelin, Casparus 259
 Commelin, Isaac 53
 Compagnie van Verre 177
 Constant, Carel 33
 Constantinople (*see also* Istanbul) 30, 41, 199
 Copenhagen 281
 Coromandel 11, 15, 83-90, 98, 104, 106, 142, 159, 194, 195, 223, 295, 304
 Cotton, Julian James 91
 Council of the Indies (Raad van Indië) 114, 115, 291, 295, 297
 Coxinga (*see also* Zheng Chenggong) 206, 215
 Coyett, Frederic 206
 Cranganore 83
 Croos, Jan Jacobsz. van der 193
 Crul, Daniel 193
 Cunaeus, Joan 36, 44, 53
 Daendels, Herman Willem 136
dagregisters 148, 214, 216, 218, 240, 241, 297, 307
 Dam, Pieter van 115, 181
 Danckaerts, Appolonia 114
 Dancx, Frans Jansz. 193
 Dapper, Olfert 42, 259
 Dara Shikoh 189, 304
 Das Gupta, Ashin 100
 Davies, D. W. 25
 Decker, David Abrahamsz. de 193
 Delff, Arent Henricxz. 187
 Delff, Jacob Willemsz. 187
 Delff, Willem Jacobsz. 187
 Delft 10, 83, 92, 187, 192-194, 197-199, 209, 218, 249, 298
 Delftware 209, 218
 Delhi 189, 196, 200, 223, 291
 Deloche, Jean 99, 107
 Denmark 125, 280
 Deshima 11, 13, 16, 207, 239-243, 267, 269, 306, 307, 310
 Dessave of Matara 143, 168
 Devanampattinam 86
 Diemen, Antonio van 300, 304
 Djepang 135
 Djoeseeng, Lie 122
 Dodoens, Rembert 255
 Doeff, Hendrik 242, 243
 Does, Jacob van der 206
 Domselaer, Tobias van 259
 Doornick, Jacob van 116
 Doornik, Pieter van 193
 Drakenstein 120
 Dresden 19, 196, 200, 220, 254
 Grünes Gewölbe 220
 Drinckman, David 240
 Dubbels, P. 55
 Dunlop, Hendrik 25, 39, 40
 Dutch East India Company (*see also* Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie, VOC) 9, 12, 25, 30, 40, 42, 55, 65, 84, 111, 125, 132, 141, 143, 154, 155, 157, 163, 170, 177, 178, 191, 206, 310
 Dutch Reformed Church 148, 154-156
 Dutch Republic 16, 29, 32, 33, 114-117, 124, 125, 141, 143, 156, 157, 189, 291, 292
 Duveen, Joseph 56
 Eastern Ghats 90
 Edo 13, 16, 239-242, 246-248, 254-256, 259-262, 267, 270-272, 275-279, 282, 284, 285, 295, 306, 307
 Eenhoorn, Lambert van 193
 Eerste River 112
 Egypt 30, 67, 68, 70, 305
 Ekoji 107
 Elpen, Joan 291
 Engelbrecht, Johannes 165
 English East India Company (EIC) 32, 41, 111, 142, 206, 216

- engraving 16, 38, 46, 47, 68, 70, 116, 178, 179, 245, 277,
 279, 280, 281, 282, 284, 324
 Enkhuizen 10, 196
 Enoshima 262, 263
 Ernst, Roeter 29
 Ethiopia 73
 Euclid 257
 Eurasian 112, 130, 150-157, 162, 164, 171, 206, 322
 Eyck, Philips van 193

 Fa Jo-ch'en 253
 Falck, Iman Willem 142
Farangi 26, 65, 66, 76, 103, 326
 Faydherbe, Rombout 193
 Fiori, Christopher 252
 Flanders 132, 305
 Flinck, Govert 115
 Floor, Willem 27, 30, 35, 37, 38, 65, 66
 Florence 258
 flowers 16, 43, 53, 88, 89, 115, 222, 223, 254, 255, 268,
 270-275, 278, 279, 282, 299, 303, 310, 311
 Fontijn, Claas 165
 Formosa (*see also* Taiwan) 11, 14, 206-208, 211, 213-217
 Fort Gustavus 106
 Fort Seckam (*see also* Provintia) 207, 211, 212, 214
 Fort St. George 90
 Fort Vredeburg 130
 Fort Zeelandia 206, 207, 211-218
 France 112, 113, 142, 242, 258, 311
 Franciscan friars 86, 217
 Frank, Catharina 118, 120
 Frederiksborg Castle 280
 freeburgher 112, 113, 150, 180, 182, 186, 189
 Fremantle 215
 French East India Company (*see also* Compagnie
 française des Indes orientales) 100, 206
 Frisian clock ("frieze Klok") 121-123
 Fuinsai (不韻齋) 248, 261
 Fukien 207, 208
 Fumikazu, Kishi 259
 Functionalism 138
 funerary architecture 84-86, 105
 furniture 14, 15, 17, 88, 120, 169, 171, 183, 219, 223, 258
 fūsetsugaki (風説書) 241

 Galle 14, 141, 143, 145-160, 163-171
 Galle, Philip 178
 Gama, Vasco da 87
 Gamron 32, 34, 35, 40, 55, 293
 Gdańsk 199
 Gennai, Hiraga (平賀源内) 242, 251, 273, 275-278,
 283, 285
 Genpachi, Iwatoya (岩戸屋源八) 248, 261
 Genpaku, Sugita (杉田玄白) 273, 275-277, 285
 genre 15, 16, 40, 74, 75, 116, 124, 226
 Genroku, Okumuraya (奥村屋源六) 247, 248
 Gentaku, Ōtsuki (大槻玄沢) 245, 274, 275
 Geraldton 215
 Germany 113, 149, 196, 225, 298, 304
 Gerson, Horst 180
 Gherardini, Giovanni 252, 253
 Gheyn, Jacques de 178
 Gibraltar; Battle of Gibraltar 40, 269
 gifts 16, 17, 56, 99, 102, 125, 179, 184, 188, 210, 221-225,
 227, 240, 268-270, 272, 292-311, 322
 Gilsemans, Isaack 194
 Goa 31, 83, 84, 86, 194, 196, 198
 Goenoeng Sarie 135
 Goens, Rijckloff van 107, 142
 Goens, Rijckloff van jr. 142, 301, 302
 Goetkint, Antoni Jacobsz. 194
 Goetz, Hermann 53
 Golconda 102, 108
 Golius, Jacobus 28
 Goltzius, Hendrick 19, 178, 179
 Goor, Gerrit Stevensz. van 194
 Gouda 19, 166
 Gouda, Adriaen Arentsz., alias Goud. A. 194
 Goyer, Pieter de 222, 304, 305, 308
 Graaff, Nicolaas de 194
 Graveyard 84, 105, 129, 135, 154, 327
 Great Britain 143, 258
 Greece 20
 Groeneveld 135
 Groningen 87
 Groot, Erlend de 53
 Grueber, Johann 252
 Guandong 220, 221
 Gujarat 55, 98, 100, 101
 Guyana 167
 Gwalior 101

 Haan, F. de 133
 Haarlem 31, 39, 87, 163, 187, 194, 196, 218, 258, 311
 Habermann, Franz Xaver 280
 Haecken, Jochum Berntsen van 53
 Haen, Andries de 205
 Hals, Frans 184, 190
 Hals, Jan Fransz. 184, 194
 Hals, Jan Regniersz. 184, 194
 Hals, Reinier Fransz. 184, 194
 Hanneman, Adriaen 205
 Hantan, Lim 122
 Hartog, Dirk 199
 Hartog, Philip 124
 Harunobu, Suzuki (鈴木春信) 249, 260, 262

- Hasselt, Grietje Hermans van 53
 Hasselt, Jan Lucasz. van 15, 30-33, 36, 39, 53-55, 65, 194, 322
 Heck, Jan Cornelisz. van 114
 Heda, Cornelis Claesz. 31, 39, 187, 194
 Heemskerck, Jacob van 40
 Heren XVII 10, 41, 111, 132, 180, 240, 293, 296, 299, 300, 303, 309
 Hein, Piet 19
 Hemmius, Nicolas 29
 Hendrik, Frederik 41, 269
 Hendriksz., Jan 163
 Herbert, Thomas 30
 Herder, Johann Gottfried 125
 Hermann, Paul 165, 166
 Herodotus 44
 Herport, Albrecht 195
 Hessels, Gerrit 195
 Heupner, D. 164
 Heydt, Johann Wolfgang 148, 154, 157, 158
 Hindustan 41
 Hirado 11, 214, 239, 268, 274, 292, 296, 300
 Hobson-Jobson 151
 Hofstede van Essen, G. 195
 Hogeboom, Isaack 195
 Hogenberg, Franz 251
 Hōitsu, Sakai (酒井抱一) 255
 Hokuju (北壽) 264
 Hokusai, Katsushika (葛飾北斎) 246, 247, 262-264, 277
 Hoogstraten, Samuel van 19
 Hoorn 10, 179, 190, 193, 200
 Hoorn, Jan Claesz. ten 42
 Hoorn, Pieter van 223, 308
 Hormuz 15
 horn
 narwhal horn (unicorn horn) 223, 224, 298, 307
 rhinoceros horn 223
 household 111, 130-132, 146, 152, 159, 164, 165, 168-170, 253, 260, 278
 Chinese 116, 121
 Colonial 99, 113-121, 124, 322, 324
 European 115
 Muslim 146, 169
 Houten, Hendrik van 259
 Houtman, Cornelis de 10
 Hughli (*see also* Chinsura) 98, 104, 106, 108, 193, 198
 Huguenot 71, 112
 Hulftsdorp 143
 Huygens, Christiaan 257
 Huygens, Constantijn 189
 Huysum, Jan van 43
 Imhoff, Gustaaf Willem, Baron van 115, 124, 125, 144, 275
 Indian Ocean 9, 12, 18, 83, 88, 90, 95, 96, 99, 107, 112, 113, 125, 211, 227
 Indijck, Hendrick 257
Indisch 14, 129-139, 223, 327
 inventory 35, 115-117, 135, 166, 216, 240
 Iran 32, 45, 49, 50, 65-67, 71, 73-76
 Iraq 32, 34
 Isfahan 15, 27-44, 46, 48-50, 53-55, 65-67, 71, 74-77, 194, 198, 291, 322
 Ishikawa, Mōkō (孟高) 273-275
 Ishikawa, Tairō (石川大浪) 273-275
 Istanbul (*see also* Constantinople) 28, 195, 199
 Italy 15, 26, 30, 73, 257
 Ivanov, Anatoli 68

 Jacatra 10, 111, 112, 135
 Jaffna (*see also* Jaffnapatnam) 107, 142, 143, 147, 149, 150, 154, 156, 158, 167, 170, 200
 Jahan, Mogul Emperor 97, 188, 189, 223, 304
 Jahangir, Mogul Emperor 55, 97, 188
 Jakarta (*see also* Batavia) 10, 114, 130, 133, 135, 179, 192, 207, 209
 Japara 14, 300, 301
 Java 10, 14, 115, 130, 180, 181, 215, 291, 292, 294, 301
 Jerusalem 30
 Jesuit 15, 17, 73, 76, 222, 226, 227, 245, 250-255, 258, 304, 322
 Jews 76
 Jingdezhen 209
 Jode, Hans de 195
 Jode, Pieter de 68, 69
 Jong, Casparus de 148
 Jong, Willem de 156
 Jonge, Wollebrand Geleynssen de 187, 299
 Jongh, Dirk de 124
 Jongh, Johannes de 195
 Jonston, Jan 241, 256, 278
 Junius, Robert 216, 217
 Jūsaburō, Tsutaya (蔦屋重三郎) 262

 Kaempfer, Engelbert 43, 75, 195
 Kamakura 262
 Kanara 83
 Kanazawa 262
 Kanbei, Nakajima (中島勘兵衛) 260, 262
 Kandahar; Battle of Kandahar 33
 Kandy (*see also* Ceylon) 83, 141-143, 145, 156, 157, 170, 291, 294, 296, 309, 322
 Kangxi Emperor (K'ang-hsi Emperor) 206, 219, 220, 223, 250, 252, 294, 295, 306, 308
 Kant, Immanuel 125

- Kanyakumari 98
 Karawaci 136
 Karsten, Thomas 138
 Kawara, Shijō 256
 Kēchō (慶長) 239
 Keersgieter, Frans Jansz II de 195
 Kepler, Johannes 257
 Kerala 98, 99
 Kessar, Salomon 164
 Ketelaar, Johan Josua 102, 103, 295, 308
 Keuneman, Hendrik Willem August 165
 Keyser, Hendrick 280-283
 Keyser, Jacob de 222, 304, 305, 308
 Khambhat (Cambaya) 187, 199
 Khoikhoi 111
 Khoisan 112
 Kick, Willem Willemsz. 195
 Kieft, Winrinck 300
 Kikkert, Albert 163
 Kipling, Rudyard 84
 Kiyohiro, Torii (鳥居清広) 259, 261
 Kiyomitsu, Torii (鳥居清満) 259, 261
 Kiyotada, Torii 259, 261
 Kiyotsune, Torii (鳥居清経) 259, 261
 Klerk, Reinier de 135
 Klinck, Gerardus 115
 Koedijck, Issack Jansz. 35, 37, 188, 189
 Koeko, Tan 122
 Koilon 83
 Kōkan (高乾) 255
 Kōkan, Shiba (司馬江漢) 16, 245, 249, 255, 259, 260, 262,
 262,
 Kōkin (高鈞) 255
 Kokkadō (国花堂) 248, 261
 Konghiem, Lim 122
 Kota 129
 Krans, Jan 242
 Krishna (Andhra Pradesh) 96
 Kroef, J. M. van der 131
 Kubota, Tadatō (窪田忠任) 270, 271
 Kulmus, Johan Adam 273, 276, 285
 Kuniyoshi, Utagawa 259
 Kyoto 241, 247, 248, 255, 256, 260, 261, 279, 285
 Kyūshū Island 207, 239

 Laet, Jan de 28, 29
 Lahore 187, 188, 197, 199
 Lairese, Gerard de 124, 256, 258, 276, 277, 283-285
 Lairese, Hubert de 291
 Lampe, Joost Barentsz. 33, 39, 195a
 landscapes 15, 16, 48, 50, 101, 104, 105, 108, 114-116, 124,
 177, 210, 226, 255, 257, 262, 268, 270, 271, 278-283, 311
 Landschoot, Nicolaas van 115
 Lantern 14, 115, 126, 302, 303, 305, 307
 Laver, Ferdinandus de 291
 Leeuw, Adriaan Bastiaansz. de 56
 Leiden 28, 29, 34, 54, 55, 149, 187, 192, 195-197, 279, 324
 Leng Mei 253
 Leupe, Pieter Arend 37
 Leuve, Roeland van 259
 Li Zhizao (李之藻) 241
 Liesbeek Valley 112
 Lievens, Dirck 196
 Lievens, Jan I 205
 Lij, Arnoldus de 163
 Lij, Cornelis de 163
 Linhartová, Věra 250
 Linschoten, Jan Huygen van 196
 Lisbon 87
 Lockhorst, Hendrick Boudewijn van, alias Loekar 15,
 33, 36, 39, 196
 Lodensteyn, Jan Joosten van 239
 Loeykong, Be 122
 London 102, 103, 251, 258, 261, 307
 Loos-Haaxman, Jeanne de 9, 180
 Louis Buglio, alias Father Ludovicus 252, 253
 Louis XIV, King of France 206
 Lu Wei 253
 Lucasz., Philips 55
 Lucian 44
 Lunsingh Scheurleer, Pauline 29, 55
 Lust, John 254

 Macao 194, 207, 208, 226, 227
 Macartney, George 225
 Maclaine Pont, Henri 137, 138
 Madras (*see also* Chennai) 84-86, 89, 90, 92
 Madura 152
 Maetsuyker, Joan 34, 35, 300, 301, 308
 Magamadoe, Slema Lebbe Markair Koos 167
 Majlisi, Muhammad Baqir II 67, 74-76
 Majlisi, Muhammad Taqi 74
 Makassar 154, 198
 Malabar 83, 84, 86, 87, 90, 98, 142, 146, 148, 181, 194,
 199
 Malacca 19, 83, 90, 101, 141, 154
 Mander, Karel van 258
 Manhattan 19
 Manila 73
 map 96, 97, 100, 115, 120, 122, 132, 182, 183, 185, 188, 214,
 283, 321
 Mardijkers 111, 112, 131
 Martandavarma 98
 Martheze, Cornelis 166
 Martin, François 100
 Martinet, Johannes Florentius 242

- Masanobu, Okumura (奥村政信) 248, 256, 258-261, 264
 Masatsuna, Kutsuki (朽木昌綱) 242
 Masayoshi, Kitao (北尾政美) 261, 262
 Masulipatnam 83, 84, 90, 192, 199, 223
 Masunobu, Tanaka (田中益信) 248, 259
 Mataram 111, 180, 291, 292, 294, 300, 301, 309
 Matelieff, Cornelis de Jonge 196
 Matthee, Rudi 32, 44, 45, 56
 Maurice, John, Prince of Nassau-Siegen 215
 Mecca 67, 75
 Meijhuijsen, Godfried 116
 Meister, Georg 196
 Ment, Eva 180
 Mercator, Gerhard 96
 Mesopotamia 20
mestizo 111-113, 131, 148, 151, 155
 Meteren, Abraham Emanuelsz. van 189, 196
 Methlajatam (*see also* Masulipatnam) 222, 223
 Metsu, Gabriel 54
 Meurs, Jacob van 259
 Middelburg 36, 156, 198
 Mierevelt, Michiel Jansz. van 187
 Milone, Pauline 130, 131
 Mimeguri shrine 245, 263
 miniature 29, 43, 97, 103, 125, 188, 189, 224, 298
 Minten, Adriaen 180, 196
 mirror 99, 120-123, 210, 256-263, 293, 298, 299, 304-307, 311
 missionaries 15, 39, 50, 65, 75, 84, 217, 220, 226, 227, 249, 252, 267
 Mitsunobu, Hasegawa (長谷川光信) 256
 Miyako (*see also* Kyoto) 279, 307
 Mocha 101, 123, 292
 Mogul 15-17, 19, 25, 29, 33, 55, 73, 97-103, 105, 106, 108, 125, 178, 182, 188, 189, 223, 291-295, 304, 308
 Mol, Roelandina de 186
 Moluccas 10, 111, 115, 181, 182, 298
 Monzaemon, Chikamatsu (近松門左衛門) 256
 Mookerji, Radha Kumud 95
 Moorish 115, 121
 Moors (*see also* Moren) 40, 112, 146, 148, 154, 311
 Moren 112, 145, 146
 Morocco 187
 Moroshige, Furuyama 259
 Mossel, Jacob 115
 Moxon, Joseph 250, 283
 Mu'in Musawwir 48, 50
 Muche, Heinrich 186, 196
 Mumbai 96
 Munkerus, Hendricus 116, 124
 Muslims 14, 19, 26, 33, 34, 40, 41, 48, 49, 66, 67, 71, 73-75, 112, 121, 145, 146, 148, 150, 154, 156, 157, 160-162, 164-170, 189, 299, 308
 Mylapore 83
 Müller, Jörg Franz 196
 Möller, Anna Margaretha 89
 Nadal, Hieronymus 38
 Nadal, Jerome 72, 73, 251
 Nadir, Shah 27
 Nagapattinam 83, 84, 88-91, 149
 Nagasaki 11, 16, 207, 239-243, 247, 249, 254, 255, 257, 267, 269-272, 275, 285, 295, 306
 Nakanochō (中の町) 247, 248
 Nan-pin, Ch'en (沈南蘋) 255
 Naotake, Odano (小田野直武) 16, 275-285
 Naqshband, Khvaja Ghiyath 46
 Narai, King of Siam (*see also* Somdet Phra Narai Maharat) 299, 301-303, 307, 309
 Negapatam 100, 106, 107
 Nessel, Johan 196
 Netscher, Anthonie 196
 New York (*see also* Nieuw Amsterdam) 19, 118
 Ni I-ch'eng, alias Jacopo Niva 253
 Niccolo, Giovanni 253
 Nicolaasz, Johannes 165
 Nien Hsi-yao (年希堯) 250, 251
 Nieuhof, Johan 186, 196, 222, 223
 Nieuw Amsterdam (*see also* New York) 19
 Nieuwpoort; Battle of Nieuwpoort 268, 305
 Nihonbashi 262
 Nijs, J.J. de 197
 Nizampatnam 83
 Noorwits, Joost Pauwels 197, 216
 Noschen, Joachim 259
 Nova Zembla or Nova Zemlja 177, 178
 Nuremberg 17, 221, 298, 311
 Odeaar, Siddie Lebbe 170
 Oka, Yasumasa 256
 Ōkyo, Maruyama 248, 251, 260-262
 Olearius, Adam 28, 42
 Oostende, Adriaen van 40
 Orange (House of Orange) 114, 115, 125, 205, 216
 Orphanage 156, 169, 171
 Ortelijs, Abraham 251
 Osaka 255-257, 260, 261, 307
 Oskan Erevants'i 73
 Ottensz de Hart, Jan 194
 Outhoorn, Willem van 115, 293
 Overschie, Nicolaes Jacobsz. 40, 41
 Overton, Henry 258

- Paarl 120
 Padmanabhasvami 98
 Paets, Vincent 224, 295, 306, 308
 paintings 13-16, 19, 25, 26, 30-51, 53-56, 65-68, 70-71, 73-77, 87, 89, 96, 97, 100-106, 108, 114-126, 133, 170, 177-180, 182-190, 205, 210, 216, 219, 224-226, 241, 247, 249-255, 257, 258, 260, 267-279, 282-284, 298, 299, 305, 306, 308, 311, 323-325
 Palakollu 84
 Palin, Martin 197
 Palladio, Andrea di Piero della Gondola 251
 Paris 260, 261
 Parra, Petrus Albertus van der 135
 Passe, Crispijn van de 15, 116
 Patani 178
 Patna 104, 106, 299
 Peeters, Gillis II 197
 Pegu 83
 Peking 193, 197, 252, 253, 295, 304
 Pelsaert, Francisco 188
 Pengoemben 135
 Percellis, Jan Jansz. 184, 197
 Perry, Matthew Calbraith 243
 Persepolis 36, 43, 195
 Persia 11, 13, 15, 16, 20, 25-57, 65-68, 71, 73, 75, 76, 98, 101, 102, 178, 182, 186-189, 192, 193, 195, 196, 198, 200, 205, 227, 269, 291, 293-295, 297-299, 304, 305, 311, 322-326
 Peru 19
 Petapoli 83
 Peters, Marion 84, 88
 Petitpierre-Boy, Charles-Henry 224
 Pettah 154, 171
 Phetracha, King of Siam 307, 309
 Philips Angel II, alias Philips Angel of Leiden 192
 Pieters, Salomon 120
 Pietersen, Hendrick 121
 Pietersz, Barent 292, 294, 299
 Pijl, Laurens 142
 Ping-chen, Chiao 252
 Piot, Johann Elisabeth 121
 Piranesi, Giovanni Battista 245
plakkaat 85, 158, 159, 161
 Plantin Press 38
 Plantin, Christoph 251
 Pluche, Noël-Antoine 278
 Poland 113
 Pollinckhoven, Geertruyda van 115
 Pomp, Dirck Gerritsz. alias Dirck China 177, 210
 Pondicherry 99, 100
 Pontanus, Johann Isaacs. 259
 porcelain 11, 12, 14, 25, 114, 117, 118, 122, 126, 133, 170, 208-210, 216, 218, 219, 227, 298, 323
 Porta, Giovanni della 257
 Porto Novo 92
 portraits 15, 30, 33, 36, 39, 40, 46, 48, 50, 51, 53-55, 102, 103, 108, 114-116, 118, 121, 124, 125, 182, 187, 190, 216, 218, 252, 270, 271
 Portugal 141, 142
 Post, Pieter 205
 Potosí 19
 Pozzo, Andrea 250, 251, 256, 258
 Prague 31, 46, 51, 187
 prints 13-17, 29, 38, 39, 43, 46, 53, 66, 70, 71, 73-76, 87-89, 97, 115-125, 168, 170, 171, 177, 178, 210, 216, 217, 225, 226, 241, 245-264, 273, 275-278, 283, 299, 311, 324
 suzhou prints 249, 254, 256, 258, 260
 Ptolemy, Claudius 96
 Pulicat 83, 84, 86, 89-92, 107, 304
 Punto-Gale, Eijda van 121
 Puttalam 145

 Qazvin 37
 Qianlong Emperor 291, 294
 Qing (Ch'ing) dynasty 206, 215, 219, 224
 Quackernaeck, Jacob Jansz. 239
 Quanzhou 88

 Raben, Remco 146
 Rach, Johannes 129, 130, 132, 133
 Raffles, Thomas 243
 Raghava, Vijaya 107
 Raimondi, Marcantonio 47, 48
 Rajastan 16, 17, 101-103
 Rajmahal 104, 106
 Rajput 16
ranga (蘭画) 16, 17, 241, 242, 267, 271, 274-276, 278, 282-285, 324
rangaku (蘭学, Dutch Studies) 16, 241, 242, 255, 271, 273-277, 285, 310
rangakusha 255
 Rea, Alexander 84
 Recife 215
 Reede, Hendrik Adriaan van 181
 Reijndertsz., David 120
 Reimers, Jan Philipp 121
 Renen, Jacob van 120
 Reynst, Gerrit 12
 Ricci, Matteo 226, 241, 251, 283
 Ridinger, Johann Elias 278
 Riebeeck, Jan van 111
 Rijn, Cornelia van 184, 190
 Rijn, Rembrandt van 34, 53-56, 116, 184, 189, 190, 269
 Rijssen, Johan van 191
 Riza 47, 48, 50

- Roberts, Michael 151
 Rococo 14, 89
 Rome 20, 258
 Ross, Robert 120
 Rotterdam 10, 187, 188, 194, 196, 197, 199, 239, 242
 Roxburgh, David 39, 40
 Roy, Abraham de 187
 Rubens, Peter Paul 33, 51, 52, 68, 70
 Rudolf II, Emperor of Prague 31, 39, 46
 Ruijter, Pieter de 197
 Rumphius, Georg Everhard 181, 182, 185, 197
 Rumphius, Paulus Augustus 197
 Runstorff, Barend Frederik 169
 Ruysch, Rachel 43
 Ruysdael 116
 Ryōki (梁基) 255

 Sabarmati 101
 Saburozaemon 257
 Sadeler, Aegidius 46, 51
 Sadeler, Fleming Aegidius 70
 Sadiqi Beg 45, 46, 48
 Sadras 84, 86, 88-92
 Sadraspatnam 15
 Safavid 15, 25-27, 30, 33, 36, 40-42, 48-50, 56, 65-68, 70, 71, 73-77, 102, 297
 Safi, Shah 32, 33, 37, 39-41, 50, 299
 Saftleven, Abraham 197
 sailor 112, 159, 166, 167, 189, 194, 197, 199
 Saint-Martin, Isaac de l'Ostal de 114
sakoku (鎖国) 239, 242
 Samtjauw 122
 San Tomé 83
 Sande, Michiel van de 197
 Sanders, Samuel 165
 Sandrart, Joachim von 189
 Sanemon, Izutsuya (井筒屋三右衛門) 248
 Santo Domingo 211
 Sarcerius, Dirck 35
 Sarie, Goenoeng 135
 Sarief, Lebbe Magm 168
 Satgaon 98
 Sayer, Robert 258
 Sayfoedin of Tidore 125
 Scalliet, Marie-Odette 180
 Scandinavia 113
 Scarce, Jennifer 54
 Schall, Adam 226
 Schee, J. van der 198
 Schellinks, Willem 19, 20, 55, 189
schepenbank (aldermen's court) 113, 122, 123
schilderijtjes 116, 120, 121, 170
 Schmalkalden, Caspar 198
 Schoemaker, Charles Wolff 137, 138
 Schoester, George 120
 Schoonhoven 183
 Schreuder, Jan 146, 148, 154
 Schuylenburgh, Hendrick van 104, 198
 sculpture 13, 88, 90, 108, 115, 205, 210, 218, 239
 seascapes 107, 116, 124, 268
 Semarang 136
 Semedo, Alvarez de 251
 Sennepart, Constant 29
 Senshū, Araki 255
 Serlio, Sebastiano 215
 Shang-kuan Chou 253
 Sher Khan Lodi 100
 Sherley, Sir Anthony 42, 51
 Shigan, Sō (宋紫岩) 255
 Shigenaga, Nishimura (西村重長) 259, 261
 Shigenobu 259
 Shihei, Hayashi 310
 Shiraz 26, 32, 54, 198
 Shiseki, Sō (宋紫石) 255, 273, 275, 278, 279
 Shozan, Satake (佐竹曙山) 250, 267, 275, 284
 Shūboku, Watanabe (渡辺秀朴) 255
 Shunrō, Katsukawa (勝川春朗, *see also* Hokusai) 262
 Shūseki, Watanabe (渡辺秀石) 255
 Siam 215, 269, 293, 297, 299, 301, 303, 307, 309
 Sichem, Barend Christoffelsz. van 30, 33, 37-39, 198
 Sichem, Christoffel II van 73
 Sichem, Christoffel IV van 198
 Sichem, Christoffel van 38, 39
 Siebold, Philipp Franz Balthasar von 240
 Siegburg 298
 Siekmans, Johanna 120
 Sieling, Caspar 165, 167, 168
 Sigehide, Shimazu (島津重豪) 276
 Silva, Louis de 168
 Silve, Simon de 168
 silverware 14, 120, 183, 309
 Sims, Eleanor 45
 Singh, Amar 103
 Singh, Maharana Sangram II 16
 Singh, Raja Sangram, King of Udaipur 102, 103
 Sinhalese 14, 141-143, 145, 148, 150, 151, 154-158, 160-162, 164-168, 171, 172
 Sipman, Johannes Phillipus 198
 Sitters, Johannes van 120
 skipper 163, 164, 167-169, 193
 Slatkes, Leonard 53, 55
 Smeckkenbecher, Carel Benedict 124
 Smuts, Anna Margaretha 120
 Soekiman, Djoko 131
 Soeyko, Tan 122

- soldier 9, 10, 27, 111-113, 120, 154, 155, 157, 159, 161, 166-168, 178, 185, 189, 192, 193, 195-198, 222
 Solemne, David de 198
 Someren, Abraham van 259, 302
 Soudavar, Abolala 41
 South Africa 9, 10, 113, 181
 Southeast Asia 11, 15, 83, 87, 90, 98, 101, 115, 125, 151, 181, 207, 291
 Spain 19, 70, 141, 217
 Spar, Mattheus van der 168
 Speckaert, Jan 70
 Specx, Jacques 55, 292, 294, 296, 299, 304, 309
 Speelman, Cornelis 42, 302, 303
 Speult, Herman van 187
 Spice Islands 18
 Splinter, Marcelis II Gerritsz. 198
 Springer, Gerrit 164
 Sri Lanka (*see also* Ceylon) 11, 18, 25, 53, 98, 104, 107, 141, 144-148, 154, 157, 170, 171, 192, 221, 223, 325, 327
 Gampaha District 141
 Stasiun Tugu 130
 Stavorinus, Jan 121
 Steen, Jan 184, 197
 Steenwijck, Harmen Evertsz. van 198
 Stel, Maria van der 35
 Stel, Simon van der 35
 Stellenbosch 35, 112, 119, 120
 Stephen, Jayaseela 99
 Stevin, Simon 132
 Stralen, Joris van 116
 Strigt, Peter van 157
 Strijdom, Adriana 124
 Struys, Jan 42
 Stulingh, Abraham Lambrechtsz. 187, 198
 Stuyling, Geertgen Cornelisdr. 187
 Stuyling, Joost Cornelisz. 187
 Subrahmanyam, Sanjay 42
 Suez 84
 Suez Canal 136
 sugar 11, 40, 112, 130, 135, 165, 172, 214, 301
 Suijthoff, Cornelis 184
 Sulayman, Shah 49, 62, 66, 68, 73-77
 Sullivan, Michael 252, 253
 Sulzer, Johann Georg 125
 Sunda Kelapa harbor 130
 Surabaya 136
 Surat 15, 30-32, 37, 98-102, 106, 187-189, 195, 196, 199, 200, 292, 295, 305
 Surinam 167
 Suurwaarden, Elsje van 116
 Suythof, Cornelis Bartholomeusz. 198
 Swammerdam, Johan Jacobsz. 29
 Sweerts, Michiel 198
 Syria 28
 Tafelbay 117
 Tahmasp I, Shah 41, 48
 Tainan 206, 211, 212, 217
 Taipei 211, 220, 221, 224, 225
 Taiwan 7, 11, 17, 195, 197, 198, 200, 205-218, 220, 226, 227
 Tamil 14, 96, 100, 107, 112, 145, 146, 156, 158, 162, 171
 Tamraparni 96
 TANAP (Towards a New Age of Partnership) 9, 181
 Tandjong Oost (Mansion) 135, 136
 Tangerang 136
 Tangjonpoera 125
 Tanjore 107
 Taqi, Saru 33, 39
 Tavernier, Jean-Baptiste 36
 Tayheep, Sariepa Aloeya Binli Achmat Aboeff 123
 Teibai (鄭培) 255
 Telok Poetjong 135
 Telugu 107
 Tenasserim Island 83
 Thalun 306
 The Hague 9, 32, 51, 196, 205-207, 267, 292
 theater 16, 131, 155, 247, 248, 256, 259, 261
 Thim, Johan Hendricksz. 199
 Thisgingno 121
 Thomson, James 213
 Thunberg, Carl Peter 240
 Tiruchirapalli 90
 Titsingh, Isaac 224, 242, 291
 Tjengkareng 135
 Tjililitan 135
 Tjimanggis 135
 Tjitrap 135
 Tokugawa Shogunate (徳川幕府) 239, 242, 267, 270, 275, 304
 Tokugawa, Iemitsu (家光) 267-269, 303-305
 Tokugawa, Ietsuna 257, 305
 Tokugawa, Ieyasu 239, 295, 304
 Tokugawa, Yoshimune (吉宗) 16, 241, 249, 268-273, 275, 307, 308
 Tokyo 239, 304, 306
 Toorzee, Jan Christiaensz. 199
 Tōri Shiochō (通塩町) 247
 Toyoharu, Utagawa (歌川豊春) 248, 249, 259-262
 Toyokuni, Utagawa (歌川豊国) 262
 trade 9-16, 19, 25, 31-35, 37, 40, 41, 44, 65, 83, 88, 95, 97-99, 107, 108, 111-113, 116, 125, 126, 144-148, 154, 157, 159, 163, 164, 177-179, 188, 189, 205-210, 216, 218-222, 225, 227, 239, 240, 254, 262, 267, 291-298, 303-305, 309, 310
 Tranquebar 86

- Travancore 98, 99
 Trincomale 142
 Trivandrum 98
tsūji (通詞) 240, 242, 271
 Turkey 28, 195, 307
 Tuticorin 145, 159
 Tzum, Reinier van 257
 Tzu-yen, Sung 255

 Udaipur 16, 102, 103
ukie (浮絵, prints) 16, 17, 245, 248, 249, 254, 256, 258-262, 264, 275
*ukiyo*e (浮世絵, prints) 248, 259
 Uppar River 100
 Uruga 239, 243
 Urokoataya (鱗形屋) 248
 Utrecht 53, 179-180, 190-192

 Valadés, Diego 217
 Valckenier family 115
 Valentijn, François 36
 Valle, Pietro della 30, 31
 Valverde de Hamusco, Juan 276, 277
 Vapoer, Hendrick Arentsz. 15, 187, 188, 190, 199
 Varick, Margarieta van 19
 Vasari, Giorgio 210
 Vatican 48
 Veenendaal, Jan 169
 Velde, Dirck Daniëlsz. van de 199
 Venice 46, 249, 251, 257, 258, 305
 Verbergmoes, Jacob 100
 Verbiest, Ferdinand 226, 252
 Verduyn, Nicolaes 190, 191
 Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (Dutch East India Company, VOC) 9-20, 25, 28, 30-42, 45, 49, 53-57, 65, 74, 75, 83-86, 96-108, 111-115, 124-126, 130, 132, 138, 139, 141-143, 154, 155, 157, 163, 169-171, 177-182, 206-211, 214-227, 239, 240, 242, 247, 267-271, 284, 285, 291-301, 305, 306, 308-310, 322, 323, 326
 Verheyden, Jacobus 259
 Vermeer, Johannes 257
 Verwer, Abraham de 269
 Verwer, Justus de 199
 Victors, Jan Louisz. 199
 Victors, Victor Jansz. 199
 Villaseñor, Charlene 70
 Ville Blanche 100
 Ville Noire 100
 Vinant, Gillis 114, 124
 Vingboons, Pieter 199
 Vischbee, Cornelis 199
 Visnich, Huybert 30-32
 Vitruvius, Marcus Pollio 251

 Vizagapatnam 90
 Vliet, Rense van 163, 167, 168, 170
 Volger, Wilhelm 305, 306
 Vollenhoven, Herman van 179, 190, 191
 Vorsterman, Lucas 68, 70, 199
 Vosch, Jorephaes 189, 200
 Vossius, Isaac 189
 Vries, Hans Vredeman de 259
 Vrolijk, Sweris 167

 Waal de Jonge, Jan de 124
 Wagenaer, Zacharias 19, 200, 300, 301
wakashū 248
 Waldpot, Johann Leonard 120
 Wall, V. I. van de 135
 Wecke, Daniel Eregod 169
 Weenix, Jan Baptist 53
weeskamer 113, 156, 166
 Weltevreden 132, 135, 136
 Wertheim, Wim F. 131
 West Friesland 164, 205
 Westerwolt, Adam 37
 West-Indische Compagnie (West India Company, WIC) 19, 20
 Westphalian stoneware 214, 218
 Weyerman 135
 Wierix, Hieronymus 72
 Wijck, Hendrick van 37, 293
 Wijk bij Duurstede 183, 200
 Wijkmeesters 159
 William II, King of Netherlands 243
 William V, Stadtholder 164, 292
 Willingh, Nicholaes 205
 Williwittij 166
 Wils, E. 131
 Wilst, Jacob 302<QUOTE+>
 Winter, Jan de 164
 Wit, Thomas de 19, 118, 120, 126
 Withoos, Frans 200
 Witssen, Nicolas 97
 Wolf, J.C. 150
 Wollebrant Geleijnsz. 40, 299
 Wolvendaal 171
 Wu Bin 253
 Wunder, Michiel Hendrik 163
 Wyntgis, Balthazar 179, 180, 190, 191

 Xač'atur 73

 Yahei, Matsumura 248, 261
 Yamuna 101
 Yashima; Battle of Yashima 261
 Yasumasa, Oka 256

- Ying-hsing, Sung (宋応星) 251
Yōfūga (洋風画) 246
Yogyakarta 130
Yohachi, Nishimuraya (西村屋与八) 248, 261, 262
Yohei, Sōshūya 263
Yohyōe, Kurokawa 306
Yongzheng Emperor 221
Yoshiwara 245-248, 259, 261
Yovhannēs Mrk'uz 73, 74, 77
Yuan Ming Yuen 225
Yung-cheng 250, 253
Yüan, Shen 253
Zaman, Muhammad (Muhammad Zaman ibn-i Haji Yusuf) 15, 49, 50, 66-68, 70, 71, 73-76
Zandvliet, Kees 180
Zeeland 10-12, 163
Zeelandia 11, 206, 207, 211-218
Zesen, Philipp von 259
Zhang Geng 252
Zhang Yanyuan (張彦遠) 283
Zick family 221
Zill al-Sultan 27
Zilve, Adriaan de 164
zogrscope 256-258, 260-262



Plate A: Anonymous Painter, Sayfoedin – Sultan of Tidore, Second Half of the Seventeenth Century.



Plate 1.1a: Christoffel van Sichem II (1581-1658), *The Temptation of Christ*. Woodcut from *Bibels Tresoor*, 1646.

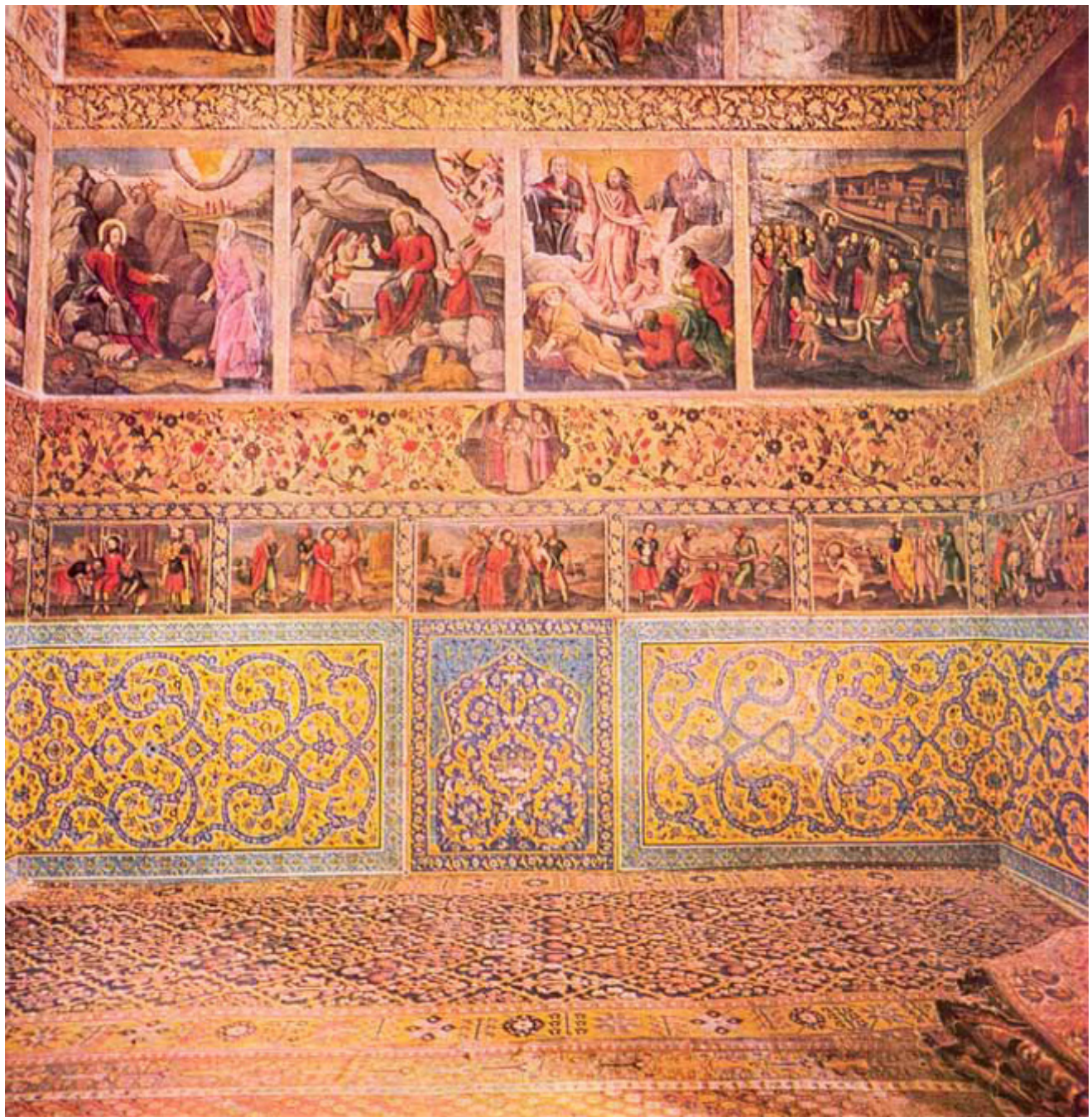


Plate 1.1b: Painted Wall in the All Saviors Cathedral, with Temptation of Christ on Left. New Julfa, Isfahan.



Plate 1.2a: Jami, Yusuf's Marriage Banquet, c. 1550-1565. From the Haft Awrang (Seven Thrones).

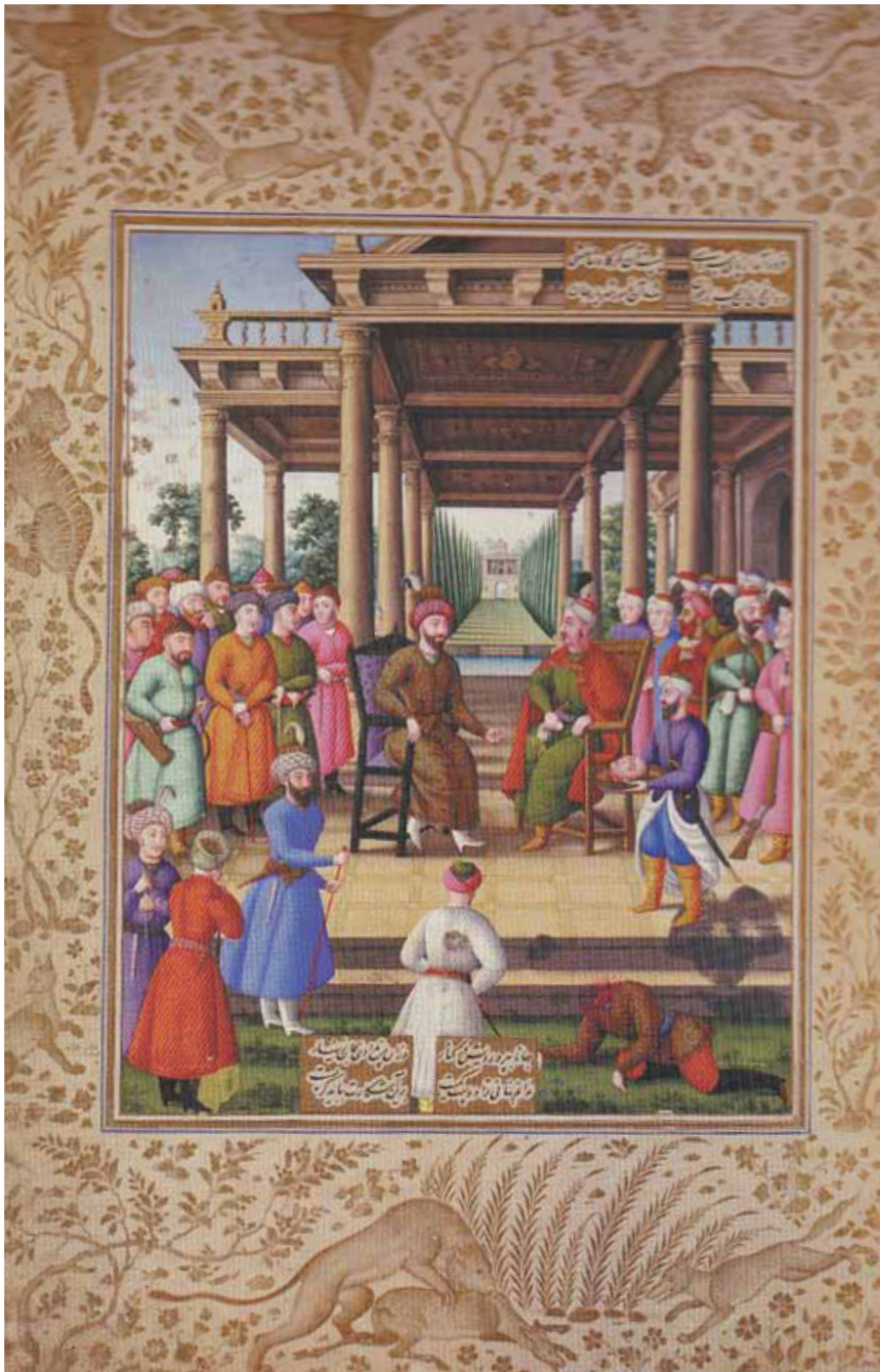


Plate 1.2b: The Head of Iraj Presented to his Brothers Salm and Tur. Isfahan or Ashraf, c. 1675-1676.



Plate 1.3a: Master of the Banderoles (active c. 1450-1475), *The Annunciation*, c. 1450-1470. Engraving.

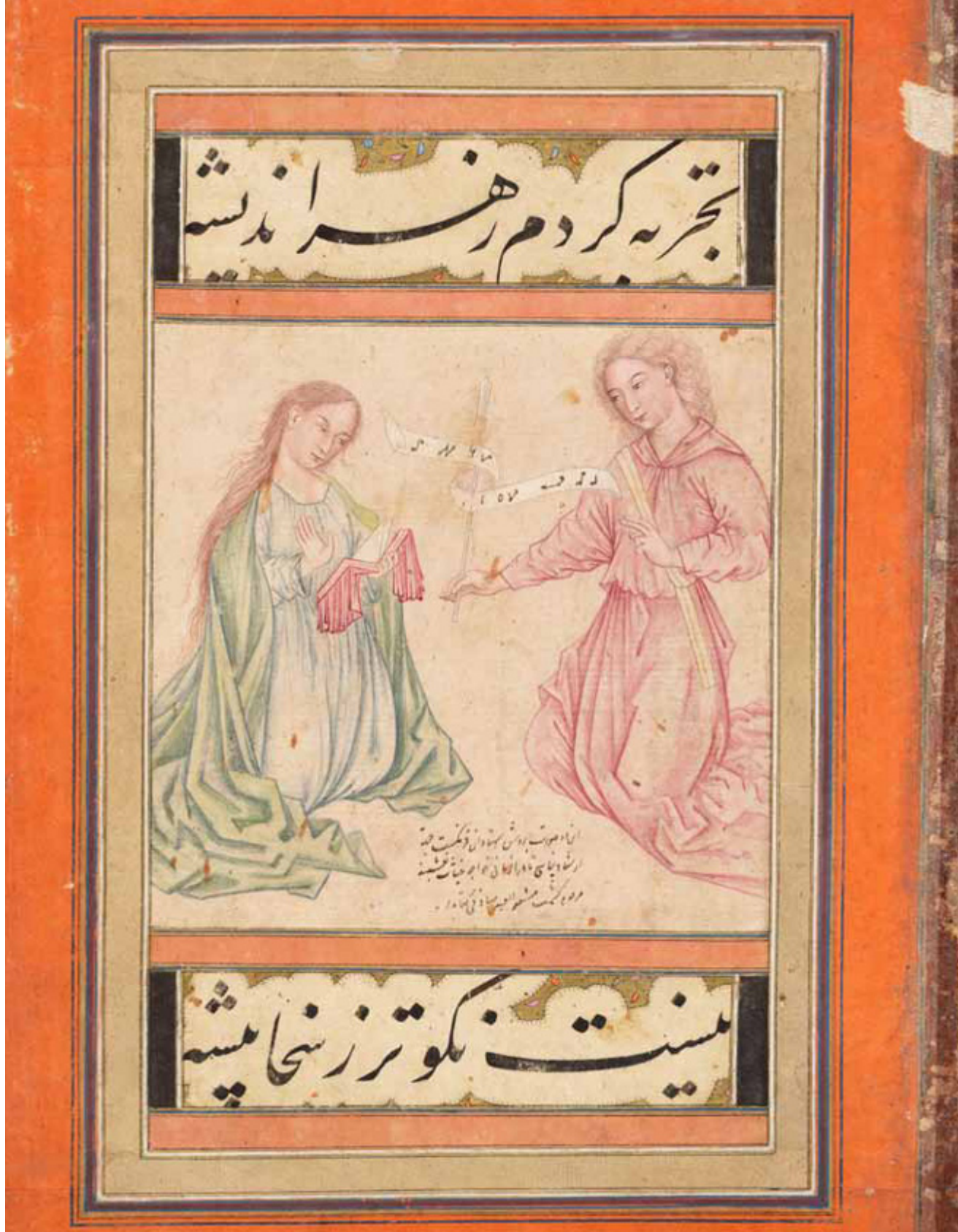


Plate 1.3b: Sadiqi Beg (1533/34-1609/10), *Kneeling Woman Approached by a Man*, c. 1587-1610. Pigments on Paper.

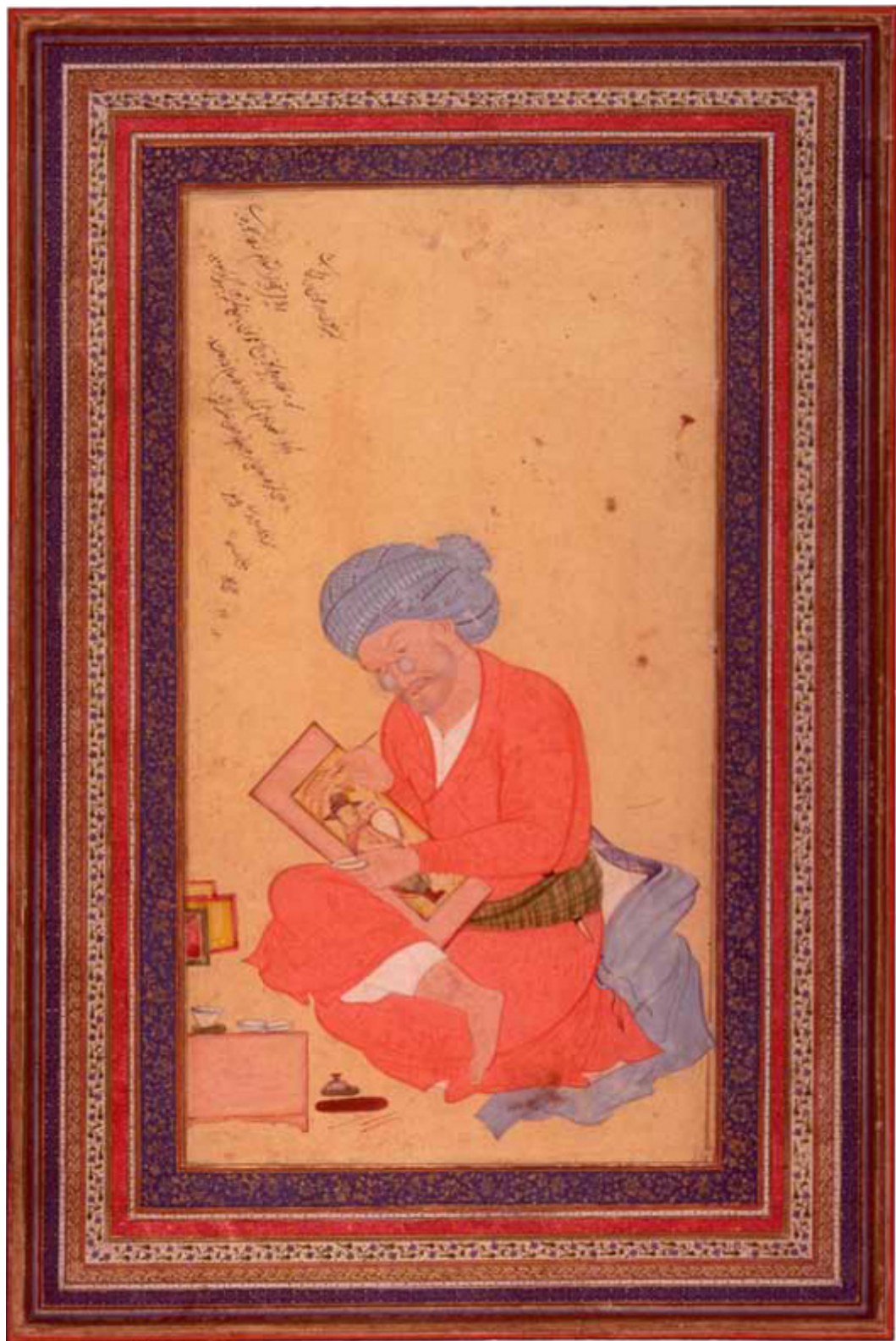


Plate 1.4: Mu'in Musawwir, Portrait of Riza-y 'Abassi, Drawing a European, 1673.



Plate 1.5: The Chihil Sutun Pavilion, Isfahan, Hunting Scene, c. 1645-1650.



Plate 1.6a: Lucas Vorsterman (1595-1675) after Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640), *Return from the Flight into Egypt*, 1620. Engraving.



Plate 1.6b: Muhammad Zaman (fl. 1650-1700) after Lucas Vorsterman after Peter Paul Rubens, *Return from the Flight into Egypt*, September 1689 (Safar 1100). Pigments and Gold on Paper.



Plate 1.7: Muhammad Qasim Tabriz (d. 1659), *Lovers' Dalliance*, Mid-Seventeenth Century. Opaque Watercolor and Gold on Paper.



Plate 1.8: Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641), *Sir Robert Sherley*, 1622. Oil on Canvas.



Plate 1.9: Jan Baptist Weenix (1621-1663), The Mission of Joan Cunaeus on its Way to Isfahan, 1652, c. 1658-1659. Oil on Canvas.



Plate 1.10a: Jacob Claesz. van Hasselt (?; active 1636-1659), *The Wedding Feast of Grietje Hermans van Hasselt and Jochum Berntsen van Haecken*, 1636. Oil on Canvas.



Plate 1.10b: Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669), Samson Posing the Riddle to the Wedding Guests, 1638. Oil on Canvas.



Plate 1.11: Willem Schellinks (1627-1678), Parade of the Sons of Shah Jahan on Composite Horses and Elephants.



Plate 2.1: Holy Family with the Descent of the Holy Spirit, dated 1094 AH /1682-83 CE.



Plate 2.2: Sacrifice of Abraham, dated 1096 AH /1684-85 CE.



Plate 2.3: The Holy Family [Earthly Trinity], by Bartolomé Estaban Murillo, dated 1640 CE.



Plate 2.4: Ibrahim's Sacrifice, From *Qisas al-anbiyā'* [Stories of the Prophets].



Plate 2.5: All Saviour's Cathedral, New Julfa [Isfahan, Iran], completed in the 1660s.



Plate 3.1: Dutch Seventeenth-Century Tomb-Monument, Pulicat.



Plate 3.2: Binnenkerkhof, Pulicat, Entrance Gate.



Plate 3.3: Binnenkerkhof, Pulicat.



Plate 4.1: The Maharana of Udaipur Entertains VOC Ambassador Josua Ketelaar, Udaipur 1711. Painting on Cloth, Anonymous (Udaipur).



Plate 4.2: Hendrik van Schuylenburgh, The Trading Post of the Dutch East India Company in Hooghly (Dutch VOC Factory at Hughli), Bengal 1665.



Plate 4.3: Anonymous, *View of Surat* (*Gezicht op de haven van Suratte, Gujarat*), c. 1670.



Plate 5.1: Jan Brandes, *Tea Visit in Batavia*, 1779-1785.



Plate 5.2: Anonymous, *Plaque Depicting a Mandarin's Visit*, c. 1770-c. 1775.



Plate 5.3: Anonymous, *Plaque Depicting an Interior with Figures*, c. 1770-c. 1775.



Plate 6.1a: Mansion at the Chinese Rubber Estate in Karawaci, Tangerang.



Plate 6.1b: Mansion at the Chinese Rubber Estate in Karawaci, Tangerang.



Plate 6.1c: Mansion at the Chinese Rubber Estate in Karawaci, Tangerang.



Plates 6.1d: Mansion at the Chinese Rubber Estate in Karawaci, Tangerang.

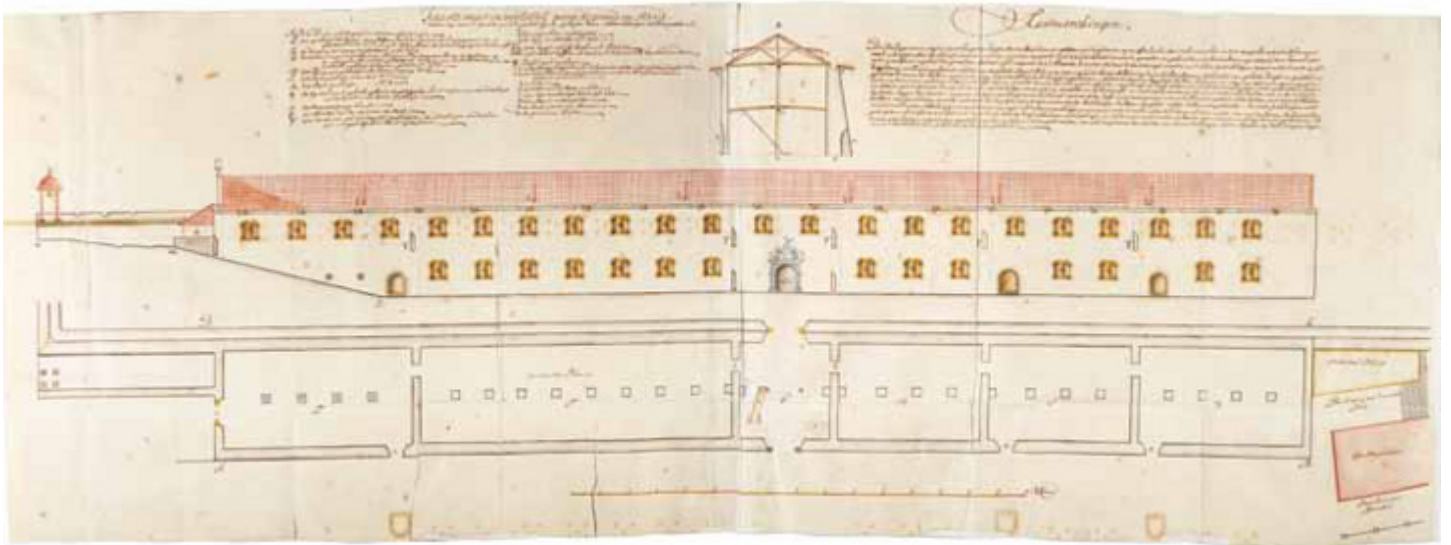


Plate 7.1: View, Plan and Diagram of the Great Warehouse of Galle, c. 1717. Drawing in the Day Register of the Circuit Tour by Governor I.A. Rumpf (1673-1723).

The costly cinnamon was stored upstairs. In the stores downstairs cowry shells from the Maldives and sappan wood awaited transport to the Netherlands. Before the inauguration of the new Dutch Reformed Church in 1756 services were held in the attic at the far left of the warehouse. In the middle of the building is the gateway, decorated with two lions holding a cartouche with the date 1669 and the monogram of the Dutch East India Company, the letters V.O.C.



Plate 7.2: Galle, c. 1990.



Plate 7.3: The Reformed Church of Galle.

Although the building, financed by Commander Casparus de Jong, was inaugurated in 1756, it took years to finish the job: only in 1760 did the windows get their glasses; in the same year a second-hand organ from Colombo was mounted. The church then had 188 members, of whom 177 were listed as *blanken*. The impression this leaves is misleading. The majority did not come from Europe but were the issue of mixed marriages. The term *blank* may have been used to distinguish the congregants from Sinhalese, Chetties, Tamils, Muslims or slaves. Another eleven members were listed as 'Sinhalese'.

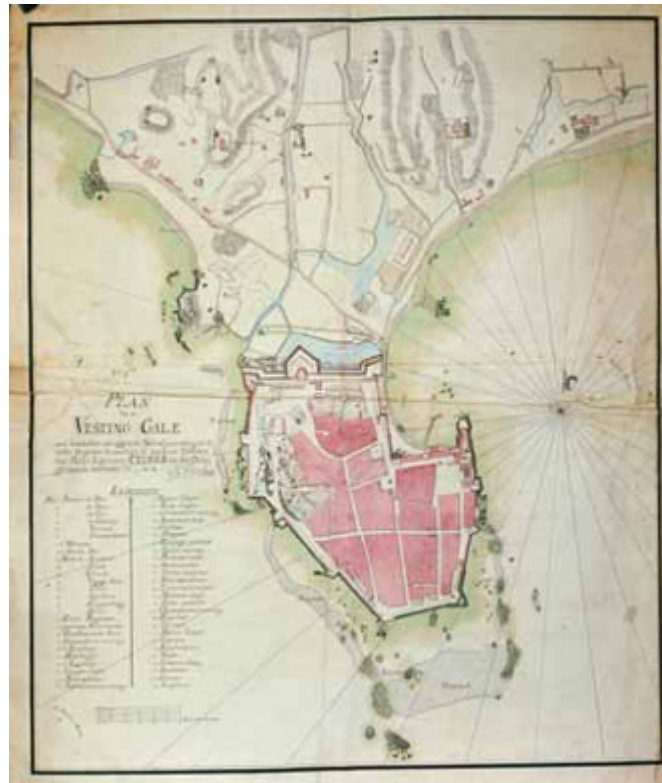


Plate 7.4: Manuscript Map of the Fortification of Galle by C. F. Reimer and G. E. Schenk, Surveyors, 1790.

What is surprising about this map is not the information given on the fort city itself but sites outside Galle: a 'Catholic Church' (*Roomsche Kerk*) and the location of the second graveyard (*t Kerkhoff*). After an endless period of combating the Roman-Catholic Church, the VOC ended up accepting its presence and recognising its prominent role for certain groups, such as the workers in the fishery. In 1760 the Lutheran minister Swarts got permission to use the Reformed Church building once a week to serve the German and Scandinavian artillerists and soldiers with a Lutheran background.

The graveyard or *Buitenkerkhof* consisted of three parts: one for *swarte* ('black') Christians, be they free persons or slaves; one part for Tamils, Sinhalese and others who were not Christians; the third part was reserved for slaves who had not been baptised.



Plate 7.6: The City of Galle Seen From the Flagpole Hut, 1786. Drawing by Jan Brandes (1743-1808).
At the right the Dutch Reformed Church, inaugurated in 1755, towers over the city. All the roofs are built in the typical Mediterranean 'Monk and Nun' technique brought east by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century. Since local roof tile makers and constructors were used to these tiles, the VOC never started production of the typical Dutch S-shaped pantiles.

De Stad Gale op Ceylon

de kerk
Nieuwgesticht Pabstus

Adams berg



de vlaggenstok op de kerk

175
Joh. de Willems 1. 150

hier is voortgezet de
Stad van Gale

de kerk





Plate 7.5: Tombstone of Willem Rex, Buried in the Graveyard of the Reformed Church of Galle. Willem Rex, born in Amsterdam, was a schoolmaster in Galle. The stone mentions that his wife Christina Victors, also born in Amsterdam, and their children were buried in the same grave. The schoolmaster was accused of misappropriating funds belonging to the orphans. Though sentenced, his case was suspended by Governor and Councils in Colombo to allow him to defend himself in Batavia. In 1716 he won his case, was released and sent back to Galle.



Plate 8.1: Willem Schellinks, *Shah Jehan and His Four Sons Hunting*. Panel, c. 1655.



Plate 8.2: Anonymous Mogul Artist, *Jahangir and Akbar*. Miniature, 2nd Quarter of the Seventeenth Century.



Plate 8.3: Rembrandt (After an Anonymous Mogul Artist), *Akbar and His Son Selim*, c. 1656. Drawing.



Plate 9.1: Reconstructed Portal of Baumberg Stone, from the Wreck of the Batavia, State of Reconstruction in Fremantle before Original Portal was moved from Fremantle to Geraldton.



Plate 9.2: Diwan I-'Amm, with Pietre Dure Inlays in Wall behind Jharokha. Delhi, Red Fort.



Plate 9.3: Dutch Visitors and Gifts.



Plate 9.4: Pietre Dure Table Top, Late Sixteenth or Early Seventeenth Century.



Plate 9.5: Zick Workshop, Nuremberg, Nestled Cups.



Plate 9.6: Zick Workshop, Nuremberg, Turned Ivory.



Plate 9.7: The Reception of the Great Mogul, with European Presenting a Lacquer Box, from the Shahnameh.



Plate 10.1: Kawahara Keiga, Deshima. Painting on Paper, Sheet.



Plate 12.1: The Ishikawa Brothers, *Flowers in a Vase* (1796). Copy after Willem van Roijen (1725). Color on Paper, Hanging Scroll.

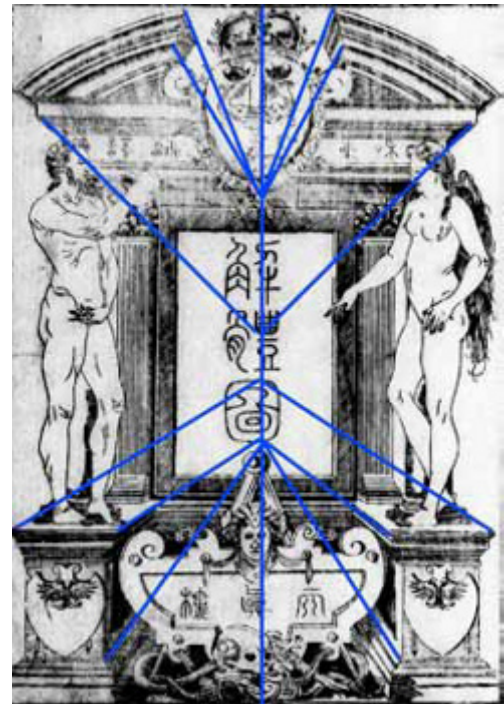


Plate 12.2: Odano Naotake, *The Title Page of Sugita Genpaku et al., Kaitai Shinsho* (Edo 1774) (Perspectival Blue Lines by this Author). After Juan Valverde de Hamusco, *Anatomia del corpo humano* (Rome 1566). Woodblock Print.

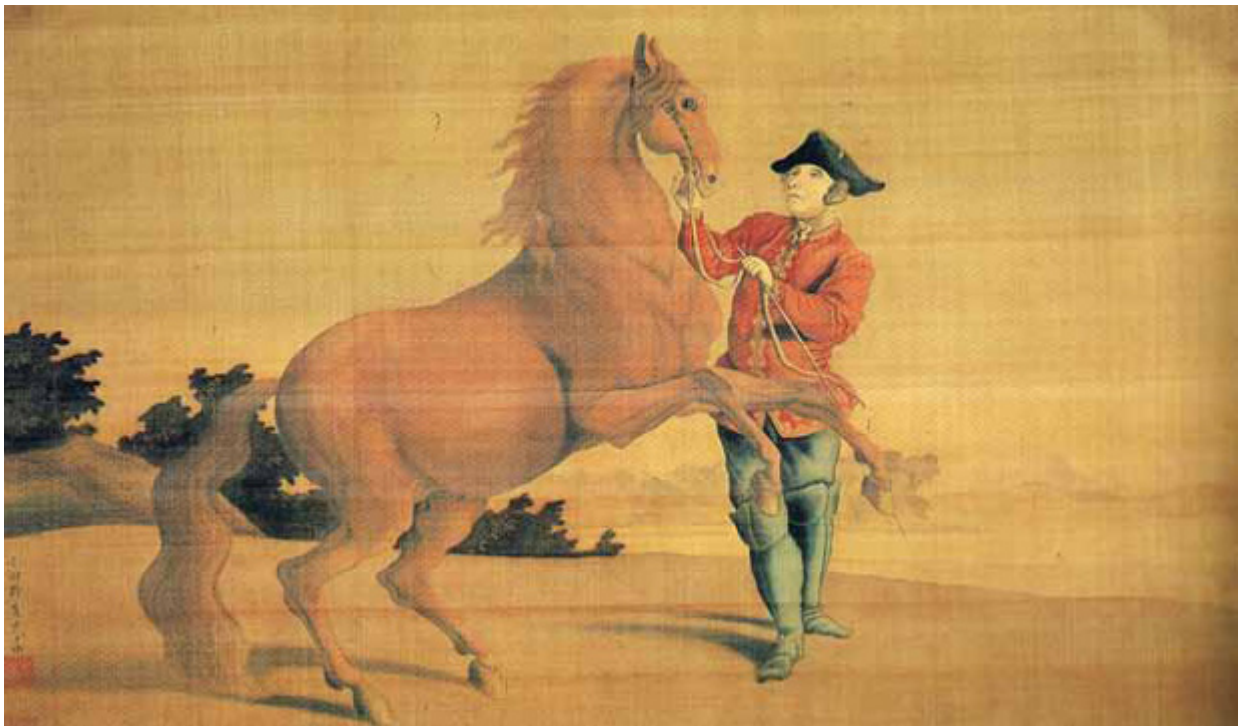


Plate 12.3: Odano Naotake, *A Westerner Training a Horse*. Copy after *A Danish Horse* from Johann Elias Ridinger, *Sammlung von Nationen-Pferden*, Augsburg 1752. Color on Silk.



Plate 12.4: Odano Naotake, *The Shinobazu Pond*. Color on Silk, Framed.



Plate 12.5: Satake Shozan, *A Lake Landscape*, c. 1778. Color on Paper, Hanging Scroll.

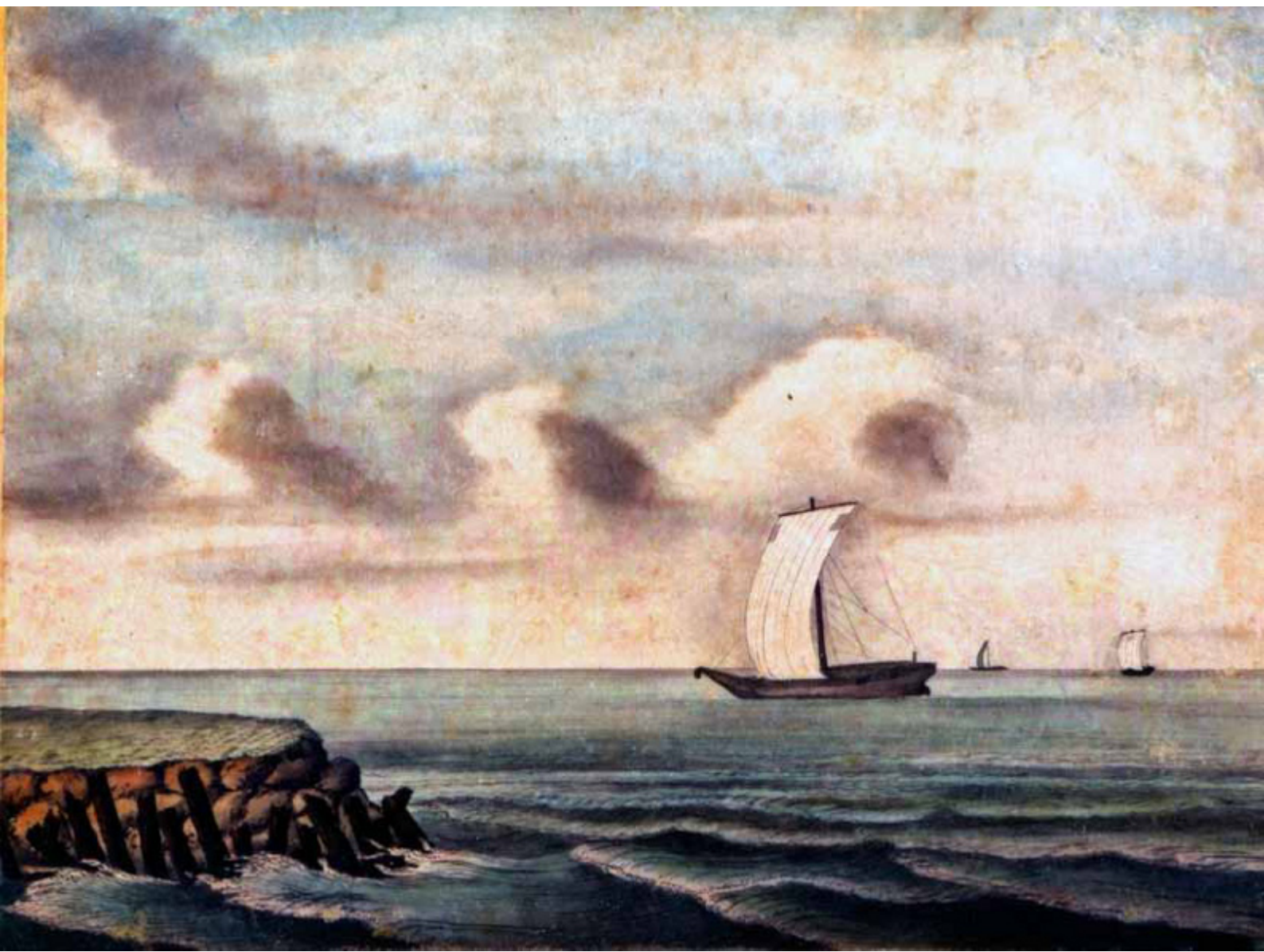


Plate 12.6: Satake Shozan, A Sailing Boat. From Satake Shozan, The Third Sketchbook, 1778. Color on Paper.



Plate 13.1: VOC Ambassador Johannes Bacherus in the Camp of Mogul Emperor Aurangzeb in the Deccan, 1689. Painting on Cloth, Anonymous (Golkonda).
Detail of the right side showing members of the Dutch embassy sitting Indian style.



Plate 13.2: The Maharana of Udaipur Entertains VOC Ambassador Josua Ketelaar, Udaipur 1711. Painting on Cloth, Anonymous (Udaipur).
Detail of the top section showing the ambassador at the court of the Maharana of Udaipur, whom he visited en route from Surat to Lahore to congratulate the Great Mogul Bahadur Shah on his accession to the throne.



*Plate 13.3: VOC Ambassador Johannes Bacherus in the Camp of Mogul Emperor Aurangzeb in the Deccan, 1689. Painting on Cloth, Anonymous (Golkonda).
Bottom section showing the ambassador being carried in a palanquin in a ceremonial procession.*

Lept. Prigolthamer, griseus

Plate 13.4: Eis, Sketches of Two Glatiks (Java Sparrow), a Male and a Female, Ordered by the Japanese, 1813. Ink and Colors on Japanese Paper.



Plate 13.5: Brass Candelabrum Made in Amsterdam and Presented by the VOC to Shogun Iemitsu in 1640.



Plate 13.6: Albarello Excavated from the Tomb of Tokugawa Hidetada (1579-1632) at Zōjō-ji in Tokyo, Dutch Majolica.



Plate 13.7: Tobacco Pouch and Pipeholder, Early Nineteenth Century. The pouch, with a design of peonies in black and red, is made from Dutch gilt leather imported into Japan in the mid-seventeenth century.